

The Langdale Settlement

IDLE LAND TRANSFORMED



LANGDALE, a 3806-hectare Wairarapa pastoral estate, was purchased by the Liberal government in 1901 under the government's cornerstone land-for-settlements legislation, which enabled the purchase of freehold land for redistribution to Crown tenants. Although small by South Island and Hawke's Bay standards, the Langdale purchase was the Wellington Land District's largest and costliest farm settlement. Land settlement was the Liberals' most important policy initiative, and incurred more government debt than railway development.¹ The rents paid by the tenants serviced the borrowings undertaken to finance the settlements. Nonetheless the land-for-settlements purchases were expensive, with £5.7 million borrowed to acquire 501,155 hectares,² whereas during two decades on either side of 1900 the Liberals purchased 1.3 million hectares of Maori land for £1 million.³

In *The Amuri: A County History* W.J. Gardner briefly described the government's 1908 purchase of the Culverden estate in North Canterbury. The compulsory purchase provision of land-for-settlements was invoked to expedite stalled price negotiations on an otherwise voluntary sale. In disputing the price, the trustees argued that the land was worth more to the prospective tenants as fat-lamb farmers than it was to the owners of the large estate. As Gardner's book elucidated, this exposed the trustees to an admission of bad management; they ungraciously blamed their manager.⁴ If the farmer-tenants could fatten lambs on the Culverden soils, and this made the land more valuable, then fattening lambs must have been a higher land use. Why did the incumbent owners of the Culverden estate not put the land to more profitable use? This article asks the same question of Langdale.

While land-for-settlements was controversial, the ideal of closer settlement had almost universal support within settler politics.⁵ This sentiment was propelled by an ideology identified by Miles Fairburn as the 'rural myth': the country was seen as a better place to live than the city, especially for families.⁶ Even urban parliamentary representatives adhered to the rural myth.⁷ The social benefits of ploughing also permeated the ideas of settler society; mixing one's labour with the soil was thought to be character building, the yeoman farmer was idealized.⁸ Arable land left uncultivated symbolized idleness.

The widely held perception that large landowners were failing to fully utilize their land legitimized the government's intervention in the rural sector.⁹ One solution was the dissemination of modern farming practices so that farmers could take advantage of refrigeration; for this purpose, the Liberals established the Department of Agriculture.¹⁰ The other solution was to replace large landholdings with small farms. This ensured that the improved farming practices increased the rural population and the yeoman stock.

Land-for-settlements was also politically expedient. The imagery of the multitude replacing the few on the large estates enabled the Liberals to demonize their large landowning opponents. Political considerations also influenced the location and timing of some purchases. The selectors' mandatory improvements provided a fiscal stimulus for rural communities, and enhanced the reputation of the local Liberal Party candidate. Seventy-three percent of the land-for-settlements budget was spent in Canterbury, Otago and Hawke's Bay where the long queues of applicants attested strong demand for land. Outside these provinces, demand for land was either not as pressing or satisfied by the disbursement of Maori land. In the Wellington Land District, applications for Crown land disbursements barely matched supply.¹¹ There, economic and political considerations rather than demand for land prompted settlements like Langdale.

Langdale was situated in Wairarapa's east coast summer dry zone. Eighty-five percent of the estate was hill country, with the remainder in two blocks of cultivable flats. Two-thirds of the flats bordered the Whareama River on the eastern side, while the balance was dissected by the Mangapakeha Creek on the western side. The Mangapokia stream on the southern boundary completed the water supply for the triangular-shaped estate.¹² Langdale was bordered by the Ica and Blairlogie estates, each approximating 7300 hectares. Three connecting roads enclosed Langdale, which made it attractive for subdivision.

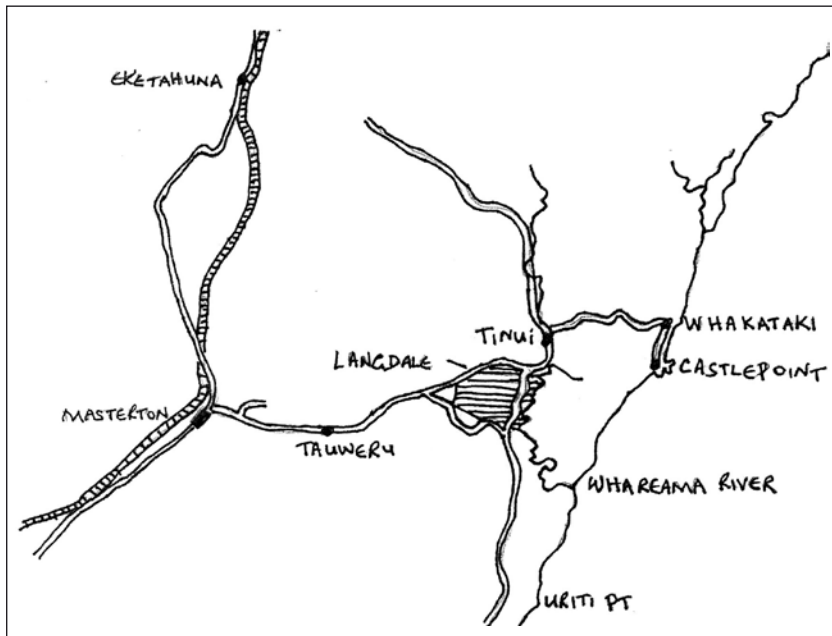


Figure 1: Langdale's location relative to Tinui, Castlepoint and Masterton.

Although Langdale was halfway between the Castlepoint beach landing-service and the Masterton railhead, it was more closely identified with Castlepoint. Established before refrigerated shipping transformed New Zealand

sheep farming, the estate's infrastructure was situated for the dispatch of wool through Castlepoint. In the days of horse-drawn vehicles Langdale's residents generally shopped at the village of Tinui, Castlepoint's service centre.

Langdale evolved along lines typical of Wairarapa sheep-runs. In the early 1840s, settlers drove their sheep around the rugged coastline from Wellington and founded New Zealand's wool industry. These pioneers leased their coastal runs directly from Maori owners.¹³ The colonial administrators disliked this arrangement, preferring to buy the land and profit from its subsequent dispersion to settlers.¹⁴ Government purchases from Maori left two disparate groups of settlers vying for Wairarapa land: pastoralists and farmers. The pastoralists were 'gatherers' who did not work the land but gathered its produce, in this case wool. Farmers were 'cultivators' and traditionally had a greater claim to ownership.

The Wairarapa farmers originated from the Wellington Small Farms' Association. The founder, Joseph Masters, proposed that the possession of property 'makes men set a higher value on his own character [sic]'.¹⁵ Members of the association persuaded Governor Grey to delay the private sale of Wairarapa land until they had established Greytown and Masterton in 1854; thus, they were first to secure freehold title in the Wairarapa.¹⁶ When this injunction ended, Provincial Superintendent Featherston let or sold 50 large grazing runs, mainly on the coastal perimeter, to a core of pastoralists at allegedly discounted prices.¹⁷ These pastoralists became Wairarapa's large landowners.

Refrigeration opened up export markets, and made Featherston's preference for pastoralism appear extravagant. This new technology not only boosted the viability of farming, but also blurred the demarcation between pastoralists and farmers. Pastoralists cultivated crops to fatten surplus stock. They were stigmatized as those with land to waste, and pastoralism took on a pejorative meaning.

From the outset, Wairarapa politics reflected the divergent interests of small farmers and large landowning pastoralists. Masters, elected to the Wellington Provincial Council in 1856, advocated a land tax to prevent land monopoly.¹⁸ His tenure was short-lived, and large landowners represented the region in central government until the pivotal 1890 election when Alexander Hogg, a strident opponent of land monopoly, wrested the Masterton electorate from the large landowner George Beetham; Hogg held the seat for the next 21 years.¹⁹

The Liberal government acquired Langdale from the Elder family. Alexander Lang Elder bought the 6880-hectare Whareama estate from John Morrison in 1878, and renamed it Langdale. Elder had made his fortune by establishing the large and enduring Elder-Smith stock and station agency in Australia. His London-based merchant bank had extensive Australasian contacts, and Langdale was paid for sight unseen. Elder concurrently purchased a mansion in London at a similar cost. Langdale was a small part of his empire.²⁰

Elder's sons wished to live in New Zealand and Langdale was for them. The eldest, Thomas, took charge of Langdale after the initial purchase, but left New Zealand five years later when Harry and Austin arrived. Alexander Elder died in 1886 leaving Harry and Austin a one-sixth share each of Langdale; the remainder was held by his estate.²¹ Malcolm joined his brothers at Langdale

in 1890.²² In 1893, Harry and Malcolm left to farm at Waikanae and Otaki respectively, and Jack Austin, a cousin, joined Austin Elder on the estate.²³ After Austin Elder died in 1896 Jack Austin managed Langdale until its sale to the government in 1901.²⁴

The Elders rapidly expanded wool production on Langdale. In 1878 the estate carried 14,000 sheep; by 1886 stock numbers had grown to 25,000. The increase indicates an expansion of the area in pasture. The development would have included fencing and grassing; a process of burning the bracken and small scrub, followed by the hand-sowing of improved pasture species.²⁵ The brothers also built several houses, including a new homestead, and a meat-rendering plant (destroyed by fire in the 1880s).²⁶

The late 1880s were not so productive and the estate began to be whittled down in size. Subdivisions and sales took place from 1887, and by 1896 all the land on the western side of the Mangapakeha–Tinui road had been alienated.²⁷ It is likely that these sales were prompted by the London-based trustees demanding a cash return from the estate. Rabbits placed additional strain on Langdale's productive capacity and the estate was reduced to 11,500 sheep by 1896. The neighbouring Ica and Blairlogie estates also suffered major reductions in sheep numbers. Still, there were management successes. The rabbits had been eradicated by 1900,²⁸ and when sold Langdale carried 14,569 sheep and 600 cattle on 3806 hectares; equivalent to 4.6 sheep per hectare. This was a much higher stocking rate than carried on Ica or Blairlogie.²⁹ In 1900, Langdale's land tax assessment valued the improvements at £12,610.³⁰ The 1901 Langdale settlement prospectus catalogued these improvements as: 72km of good-quality fences and 640m of drains; 160 hectares of cultivated flats and 3125 hectares of semi-improved pasture; two prestigious houses, several employees' dwellings and a 16-stand machine-powered woolshed.

The government's subdivision prospectus reduced the value of the improvements to £9565. The homestead and woolshed-complex values were written down by £380,³¹ but this only accounted for a small proportion of the discrepancy. The most likely explanation for the remainder was the predictable deterioration of pasture composition, a problem that would be remedied in a much later era with fertilizer. Pastures sown on nutrient-rich virgin land yield impressive results, but inevitably deteriorate as the nutrients are removed from the soil through livestock production. Declining soil fertility induces an equivalent decline in livestock production until equilibrium is reached where the production-induced nutrient loss equals the natural accumulation of nutrients from the atmosphere. The Langdale prospectus recognized that most of the estate had been sown with improved pasture species, but noted the prevalence of native grasses, especially on the uncultivated land.³² The grass was worth less than it cost, hence the write-down of improvements in the Langdale prospectus.

The Elders had substantially improved Langdale, but it is unlikely that the estate made money. In the 1894 edition of the 'Langdale Budget', a newsletter sent to family in Britain, Austin Elder acknowledged that the estate was unprofitable, though he anticipated a recovery.³³ It was the height of the rabbit crisis and the depth of the long depression. The costs of poisoning the rabbits were largely offset by the sale of rabbit skins, but the real cost was the loss

of income from the livestock displaced by the rabbits.³⁴ Although Langdale's stocking rate recovered from the rabbit crisis, because of the disposal of 1054 hectares in 1896, the estate carried fewer sheep thereafter.³⁵ The policy of subdivision and sale eroded Langdale's economies of scale.

Austin Elder may have expected a recovery in the wool market. The Elders purchased Langdale at a peak in wool and land prices. In 1878 the gross export price for New Zealand wool was 30d./kg, but this fell steadily to 18d./kg in the 1890s. A recovery in wool prices would have restored Langdale's profitability, but this did not happen until 1915.³⁶ The land market recovered more quickly than the wool market because the introduction of refrigerated shipping fostered the frozen meat and dairy trades. Recovery was in reach of those prepared to make the change.

The Elders improved the productive capacity of Langdale, but remained focused on wool production. The 1894 'Langdale Budget' highlighted wool weights and prices, but made only a passing reference to the sale of fat sheep, and provided no details of lambing percentages or livestock prices. The wool weights were 3.1kg per adult sheep and 1.1kg per lamb. The average gross price of 19d./kg reduced to 15d./kg after shipping and selling commissions. There was a self-conscious rider to the report noting that the results were similar to other stations.³⁷ The interest in lamb-wool weights, which were high when compared to returns from adult sheep, indicates Langdale was changing sheep breeds in 1894. The 1901 Langdale clearing sale shows the estate with a Lincoln-cross flock and some older fine-wool ewes.³⁸ Lincolns were the preferred wool-producing breed in the early 1890s,³⁹ with only 40% of the adult sheep producing lambs and the male sheep being sold as four-tooth (two-year-old) wethers.⁴⁰ This change portrays the Elders as still backing wool as the path to recovery. A return to the wool prices of former years, with weights boosted by the new breed, would have restored Langdale's prosperity, but as already stated this did not happen.

The estate's clearing sale gives an insight into its farming system, and the differences between farmers and pastoralists. The sale was held three weeks before the settlement ballot, and this precluded the farmer-selectors as purchasers. Holding the sale well before possession date gave the vendors latitude if the sale failed, but if the selectors were potential buyers the sale would be unlikely to fail. The timing of the clearing sale acknowledged that the farmer-selectors would change Langdale's mode of production. A smaller livestock sale was held at Langdale after the possession date, and included breeding ewes, lambs and Romney rams;⁴¹ appropriate stock for farmers intending to increase meat production.

The Elders had failed to respond to the opportunities offered by refrigeration. Less than one-third of the flats had been cultivated, with only 24 hectares in crop at sale date;⁴² the opportunity for large-scale finishing of stock was unrealized. Best practice would have been to produce and fatten the maximum number of lambs, and farm the remainder until two-tooths. There was a useful margin between a store lamb and a two-tooth wether, but no margin beyond that.⁴³ A shift from finishing four-tooths to two-tooths would have been a major step forward for Langdale but would have required a change from Lincolns to earlier-

maturing Romneys. Although the flats comprised only 15% of the total area, their exploitation would have unlocked additional productive capacity on the hills. Increasing the capacity to fatten stock on the flats would have allowed more lambs to be bred on the hills. The opportunity cost of meat production to wool production was quite low. Ewes producing lambs had higher feed demands than dry sheep, but most of this increased demand occurred in the spring when grass was abundant. Langdale's opportunity lay not so much in substituting meat for wool as in increasing meat production at very little cost to wool.

There were two unexploited avenues of fat lamb production open to Langdale. A 1919 diary from N.W. Groves of Bushgrove recorded the sale of fat lambs weaned from ewes on similar hill-country to Langdale's, and utilizing similar farming technologies.⁴⁴ Groves used specialist fat-lamb sires, notably absent at the Langdale clearing sale. The second avenue was to finish the remaining lambs on green crops, a luxury Groves did not have. The Elders chose to ignore these profitable options.

Alexander Elder had purchased Langdale for the pleasure of his sons. Austin Elder died in Masterton in 1896, and although two of Alexander Elder's sons, Harry and Malcolm, still resided in New Zealand, neither returned to Langdale.⁴⁵ This left the estate as a poorly performing asset within the Elders' investment portfolio, hence the decision to sell.

The Wairarapa historian A.G. Bagnall described Langdale as a bargain for the government.⁴⁶ The £8.1s. per hectare purchase price appears low when compared to the Hatuma and Mangatoro acquisitions at £13.6s. and £11.2s. respectively.⁴⁷ These two Hawke's Bay estates, also purchased in 1901, carried slightly less stock per hectare than Langdale, so were of similar quality.⁴⁸ However, Langdale's discounted price reflected its distance from the rail and the perception that this made it unsuitable for settlement.⁴⁹ Hatuma was right by the rail line and Mangatoro within 18km of Dannevirke; Langdale, 32km from the railway, was more marginal.

Estates purchased for settlement had to have scope for improvement; otherwise the rents would exceed the Crown tenants' ability to pay. When debating the prospects of land-for-settlements purchases in the Wairarapa, Premier Seddon reminded Parliament that price was important because the tenants paid all costs.⁵⁰ The Langdale rents were set to service £2342 more than the £30,669 the government paid for the estate. This included: costs of survey, administration and advertising; £300 for roads; an interest charge of £383 to cover a three-month rent-free period in the first year of settlement; a contingency fund of £158 (0.5% of purchase); and a credit balance of £458.⁵¹ Thus, the tenants serviced a capital cost 8% above the purchase price.

The government contracted to purchase Langdale in May 1900, with possession set for 1 April 1901. Having secured a property with the capacity for improvement, the government had to secure tenants with experience and capital to complete the desired transformation. A subdivision plan was prepared by the Department of Lands and Survey, with input from the Land Purchase Commission and the Wellington Land Board.⁵²

The Wellington Land Board presented a draft plan for 21 rural sections to a public meeting at Tinui on 6 December 1900. The meeting attracted 50

settlers, and coincided with a visit to Langdale by the Minister of Lands, Thomas Duncan, and other dignitaries. Attendees met the planned allocation of a quarter of the estate to four Langdale employees and an incumbent tenant with hostility. Anger over the allotment of 405 hectares, including the homestead and woolshed complex, to Jack Austin, and the manager's house with 202 hectares to the Langdale overseer, F.D. Fendall, was fuelled by the disclosure that the prestige dwellings' values were to be discounted with the other selectors carrying that cost. The Tinui meeting was equally antagonistic to the uncontested allocations to Langdale station hands, George Street and George White, and incumbent tenant John Taplin.⁵³ The objections expressed at the meeting caused Fendall to withdraw his application.⁵⁴

Alexander Hogg, Masterton's MHR and the government appointee to the Wellington Land Board, led the public outcry over the uncontested allocations.⁵⁵ Although Hogg was a Knights of Labor stalwart and self-described defender of workers' rights,⁵⁶ he was especially hostile to the allocations to station hands. 'It is no use acquiring land', he asserted, 'if the eyes are to be picked out by station hands'.⁵⁷

As a Liberal, Hogg was inherently opposed to the privileged allocations. However, he was particularly averse to the allocation of 162 hectares to George Street. In an interview with J.W.A. Marchant, Commissioner of Crown Lands and ex officio chairman of the Wellington Land Board, Hogg voiced concern that Street would have some of the best land on the estate; Marchant reassured Hogg that the section reserved for Street contained some inferior land.⁵⁸ Hogg did not register the same unease over the more generous allocation to Jack Austin, which included a large tract of cultivable land. Presumably Hogg expected that Austin, as a relative of the Elders, would have the capital necessary to transform the land from extensive pastoralism, whereas Street, a station hand, would not. Hogg expected Langdale to be taken up by prosperous farmers' sons,⁵⁹ and did not see land-for-settlements as a means of social redress. The planned allocations to the Langdale employees were eventually disallowed on legal grounds, but the allocation to the incumbent tenant was upheld.⁶⁰

The Langdale subdivision initially comprised 23 farms and 13 urban sections within a proposed township.⁶¹ The six largest farms ranged from 272 to 417 hectares, had capital values between £2000 and £3500, and could carry between 1000 and 1700 sheep. Ten medium-sized units of 75–202 hectares, valued from £800 to £1775, could support 450–750 sheep; the seven smallest blocks between 14 and 38 hectares had values below £600 and carried fewer than 200 sheep.⁶² The township failed to attract selectors, and the 13 sections were consolidated into four, of which three were leased to neighbouring Langdale tenants. One became a 6-hectare smallholding. Thus, Langdale finished with 24 farm tenancies.⁶³

Although only 15% of Langdale was cultivable, the planners managed to attach some arable land to every farm; this proved instrumental in unlocking the potential of the hill country. The design was made easier by the public roads which traversed the Mangapakeha and Whareama flats. The subdivision plan classified four small sections as first-class agricultural (cultivable) land, 19 as second-class agricultural and pastoral land, and one as a small-grazing

run. Flatspur was one of the former estate's paddocks, and its 417-hectare size determined its small-grazing-run classification; it had a higher per hectare value than ten of the 19 second-class agricultural and pastoral sections. All sections, bar one, were leased in perpetuity (999 years) without rent review. As a small-grazing-run Flatspur was on a 21-year term.

Land-for-settlements legislation determined selector eligibility. There was a limit on the area of land an applicant could hold, including the land applied for; within those limits applicants with land sufficient to maintain themselves could not compete with landless applicants; applicants who already held land of land-for-settlements origins were ineligible.⁶⁴ The land boards were empowered to exclude inexperienced applicants and those deemed to have insufficient capital.⁶⁵

In order to placate public disquiet over land-for-settlements advantaging the well-off, the Wellington Land Board applied a means test, albeit a generous one. This prohibited selectors with a net worth in excess of three times the capital value (excluding buildings) where the land applied for was less than 40 hectares, two times if between 40 and 202 hectares, and one-and-one-half times if greater than 202 hectares.⁶⁶ This nominal means test allowed selectors with more than sufficient capital to purchase, provision and stock an equivalent property on the open market to compete for land-for-settlements properties with genuinely landless applicants. The same eligibility criteria applied to foreclosed or surrendered tenancies reoffered by the land board, but not to tenancies transferred on the open market where the purchaser faced the much softer conditions of the 1892 Land Act;⁶⁷ private transfers were outside the public's view.

While the 1892 Land Act barred married women from becoming selectors, land-for-settlements legislation did not.⁶⁸ This indirectly advantaged families as married couples could apply individually for the same section, thereby increasing their chances at the ballot. However, the Wellington Land Board prohibited married women from selecting small-grazing runs.⁶⁹ This was a moral judgement in two respects. The 1892 Land Act's preclusion of married women selectors was intended to reduce dummyism, a practice where a person secured Crown land on behalf of another who did not qualify. The land board assumed that yeomen families seeking ploughable land were more honest than their pastoralist contemporaries. Secondly, the land board was guiding families towards farms as opposed to pastoral runs. Pastoralism connoted idleness, and was considered unsuitable for families.

Land-for-settlements tenants were subject to rules overseen by a Crown Lands Ranger on behalf of the administering land board. Improvements equivalent to 2.5% of the capital value in each of the first two years and a further 2.5% within six years were required on lease-in-perpetuity sections, and double that rate on small-grazing runs. This mandatory spending acted as an economic multiplier in the local communities, and was responsible for the popularity of land-for-settlements in rural towns.

Unlike the 1882 land legislation which compelled Crown tenants to cultivate,⁷⁰ cropping was optional and restricted for land-for-settlements tenants. Cropping rotations were limited to three consecutive crops, including

at least one green crop, interspaced with at least three years of permanent pasture.⁷¹ Green crops (turnips or rape, often mixed with clover) mitigated the nitrogen-depleting effects of grain cropping, but diminished phosphate levels, though pasture was thought to restore phosphate over time.⁷² The need to fertilize pasture with phosphate was not recognized until 1914.⁷³

Personal residency was mandatory for ten years only on agricultural and pastoral (lease-in-perpetuity) sections, but for the duration of the lease on pastoral (small-grazing-run) sections.⁷⁴ This implies uncertainty about the long-term sustainability of the cultivable sections; hence the allowance for tenants to move to another property while retaining their land-for-settlements farm. This provision suited farmers' sons as they could ultimately amalgamate their land-for-settlements section with their parents' home farm.

The Langdale settlement was allotted at the Masterton courthouse. The Wellington Land Board interviewed the applicants and held ballots for 11 of the 22 rural sections (one section was already allocated to the incumbent tenant). J.W.A. Marchant rejected two applicants and precluded four landowners from competing with landless applicants.⁷⁵ In the South Island settlements selectors' capital was considered critical,⁷⁶ but not at Langdale. The Wellington Land Board had few selectors, and Marchant explained the interview process as determining the eligibility of applicants rather than prying into their private business.⁷⁷ The average selector declared £392 of capital with which to stock and provision their farms.⁷⁸ They would need to outlay an average of £323 for livestock and a further £115 to complete the required improvements.⁷⁹ Amongst these, three applicants with zero capital were accepted. The day ended with two rural and all the urban sections vacant, but both the remaining rural sections were tenanted within two weeks.

Marchant proclaimed a successful ballot for Langdale, with 112 applications from 45 people. He described the applicants as 17 farmers, ten station hands, six married women, and a family of nine who applied for two sections. Assuming the six married women were spouses of other selectors and counting the family of nine as one applicant, 28 selectors competed for 22 rural sections.⁸⁰ This barely adequate number of selectors was normal for the Wellington Land District.⁸¹ Langdale illustrated the difference between the heavily oversubscribed settlements in the South Island and the dearth of selectors in the North Island, Hawke's Bay excepted.⁸²

Marchant described the applicants as farmers or station hands. However, the 22 successful application forms detail a wider range of occupations: a single woman, a married woman, a blacksmith, a contractor, five station hands and 13 farmers (including two 'looking for a farm').⁸³ Most of the farmers were farmers' sons. Marchant may have been using the designation of 'farmers' and 'station hands' as a proxy for 'haves' and 'have nots'. The presence of station hands served to placate public anxiety over land-for-settlements bias towards the well-off over the landless.⁸⁴ Using some interpretation to reconcile the stated occupations with Marchant's designations, there were 13 farmer selectors and nine station hands.⁸⁵ Although this looks quite good for the landless, their limited means restricted them to the smaller sections, and they drew 23% of the estate in value and 19% in area. After an initial bout of foreclosures in which five

tenancies were transferred, the station hands were reduced to eight and their share of Langdale to 16% in value. The station hand numbers subsequently increased to nine through the formation of the 6-hectare smallholding from the amalgamated township sections, but this had little effect on their share of the overall estate. Irrespective of occupation, the Langdale selectors were people from the land and, with few exceptions, came from the Wairarapa.⁸⁶

Langdale selectors Jack Cameron, William Bennett and the McKay brothers came from farming families. While not large landowners, these families farmed between 1800 and 2500 sheep in 1900; their farms were three to five times larger in carrying capacity than Langdale's mid-sized units.⁸⁷ In these instances, land-for-settlements was accommodating farming families who had the capacity to subdivide their own properties. E.W. Udy and J. McLeay, two selectors barred from competing with landless applicants, were already leasing land which they promised to relinquish if successful at Langdale; Marchant deemed that Udy's 489 sheep were sufficient to support his family of five children. These six selectors secured 50% of Langdale in area and 59% in value. The transfer of John Holmes's Waiawa section to Don Bennett and Harry Cowins's Ngatarata section to George Taylor⁸⁸ further increased the share of those who already had access to land. The majority of Langdale went to people who did not need a farm. Hogg was untroubled that the sons of local farmers would be the primary beneficiaries of the Langdale settlement. Farmers' sons had the necessary experience and capital to transform Langdale into intensive farms.

The marital status of Langdale's selectors reflected that of their Wellington Land District contemporaries. Twelve were single and only six of the ten married selectors had children old enough to count as labourers; thus, barely a quarter of the selectors had a family labour force. Although applicants were required to give their marital status and details of dependent children, this was to assess their landlessness. While the family farm was idealized, the administrators of land-for-settlements paid less heed to the economic importance of family labour than has been subsequently accorded. When asked by the government to explain John Holmes's forced transfer of his good-quality farm, the land board replied that he had a large family and could not meet the rent.⁸⁹ The administrators viewed a large family as a liability.

Langdale's Crown tenants got off to an uncertain start. They were hit hard by a slump in wool prices and a severe drought, which caused a significant drop in sheep numbers.⁹⁰ Within the first two years, three tenancies were forfeited and two were forced to transfer;⁹¹ many tenants were having difficulty with the rent.⁹² However, recovery was swift and by 1904 the Langdale tenants had completed improvements at four times the required rate.⁹³ That year the *Wairarapa Daily Times*, after initially doubting the suitability of Langdale for closer settlement, acknowledged its success.⁹⁴

County valuations confirm the Langdale farmers' progress. Nine Langdale farms were in the Masterton county, with the remainder in Castlepoint. Castlepoint county valuations exist for 1907 and 1913, as do Masterton county valuations for 1909 and 1921. These records show that the farmers, with few exceptions, built good houses, made extensive improvements and enjoyed substantial capital gains.

The houses mark the early prosperity of the Langdale settlement. By 1907, the Langdale farmers within Castlepoint county had built 11 houses with an average value of £259.⁹⁵ All nine of their Masterton county compatriots, who were generally on smaller farms, had newly erected houses with an average value of £197 by 1909.⁹⁶ The average value of these 20 houses was £231. Nine of these houses belonged to the former station hands, and had an average value of £195. These houses were inferior to the 11 £260 houses built by the farmers' sons, but compared favourably to the two £94 roadman's cottages built at the same time by the Castlepoint county.⁹⁷ Similarly Frank White, on the 6-hectare township section, was Langdale's only married resident living in accommodation inferior to the £120 house which the Elders provided for their married employee, George Street. By 1907, the Street family was enjoying a £305 house on their 30-hectare farm.

When the Crown tenants took charge of Langdale, the estate's improvements included 72km of fences and 640m of drains.⁹⁸ The first round of county valuations recorded 77km of new fencing and 5.46km of drains.⁹⁹ The second round showed the fences and drains had extended by a further 69km and 11km respectively.¹⁰⁰ The fencing did not necessarily represent productive improvement. Before the advent of rotational grazing systems in the 1960s, fences kept classes of livestock separate and facilitated mustering; a larger farm could function with larger paddocks, and had lower per-hectare fencing costs. Although Neil McKay divided Flatspur into eight paddocks with 10km of fencing, this did not constitute an improvement on the former estate's 17 main paddocks.¹⁰¹ Conversely, the drainage systems completed by the Langdale tenants were a most productive improvement. These simple open drains made more of the flats available for cropping and allowed for earlier sowing, essential in a dry summer climate. Drainage also enhanced soil fertility by increasing the effective depth of the soil, making existing nutrients more accessible.¹⁰²

While Crown tenants were mandated to improve their properties, the improvements were not required to be productive. It was the tenant's choice whether to enhance earning capacity or lifestyle. Settlements stimulated the economies of rural communities because tenants were compelled to spend money, and the effect multiplied. In 1902, the Masterton county levied Castlepoint a quarter of the maintenance costs of the road between Masterton and the Castlepoint county.¹⁰³ This demand coincided with Langdale's mandatory improvements, and the increased traffic of building and fencing materials was the likely cause. In 1909, 600 Masterton petitioners sought the government's purchase of Ica and Bowlands estates for closer settlement.¹⁰⁴ The borough petitioners did not intend to settle on either estate, but hoped to replicate the economic benefits that Langdale had delivered to Masterton.

Langdale's transformation flowed into rising land values. Excluding the township sections, aggregate values rose 51% by 1907, a further 22% by 1909, 16% in 1913 and 65% in 1921; this compounded to a 252% increase over the 1901 settlement values, including the subdivision costs. All the increased value of the properties leased-in-perpetuity accrued to the leaseholder, with the Crown's interest fixed at the 1901 value. The leap in values between 1913 and 1921 reflected major increases in produce prices induced by wartime

bulk-purchase agreements. Peacetime returns were more uncertain: the 1921 Masterton county valuations show a marked decrease to prices between 1918 and 1920 when four of the nine properties were sold; this decrease reflected the 1921 wool-market slump.¹⁰⁵ The rising land values were not confined to Langdale. In 1904 the *New Zealand Farmer* reported that the Langdale tenants, desirous of a second settlement in the district to make a dairy factory viable, lamented that their improvements had caused local land values to rise thus precluding further land-for-settlements purchases in the vicinity.¹⁰⁶ In 1914, Castlepoint's county councillors were perplexed and angered by the latest county valuations which had the South riding (closest to Masterton) increasing by 79%, compared to 33% for the remainder of the county.¹⁰⁷ The success of Langdale had alerted the market to the potential of surrounding properties.

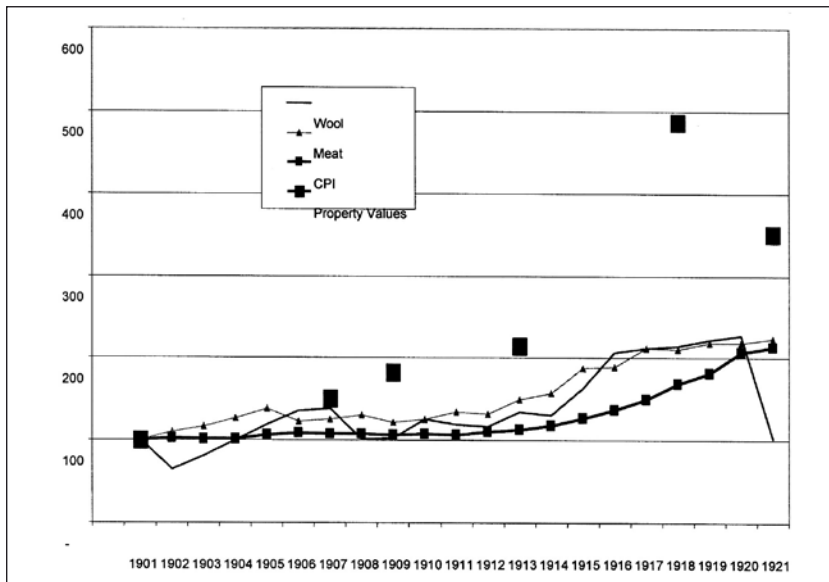


Figure 2: Terms of Trade and Langdale Property Values.¹⁰⁸

Twenty years of favourable produce prices underpinned Langdale's prosperity. Figure 2 compares meat and wool export prices, Langdale land values and the consumer price index (CPI), with all four indexed at 100 in 1901. When the produce prices were above the CPI, the farmers were winning: their outputs bought more inputs. Wool prices largely reflected the CPI until 1915, whereas meat prices were consistently ahead.

While the Langdale farmers benefited from benign economic conditions, they still had to enhance an inadequate wool income with increased meat production. This they proceeded to do with alacrity. In 1904, the *Wairarapa Daily Times* noted 'the comfortable homes on this settlement', impressive lambing percentages and the advantage of every section having some arable land.¹⁰⁹ One year later a *Daily Times* correspondent praised the settlement's extensive use of crops for fattening lambs and older stock.¹¹⁰

The opportunity cost of increased meat production was negligible. By 1905 the settlement's stock numbers had recovered from the earlier drought and in 1907 exceeded the former estate's (which, in comparison to its peers, was well stocked) by 13%.¹¹¹ This can be attributed to the improved pastures on the previously uncultivated flats. The only cost to wool production was the change from Lincolns to sheep better suited to meat production: Romneys and Border Leicesters.

Cropping distinguished the Langdale farmers from their pastoralist predecessors and county neighbours. In 1905, the Langdale farmers within the Castlepoint county accounted for 108 of the county's 288 hectares of crop; 8% of the county's sheep were eating 38% of the county's crop. In 1907 Langdale's share of the county's cropped area increased to 167 hectares, 43% of the county total.¹¹²

The area under crop within the Castlepoint county fell to 219 hectares in 1910 and 194 hectares in 1914.¹¹³ This coincided with an increase in the grassed area and livestock numbers, and a surge in the number of dairy cows.¹¹⁴ Thus, the decline was not symptomatic of a district turning its back on progress, but reflected the prohibitive costs of transporting fertilizer by road. With few exceptions, Castlepoint's arable land was farmed without fertilizer until the 1950s.¹¹⁵ The Castlepoint landing service closed in 1926, signalling lower road transport costs, but the financial constraints of the 1930s Depression, coupled with manpower shortages in the 1940s, prolonged the fertilizer drought.

Initially, this lack of fertilizer did not deter cultivation. Cropping virgin land produces good results because ploughing turns the ground over and replaces the nutrient-depleted top soils with nutrient-rich lower soils. But the effect is lessened each time the soil is turned over. Buoyed by the success of the early crops, the Langdale farmers petitioned the Land Board to relax the cropping regulations, because they mostly grew green crops;¹¹⁶ apart from oats for local consumption, road transport costs to the Masterton railway line precluded grain cropping. While the petitioners were aware of the fertility-depleting aspects of grain cropping, they were not so well versed in the phosphate requirements of green crops. Without fertilizer, the land required much longer periods in pasture between cropping rotations than the mandatory three years. To a degree the farmers countered the declining fertility by extensively expanding their drainage systems, as shown in the second round of county valuations. Despite these measures, the potential for cultivation inevitably declined. However, the Langdale farmers sustained their viability by adding small-scale dairying to their production inventory.

The Castlepoint county's 1948 centennial publication obliquely confirms Langdale's transition to a higher land use. It recorded the displacement of wethers with fat lambs from the early 1900s, and noted that by 1948 most of the land producing the oats which before 1910 had fuelled the horses used for agricultural work was producing butterfat,¹¹⁷ hence the link between oats and lamb fattening. Dairying in the district was largely confined to the Langdale settlement.¹¹⁸ Although memory of dairying only extends back to the 1920s, the increase in the county's dairy cow numbers coincided with the introduction of home separators and the emergence of family labour at Langdale. The

Castlepoint county's 1913 minute book confirms this transition by referring to a cream van operating in the district. The subdivision of Langdale impelled the change to cultivation and lamb production, just as the smallness of the Langdale farms pointed them towards dairying when the soil fertility could no longer sustain the rate of cultivation.

The Crown tenants had little choice but to increase productivity. They had to meet rents equivalent to 5% of the estate's value, a value inflated by settlement costs. The farmer tenants entered the settlement with sufficient capital to stock their properties and complete the mandatory improvements. Their ability to pay the rent and comfortably exceed the required improvements attests to the returns that they were able to generate. Had the Elders achieved similar returns, the estate would have sat comfortably within their investment portfolio. It is difficult to offer an economically rational explanation for their failure to utilize the land in the manner of the Crown tenants.

The layout of Langdale's infrastructure presented an obstacle to its transition from an extensive pastoral run to a large developed farm. Langdale had been set up for the dispatch of wool through Castlepoint rather than lambs to the Masterton railyard, but this was easily remedied. To access the fat lamb trade, Langdale needed a basic set of stockyards and a quality holding paddock at the Masterton end of the estate. From there, the stock drive to Masterton took an easy two days.¹¹⁹ The undivided estate could shift lambs to a holding paddock at the Masterton end before putting them on the road. The farmer tenants needed to put the lambs on the road from their farms, and this meant an extra day on the road for those near Whareama (where most of the finishing country lay). Lambs suffer on poor-quality roadside grass and deteriorate exponentially with each day eating it; that extra day on the road was significant. An undivided Langdale could have accessed the fat lamb trade more efficiently than its subdivided successor.

In 1901, the general manager of the National Mortgage Association, J.M. Ritchie, noted that small farmers were less dependent on wool than large farmers.¹²⁰ James Belich explains the small farmers' ability to access the refrigerated trades in terms of family labour: 'Family labour was the cheapest available.'¹²¹ This suggests that the small family farm had a significant labour cost advantage over the large estates. However, Langdale's transformation preceded the emergence of the requisite family labour force. Although the majority of selectors were single, 17 of the 23 farmers were married by 1904;¹²² yet they transformed Langdale into intensive farms when in most cases their children would have been too young to give meaningful assistance on the farms.¹²³ This rapid development was evident in the area under plough in the early years, the improvements catalogued in the first round of county valuations and the favourable reports filed by the *Wairarapa Daily Times* in 1904–1905. Increasing meat production entailed a higher proportion of adult sheep producing lambs and increased cultivation. To make the change the Elders needed more labour, but the costs would have been mitigated by the economies of scale inherent in a large estate.

Langdale was not constrained by labour shortages. In the mid-1880s, Annedale estate (north of Tinui) employed 500 men clearing bush for two

years.¹²⁴ Given that the district's population was around 600, this was a significant import of casual labour. Furthermore, the Castlepoint county records show no labour shortage from its inauguration in 1901 until wartime scarcities emerged in 1916.¹²⁵ This leaves the 1890s, but a labour shortage was unlikely in the depth of the long depression.

A lack of finance could potentially constrain the transition to intensive lamb production. Draining the flats and accommodating an increased labour force would have cost money. However, Langdale was not mortgaged,¹²⁶ and the estate of A.L. Elder held a large portfolio of assets, including table mortgages on land previously subdivided.¹²⁷ Langdale was not financially stressed.

The conversion of an undivided Langdale into an equivalent lamb-producing unit was achievable at a significantly lower cost than the Langdale farmers incurred. Although their improvements were extensive, most of these were of questionable productive value. The 1913 Castlepoint and 1921 Masterton county valuations record that the farmers had spent £9067 on 20 houses and nine woolsheds, £6997 on fences and £1455 on incidental improvements (stockyards, plantations, roads and bridges). Drainage was the essential improvement, but this only cost £585.¹²⁸ In addition to drainage, the undivided estate would have needed some more houses (but certainly not 20), good stock-handling facilities at the Masterton end (but not a further nine woolsheds) and much less fencing than the subdivision necessitated.

Whether on the undivided estate or settlement, drainage unequivocally improved the productive capacity of the land. The increased capability of the flats for fattening livestock freed the hill country for breeding. The green crops also afforded some protection against the periodic droughts and when the increasingly infertile soil could no longer sustain intensive cropping the Langdale farmers relied on hay harvested from the improved flats.¹²⁹ Ironically, it would have been simpler for the undivided estate to install comprehensive drainage systems than it was for the tenant farmers, whose systems inevitably interlocked and caused long-running disputes between neighbours.¹³⁰ Drainage and cropping marked the difference between the Langdale farmers and the pastoralists they displaced.

A large developed farm had many advantages over smaller farms. Large areas of arable land allowed for larger cultivation equipment giving better labour utilization. Similarly, a large farm would shift larger mobs of livestock to the rail lowering the per unit costs of droving. The specialization of labour favoured the large farm where a core of skilled shepherds and ploughmen could be augmented from a pool of semi-skilled workers. A large farming enterprise had greater negotiating strength with meat companies, and was less dependent on a meat buyer amalgamating mobs for droving. The amalgamation of mobs for droving meant the options of selling on schedule or 'owner's account' were lost.¹³¹ It was easier for a financially strong farm to withstand the delay in payment of 'owner accounting'. The economies of scale and financial strength of the large developed farm more than offset the lack of cheap family labour, real or imagined.

A shift to intensive lamb production would have compromised the lifestyle attractions of the Langdale estate. On a developed estate, the pastoralists'

lifestyle comprised bursts of concentrated work interspaced with long periods less demanding of management and supervision. Work was integral to the Liberal ethos. Belich's assertion that most sheep-meat farmers worked on their farms implies that the larger landowners did not.¹³² They worked their estates, but their systems accommodated both work ethic and discretionary leisure. N.W. Groves's 1919 diary demonstrates the appeal of pastoralism. Bushgrove had a negligible area of flats, and apart from the specially bred fat lambs sold at weaning, the property was by necessity a wool-producing entity. The diary records a heavy concentration of work around shearing from October to December, but during the remainder of the year work was more discretionary and Groves was able to pursue his many sporting and social interests. A lamb-producing farmer had the added workload of green-crop cultivation and the ongoing sale of stock as they became ready for slaughter. By contrast, Groves was able to sell 2300 sheep surplus to his wool-producing flock on a single day;¹³³ Langdale would have done the same. A feature of Langdale was its 16-stand machine-powered woolshed.¹³⁴ This was a large shed, and its machine-powered plant increased the speed of shearing, further concentrating the workload.

John Morrison left his Blairlogie estate to his two sons with the caveat that they did not lease any part of it for more than 12 months, thus precluding them from idleness.¹³⁵ Hugh, Morrison's son, obliquely confirmed the difference between pastoralism and farming. When threatened with a freezing industry strike in 1913, Hugh Morrison, as the Wairarapa Farmers' Union chairman, affirmed that the small or indebted farmers fattened the lambs, while as a large landowner he had already sold all his surplus stock. Morrison could spare men from his station to staff the freezing works, but 'The small farmer cannot leave his farm and family for long . . . and kill at the works'.¹³⁶ Farmers worked all year round while pastoralists did not need to. Morrison categorized the 'newly bought in farmer' with the small farmers because they depended 'on their fat lamb cheques'. Farmers fattened lambs because they could not afford to leave land idle. This concurs with Jim McAloon's discovery that 80% of the Canterbury estates purchased under land-for-settlements were not financially stressed.¹³⁷

Underutilized land was essential for the success of land-for-settlement schemes. The farmer tenants serviced the cost of the land, which as Belich asserts was frequently above fair market value, and associated settlement expenses.¹³⁸ They could only do this by improving the productivity of the land. The structure of land-for-settlements, and the extent of the purchases, suggests that the incidence of idle land was widespread. The owners of Culverden estate confessed to the idleness of their land. Eighty-eight percent of Hatuma's arable land had never been cultivated prior to settlement, and 71% of Mangatoro's cultivatable land was similarly unexploited.¹³⁹ Langdale's idleness was unexceptional.

DON KINNELL

Wairarapa

NOTES

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- 2 Tom Brooking, *Lands for the People? The Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of New Zealand: A Biography of John McKenzie*, Dunedin, 1996, pp.278–87.
- 3 Tom Brooking, “‘Busting Up’ the Greatest Estate of All. Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891–1911”, *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 26, 1 (1992), pp.78–79.
- 4 W.J. Gardner, *The Amuri: A County History*, Culverden, 1956, p.341.
- 5 David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891–1912*, Auckland, 1988, p.31.
- 6 Miles Fairburn, ‘The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940’, *NZJH*, 9, 1 (1975), pp.4–5.
- 7 R.B. Lyon, ‘The Principles of New Zealand Political Thinking in the Late Nineteenth Century’, PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1982, p.308.
- 8 Hamer, p.71.
- 9 Lyon, pp.108–10.
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- 11 Jane Alexandra Donald, ‘The Man Upon the Land: The Land For Settlements Act in the Wellington Land District, 1897–1906’, BA (Hons) Research Exercise, Massey University, 1976, p.18.
- 12 *The Langdale Settlement, Wellington, New Zealand*, Wellington, 1901, pp.14–30.
- 13 A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion*, Masterton, 1976, p.56.
- 14 Barbara Gawith, ‘Land Purchase Methods in the Wairarapa: The Five Percents’, BA (Hons) Research Exercise, Massey University, 1997, p.27.
- 15 Alan Henderson, *Fortuitous Legacy: The Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1872–1997*, Masterton, 1997, pp.10–12.
- 16 *ibid.*, pp.40, 47.
- 17 Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p.90.
- 18 *ibid.*, p.240.
- 19 Hamer, p.36.
- 20 Jean Kenyon Elder, *The Elders of Langdale*, Caloundra, 1988, pp.1–6.
- 21 Probate, A.L. Elder, *Whareama Block*, Section 276, Index 21, Vol.6W, Folio 649, Land Information New Zealand, Wellington (LINZ).
- 22 Elder, p.6.
- 23 *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1900, H-23, pp.60, 62. H.R. Elder and M.B. Elder owned 2988 and 1972 sheep respectively.
- 24 Jean Kenyon Elder, ‘Update of History of Elders of Langdale’, 23 April 1988, appendix.
- 25 H.C. (Bill) French, interviewed by D. Kinnell at Bealey, Mangapakeha, 15 February 2006, Tape 1, Side A (364-416), Wairarapa Archives (WA).
- 26 A.G. Bagnall (ed.), *Early Castlepoint: First Years in a Pioneer Settlement*, Castlepoint, 1948, p.34.
- 27 Elder, p.6.
- 28 NZOYB, 1901, p.133. This attributes the decline in rabbit skin exports to successful eradication. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (NZPD), 1901, 116, pp.256–7 (A.W. Hogg, T.Y. Duncan). *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Vol.1, Wellington, 1897, p.998.
- 29 *Wairarapa Daily Times* (WDT), 19 February 1901, p.3. Robin M. Startup, ‘Wairarapa Sheep-Owners & Flock Numbers 1861–1915’, WA. Sheep-owners gives sheep numbers only, thus the cattle numbers in 1900 are based on the estate’s clearing sale (1901). A conversion ratio of five has been used to convert cattle into sheep-equivalents; horses have been excluded. Ica and Blairlogie were carrying 20,030 and 21,089 plus supporting cattle on their respective 7405 and 7329 hectares.
- 30 AJHR, 1901, C-5F, p.1.
- 31 J.W.A. Marchant (Commissioner of Crown Lands) to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), Lands & Survey Head Office (L&S), File 19223/21, Archives New Zealand (ANZ), Wellington.
- 32 *The Langdale Settlement*, p.6.
- 33 ‘Langdale Budget’, 1894, Castlepoint and Tinui Historical Records, 93-57/105.R4B3S6, pp.9–10, WA.
- 34 *ibid.*, pp.3–4.

35 Conveyance, Whareama Block, Section 276, Index 21, Vol. 127, Folio 123/748, LINZ. The land was leased to John Groves in 1896 and sold to him in 1898.

36 M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*, Auckland, 1970, pp.409–10, 425.

37 'Langdale Budget', p.10.

38 WDT, 19 February 1901, p.3. The sheep were catalogued as Lincoln-Romney cross but the rams in the catalogue were Lincolns and this was reinforced by 50 pedigree Lincoln ewes. In the change from Merino-based sheep to crossbreds, the estate may have experimented with Romneys or the selling agents attempted to enhance the market appeal of the flock by claiming a Romney background.

39 'Crossbreeding of Sheep', AJHR, 1893, H-2, pp.30–34. This reported the proceedings of an Australasian sheep-breeding conference. The consensus was that Lincolns were slow-maturing sheep and less suitable to the frozen meat trade than Romneys or Border Leicesters.

40 WDT, 19 February 1901, p.3. The number of two-tooth ewes and wethers is a good indication of lambs retained; the number of rams indicates the proportion of ewes mated.

41 WDT, 26 March 1901, p.3.

42 *The Langdale Settlement*, pp.14–31. This excludes 33 hectares of cultivated flats leased to J. Taplin.

43 *New Zealand Farmer*, February 1900, p.83; February 1901, p.79. These two Masterton stock sale reports show price relativities between store lambs and two- and four-tooth wethers.

44 N.W. Groves, Diary, 4 January 1919, Shelf 8 (file 6), Tinui District Archives (TDA). Bushgrove bounded the western side of Langdale.

45 N.S. Elder, Waimahoe Station, MS Papers-0699/31A, p.27, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington.

46 Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p.365.

47 Brooking, *Lands for the People?*, pp.278–80.

48 AJHR, 1902, C-1, p.8 (Hatuma); *ibid.*, p.17 (Langdale); AJHR, 1903, C-1, p.16 (Mangatoro). The stocking rate comparison is based on the three settlements' first-year stock tallies. Sheep-owner returns exclude cattle, so using the settlement returns from the Land Board reports gives a better basis for comparison.

49 WDT, 11 May 1900, p.2.

50 NZPD, 1899, 108, p.512 (R.J. Seddon).

51 'Memorandum', L&S, File 19223/47, ANZ, Wellington.

52 L&S, File 19223/7, ANZ, Wellington.

53 WDT, 7 December 1900, p.2.

54 L&S, File 19223/7, ANZ, Wellington.

55 A.W. Hogg to Mr. Price, 10 December 1900, Hogg Letter Book, Ref. 106, WA.

56 A.W. Hogg, Photos & Papers, 01-60, WA.

57 A.W. Hogg to Mr. Price, 10 December 1900.

58 WDT, 29 December 1900, p.2.

59 A.W. Hogg to J.W.A. Marchant, 15 November 1900, Hogg Letter Book, Ref. 98, WA.

60 F. Fitchett (Solicitor-General), to J.W.A. Marchant, L&S, File 19223/31, ANZ, Wellington.

61 *The Langdale Settlement*, pp.12–31. All property details are taken from this reference.

62 Startup, 'Wairarapa Sheep-Owners'.

63 Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 7, Ref. 119, ANZ, Wellington.

64 *The Langdale Settlement*, p.31.

65 *NZ Statutes* (NZS), 1900 (No. 52), Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, Sec. 49 (13-15).

66 *The Langdale Settlement*, p.39.

67 Minutes of Evidence, AJHR, 1905, C-4, p.1507, Refs 254-8. The 1892 Land Act allowed tenants to hold twice as much land as the land-for-settlements legislation, and was not subject to a means test.

68 NZS, 1900 (No. 52), Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, Sec. 49.

69 *The Langdale Settlement*, p.10.

70 NZS, 1882 (No. 46), Land Act 1877 Amendment, Secs 34–36.

71 *The Langdale Settlement*, pp.32–33.

72 Gareth V. Wood, 'Soil Fertility Management in Nineteenth Century New Zealand Agriculture', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2003, pp.36, 319, 390–1.

73 Barrie Macdonald, *Massey's Imperialism and the Politics of Phosphate*, Palmerston North, 1982, pp.3–4.

74 *The Langdale Settlement*, pp.32, 42.

75 WDT, 22 March 1901, p.2.

76 Bob Hall, 'Land for the Landless: Settlement of the Otekaike Estate in North Otago, 1908', NZJH, 19, 1 (1985), p.52; John Wilson, *Waikakahi: Fulfilling the Promise*, Waimate, 1999, p.77.

77 *Wairarapa Star*, 22 March 1901, p.2.

78 Applications for Land, LS-W, Series 15, Vol. 70, Refs 11112-11132, 11137, ANZ, Wellington.

79 WDT, 18 March 1901, p.2; 25 March 1901, p.2. Stock sale reports showing medium quality ewes at 9s.

80 Telegraph: J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), L&S, File 19223/48, ANZ, Wellington. For Marchant's numbers to equal 45, the married women must have been excluded as spouses of other selectors, and the family of nine counted as 18: 17+10+18=45. The *Wairarapa Star* listed 59 applications only, so must have counted multiple family applications as a single application.

81 Donald, p.18.

82 D.B. Waterson, 'The Matamata Estate, 1904–1959: Land Transfers and Subdivision in the Waikato', NZJH, 3, 1 (1969), p.39.

83 Applications for Land, LS-W, Series 15, Vol. 70, Refs 11112-11132, 11137, ANZ, Wellington. Turner described himself as a shearer, fencer and sawmill worker and N. McRae as a shepherd; both are classified as station hands. O. Nilsson called himself a farmer's son and T. Cripps a settler; both are counted as farmers.

84 AJHR, 1903, C-8, p.1. In response to the public perception that wealthy people were obtaining Crown leases at the expense of genuinely landless people, Premier Seddon ordered an enquiry into the land ballot system.

85 J. Holmes, S. Neilson, A. Nicholson and W. Turner were unequivocally station hands, as were Mrs E. Dunn and Mrs A. Street by virtue of their spouses. J. Douglas and G. Fellingham were self-employed but appeared to be working men, hence their categorization as station hands. McRae was designated as a station hand, but called himself a shepherd, and may have been a farmer's son working as a shepherd. These categorizations exclude Taplin because he was not required to compete for his section.

86 Most of the application forms do not have the cover page with the applicant's name and address. H. Cowin sold a farm in Pelorus so is assumed to have come from the South Island; W.A. Anderson, who took a foreclosed section, came from Wanganui. Most of the remainder can be identified locally or by the electoral roll.

87 Startup, 'Wairarapa Sheep-Owners'. In 1900, Henry Bennett farmed 2496 sheep at Fernglen, H. and A. Cameron 1900 at Okar, and George McKay 2500 at Burnside.

88 Startup, 'Wairarapa Sheep-Owners'. In 1909, Thomas Taylor farmed 3200 sheep at Beaumaris.

89 Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol.7, Ref. 368, LS-W, Series 12, ANZ, Wellington.

90 AJHR, 1902, C-1, p.17; 1903, C-1, p.26.

91 L&S, Files 19223/61, 63, 72, 76, 79, ANZ, Wellington.

92 Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 7, Ref. 70, Vol. 8, Refs 129, 172, LS-W, Series 12, ANZ, Wellington.

93 AJHR, 1904, C-1, p.35.

94 WDT, 1 October 1904, p.3.

95 Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), West riding, Nos 56, 60–62, 64–66, 68–70, 74, WA.

96 Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1909), Uriti riding, Nos 71, 74, 82, 84, 85, 89, 90, 282, 298, WA.

97 Castlepoint County Minute Book: 30 November 1912–24 May 1919, 22 December 1906, Shelf 3, TDA.

98 *The Langdale Settlement*, pp.14–30.

99 Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), West riding, Nos 56, 58, 60-71, 74, WA. Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1909), Uriti riding, Nos 71, 72, 74, 84, 85, 89, 90, 282, 289, WA.

100 Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1913), South riding, Nos 56, 58, 60–71, 74,

01-170/89, R7B5S11, WA. Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti riding, Nos 71, 72, 74, 84, 85, 89, 90, 282, 289, 01-170/131, R7B5S10, WA. The 1913 and 1921 valuations give value, but not the length of drains. The 1907/9 valuations put cost of drains at 8s.9d./20m; this cost has been adjusted in line with the CPI to 9s.3d. in 1913 and 17s.5d. in 1921, to give an estimated length.

101 Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti riding, No. 71; Donald Kinnell, 'The Liberal Government's Purchase and Settlement of the Langdale Estate, Wairarapa (1900-1921)', MA thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, 2005, p.25.

102 Wood, pp.347-8.

103 Castlepoint County Minute Book, 5 July 1902. Section 8 of the 1900 Public Works Act allowed counties to charge neighbouring counties for the use of roads, with provision for arbitration.

104 Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p.374. Bowlands lay between Langdale and Masterton, Ica was on Langdale's eastern boundary.

105 Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti riding, Nos 74, 82, 90, 282.

106 *New Zealand Farmer*, February 1904, p.119.

107 Castlepoint County Minute Book, 21 March 1914.

108 Computed from: NZYOB, 1990, p.614 (price changes over a century); Prichard, pp.409-10, 425; Castlepoint and Masterton County's Valuation Field Books, 1907, 1909, 1913, 1921. Meat and wool prices are derived by dividing export revenues by export volumes. The base-year for meat and wool prices is set at the average of the previous ten years including 1901 (1892 to 1901 inclusive). Lloyd Prichard uses this system with graphs as it smoothes the effects of one-off fluctuations. Meat prices were quite steady over this period but wool prices fluctuated sharply, and using a single year as an index base could be misleading. Although the meat and wool data does not precisely represent what the farmers received, it does measure the changing relativities between meat and wool and the CPI.

109 WDT, 1 October 1904, p.3.

110 WDT, 18 May 1905, p.2.

111 AJHR, 1905, C-1, p.38; 1908, C-1, p.62.

112 AJHR, 1905, C-1, p.38; 1907, C-1, p.53. NZOYB, 1905, p.410; 1907, p.402. The portion of the Langdale settlement within the Castlepoint county comprised 83% of the total settlement's flats and farmed 68% of the settlement's sheep.

113 NZOYB, 1910, p.519; 1914, p.581. Records of cropping on a county basis ended in 1914.

114 NZOYB, 1905, pp.397, 410; 1907, pp.389, 402; 1910, pp.499, 519; 1914, pp.581, 595.

115 J. Ian Douglas, interviewed by D. Kinnell at Cresta Stud, Mangapakeha, 28 February 2006, Tape 1, Side B (184-240); W.A. Coie O'Brien, interviewed by D. Kinnell at Masterton, 9 October 2004, Tape 1 of 2, Side A (439-69), WA.

116 Petition to Land Board from H.W. Jackson and others, L&S, File 19223/97, ANZ, Wellington.

117 Bagnall, *Castlepoint*, pp.33-34.

118 O'Brien interview, Tape 1 of 2, Side A (380-439). Not only were most of the cows on the former Langdale settlement, but most of those that were not were on land unsuitable for grain crops. The most hospitable land, including the Whareama flats outside the settlement and the Uriti/Homewood district, did not have dairy farms.

119 *The Langdale Settlement*, pp.15-17.

120 Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury & Otago 1840-1914*, Dunedin, 2002, pp.50-51.

121 James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland, 2001, p.127.

122 Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p.367.

123 Applications for Land, LS-W, Series 15, Vol. 70, Refs 11112-11132, 11137, ANZ, Wellington.

124 Bagnall, *Castlepoint*, p.48.

125 Castlepoint County Minute Book, 25 April 1916.

126 Certificate of Title under Land Transfer Act, Application 3094, Registration Book, Vol. 115, Folio 6, 28 November 1901, LINZ. This is a consolidation of the various sections of Langdale purchased by the government, and shows a lease and an easement, but no mortgage; similarly, the sections in the Whareama Block under Elder ownership do not record a mortgage.

127 Conveyance, Whareama Block, Section 276, Index 21, Vol.99D, Folio 154–165; Appointment of Trustees, Whareama Block, Section 276, Index 21, Vol.5W, Folio 252, LINZ.

128 Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1913), South riding, Nos 56, 58, 60-71, 74. Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti riding, Nos 71, 72, 74, 84, 85, 89, 90, 282, 289.

129 Douglas interview, Side A (376–94, 420–4), Side B (58–84, 240). French interview, Side A (292–339). O'Brien interview Tape 1 of 2, Side A (451–9).

130 Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol.13, Ref. 75. L&S, Files 19223/157, 170, ANZ, Wellington.

131 'Schedule selling' meant the producer was paid on a weights and grades basis rather than negotiating with the buyer on the farm. 'Owner accounting' allowed the producer to be paid the realized value of the stock, less costs. Although this entailed a market risk, 'owner accounting' was popular when the meat companies were inundated with stock and could purchase stock below true market value. Co-operative meat works and stock agencies were established by small farmers because of their weak negotiating position with proprietary companies.

132 Belich, pp.148–9.

133 N.W. Groves, Diary, 25 February 1919.

134 Photograph of 16-stand Langdale woolshed powered by steam, N7/1, TDA.

135 Frank Fyfe and Bebe Douglas, *Morvern to Glenmorven*, Masterton, 2000, pp.188–9.

136 Wairarapa Farmers' Union Minute Book, 21 January 1913, 93-90/7, R4B5S1, WA. Morrison's statement also illustrates the attractiveness that agrarian democracy held for large landowners: his staff, as farm labourers, refused to act as 'scabs' and the Wairarapa contingent that contributed to 'Massey's Cossacks' depended on small dairy farmers from Carterton for numbers.

137 McAloon, p.130.

138 Belich, p.129.

139 *The Hatuma Settlement, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand*, Wellington, 1901, pp.12–31; *The Mangatoro Settlement, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand*, Wellington, 1901, pp.12–22.