SOME ASPECTS OF CHILD WELFARE IN NEW ZEALAND

With special reference to factory legislation and industrial conditions
1840-1890

University of New Zealand

THESIS
Presented for M.A. and Honours in History

Codelord: 6.3

Mary C. [Signature]
"The object of Government being to make strong men and strong women, and good citizens, and to educate them... nothing is worth anything in Government unless good men and good women are the result."

Edmund Burke.
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PREFACE

The children of New Zealand are probably the most fortunate in the world, for from ante-natal clinic to Vocational Guidance Centre the state watches over their welfare. This thesis is an attempt to find in the past the germs of this humanitarian spirit. Its scope was originally intended to extend to 1945, to trace the genesis of the work of the recent apprenticeship commission in the attention paid to children in the two fields of industry and education. It was soon evident, however, that this was too ambitious a project, and instead a short period has been covered - a period all important in determining the course which the colony was to follow. As the scope in time has been reduced, that of the subject matter has been extended. I have found it impossible to deal with the attitude towards children in industry without giving an account of the development of that industry, while the attitude towards education is only part of the spirit which has been shown also in other fields.

I have tried, first, to show that the warnings which the conditions of English society afforded were not without effect upon the early settlers and their leaders who came to New Zealand with high hopes and determination. Assuredly idealistic some of their plans seem now. Yet
their idealism was not of that unrealistic kind which dissipates its energy in public utterances of faith, and in these early years it was expressed by such practical measures as I make some attempt to describe. The greatest advances were made only when labour was effectively organised to take political action, but the way was already blazed.

As I was particularly interested in the conditions of children in industry, I have found it necessary to trace in some detail the nature and development of their industrial environment - the causes of that development, and the legislation which attempted to regulate it, but I have also traced the effect of the humanitarian spirit in other spheres, particularly in the educational field.

But when I began to investigate the early environmental conditions, numerous difficulties at once presented themselves. In these first years, Maori Wars, the problems of the constitution, controversies over land ownership, agricultural development were all infinitely more important than nascent manufactures. Histories of New Zealand pay only passing attention to the subject until 1890. The first annual official handbook - the forerunner of the Year Books - was not published until 1892, and The Journals of the Department of Labour date only from 1892. I have thus been forced to collect
material from various scattered sources. For the early period Cyclopaedias and contemporary pamphlets, of which there is an excellent collection in the Christchurch Public Library, have been invaluable, while MSS records of the _Canterbury Association_ preserved in a library at the Lands and Survey Department have also proved a mine of interest and information. For the later period, newspapers and Appendices to Journals have been most useful.

There is an abundance of secondary material dealing with education in these early years. The two books of Dr. Butchers have been invaluable, while publications of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research have also been most useful.

For information on other aspects of child welfare I have relied mainly upon records of the Provincial Councils, and Appendices to Journals, while newspaper files have of course yielded much information as to public opinion of the time.

In order to avoid breaking the continuity of the narrative I have relegated tables to the Appendix in which I have also included an account of the provisions of the Act of 1873.

Finally, I must acknowledge a special debt to
Mr. Harding of the Lands and Survey Department, and to Mr. Bell of the Public Library, who have both been most patient and helpful and have made my search for information much easier than it would otherwise have been.
CHAPTER I

TWO ENGLANDS -

BACKGROUND OF COLONISATION

It was indeed a land of strange contrasts that the early settlers of New Zealand left behind them; for many of them it had not been a pleasant land, and despite the fact that a distinctive feature of the policy of the New Zealand Company was a desire to subordinate the "shovelling out of paupers" to the needs of the Colonies, the prospect of "transferring .... from a state too often one of destitution and misery to one of great possible comfort" was a major factor in attracting the attention of many to colonisation. A new land held the promise of better conditions, and many came to New Zealand to escape from "villages full of poverty and ignorance" from the sure prospect of misery for themselves and their children; here was the surest guarantee that they would strenuously oppose the creation of similar conditions in this new land. Politically inarticulate for many years, they were, in the main, fortunate in their leaders who knew how to modify their dreams of a Utopia to deal with the practical issues which confronted them. Mackenzie was avowedly influenced in his land legislation by his own experience as a crofter. In these early years,

similarly, the general attitude towards factory conditions and education soon resulted in legislation designed to prevent any abuse in the former or neglect of the latter. Early social legislation has particular reference to the claims of children - men who had emigrated in search of new social opportunities for their children were determined to secure and maintain those opportunities.

The decades which saw the formation of the New Zealand Company and the establishment of settlements in the colony were a time of unparalleled social distress in England, for both agriculture and industry were undergoing changes and development which made necessary much re-adjustment in the lives of the people.

Ever since the beginning of the century the lot of the agricultural workers had been growing steadily worse as a result of enclosures and the conversion of much arable land to pasture. Ignorance and misery led to such desperate manifestations of revolt as the machine breaking of the Luddite revolts. After the war, the loss of the Allied demand for corn, and the fall in prices to less than half their level in 1813, together with Peel's Bank Act\(^3\) led to increased distress. Cobbett protests

3. Cobbett makes much of this in *Rural Rides* (Peter Davies, London 1930) e.g. *Vol. 1*, p.59 "the accursed paper money: Has Hell a torment surpassing the wickedness of the inventor".
angrily against the diet of mealy potatoes and tea to which many were condemned, calling "disgraceful, damning" the standard of living set for labourers - lower than for a felon. 4

Small wonder then that by 1829 "alarming associations" are being reported in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset, 5 and that "the Government of Lord Grey had hardly taken office before the ricks were blazing in the villages" 6. Exceptional agricultural distress produced risings in this year in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Kent, Sussex, Berkshire, Buckingham, tithes and enclosures, enormous rents, the corn laws, insufficient wages, grinding taxes - such were the causes of the Last Labourers' Revolt. It was an ill fated affair and retribution was soon meted out by special commissioners.

In the towns to which the labourers flocked, conditions grew steadily worse as the century and British industry progressed together. With the government attitude of laissez faire, both working and living conditions degenerated into slavery on the one hand, utter squalor and destitution on the other.

The lot of the unemployed was most wretched of all,

4. Rural Rides, p.305.
5. Wearmouth op. cit., p.42.
6. Introduction to Rural Rides, p.XXV.
for an abundance of labour ever since the end of the war and the increased use of machines made unemployment and semi-starvation the seemingly inevitable lot of thousands of labourers. According to a report from Cunningham in 1816, "the number of hands out of work in this once thriving town was greater than ever" while the Mayor of Leeds remarked that "the number of labouring persons wanting employment in this township and in deep distress was never before equalled". The number of unemployed steadily increased, and created a serious problem in every city. In 1841, for instance, the town clerk of Burnley writes that "the state of distress experienced by the lower orders in this densely populous manufacturing district from an almost total lack of employment is alarming".

By March 1842, there were one million four hundred and twenty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty-seven paupers in England; in 1845 there were one million five hundred and thirty-nine thousand four hundred and ninety, while in Leeds there were almost twenty thousand people in the city with an average of only 11½d per week on which to live. During the depression of 1847, fifty per cent of the hands in Lancashire were out of work, and at each

7. quoted by Wearsouth, op. cit., p.165.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p.172.
crisis, as in 1830, 1838, 1842, similar conditions appear to have prevailed.

For those who did obtain employment, wages had fallen steadily, the worst period, according to Siberling's index being 1838-42, when the cost of living was 8 per cent above the average of that for 1828-32, whereas in the main factory areas, especially in Lancashire, wages were lower. The living conditions of these people were of the worst, and Sir Edwin Chadwick in his survey of the sanitary conditions of the labouring classes of Great Britain in 1842 says there was

...more filth, worse physical suffering and moral disorder, than Howard describes as affecting the prisoners ... to be found among the cellar population of the working population of the working people of Liverpool, Manchester, or Leeds.12

When towns doubled their size in thirty years with no kind of supervision over their expansion, such troubles were inevitable ... "Twelve insanitary houses on a hillside may be a picturesque village, but twelve hundred are a grave nuisance, and twelve thousand a pest and a horror"13 ... but men had to live, or suffer what passed for living, in that horror. Fewer of them were doing so, however; for as the Otago Journal is careful

11. Ibid., p.297.
to point out when urging an escape from these "oppressive anxieties and difficulties", the mortality rate in the towns almost doubled during this period.\textsuperscript{14}

The appalling conditions which had been allowed to grow up were evidence of the attitude of a Parliament which either could not or would not comprehend the true state of affairs, and clung to the principles of laissez-faire and the sacred right of men to defraud one another if they were but shround enough or fortunate enough to be able to do so. Thus, the Duke of Wellington at the height of the misery in 1841 declared that "if a man were but sober and industrious he might be quite certain of acquiring a competency in England". This, in the face of the evidence of the times was indeed a "heartless insult" to the working class. His Lordship's eyesight must have been failing him, or he could not but have seen the "famishing thousands, the ghosts and victims of the Corn laws ..., rage and starvation" of whom Mr. Punch speaks so bitterly.\textsuperscript{15} Indeed, the whole House seems to have been suffering from myopeia in the matter of social conditions, for Fielden's motion to the effect that the distress of the time might warrant investigation was negatived, with supreme smugness.

No help then could be obtained from Parliament. That this was still so, despite the Reform Bill, soon became obvious, and a popular ballad enjoined the workers to "curse the Bill ye rogues the Bill and nothing but the Bill". The workers did so heartily, by word and deed, and the Chartist movement which developed at the end of the thirties was a measure at once of the despair and of the hopes of the working folk of the time.

A large number of the early settlers were Scottish folk who had left behind them in Scotland conditions fully as bad as those in England. The same elements combined in the production of misery, but conditions were aggravated by the clearances which had taken place throughout the century.

While the general standard of living in the country was simple, it had been adequate in contrast to city standards, but when the lairds replaced men by sheep or by deer forests, the country people were forced into appalling destitution.

Some of these unfortunates emigrated, but many of them were forced into the towns and there was a steady rise in town population. For example, between 1801 and 1840, three hundred and fifty thousand people settled in

17. For example, in 1829, six hundred people left Lochanddy while in 1830, nine hundred core were driven from Sutherland. Mackenzie A. M., Scotland in Modern Times, p. 111.
urban conditions in the Clyde valley, and eventually between a quarter and a fifth of the total population was thus crowded together in a small area. In the absence of any regulation, conditions analogous with those in England inevitably arose — "Poverty, drink, unemployment, unspeakable living conditions enhanced one another in a vicious circle", and in 1843 it is recorded that an eighth of the total population of Glasgow was attacked by typhus.

Working conditions were as deplorable as living conditions, and especially obvious is the exploitation of woman and child labour. In England, the Rev. J. R. Stephens had been among those who decried "the cruel system of child working and mother working" and won persecution for their pains. The failure of Sadler's proposals to break down this "accursed system" had been a stimulus to the development of Chartism, and in Scotland the policy of laissez-faire was also pursued. Even in the New Lanark mills, five hundred children worked a six day week, while in the Forfar flax mills, they worked sixteen hours a day, crippling their bodies, warping their minds, the while the Rev. Nathaniel Patterson of Glashiels observed with satisfaction that "there was no training for the volatile mind of youth equal to that maintained in factories".

19. Ibid., p.115.
20. Ibid., p.172.
23. Ibid.
As in England, the exploitation of woman and child labour increased the difficulty which able-bodied men experienced in finding any work. The position after the war had been serious enough, but unemployment became steadily more extensive until in 1842 for example, three fifths of Greenock's population was out of work, while in 1843, ten thousand people were unemployed in Paisley.

The same disinterested attitude was maintained by Parliament here as in England and all attempts to secure reform were doomed to disappointment.

The alternative to vain attempts to right the wrongs of the old world was emigration - the founding of a new world. Offers of settlement in a "peaceful and religious community" where men might have "greater facilities for acquiring the necessaries and conveniences of life" could not fail to win a ready response from men who saw little but starvation and poverty for themselves and their children in the Old Country.

The Company's scheme of assisted emigration found no lack of applicants for the "inducements to emigrate from present privation" were attractive. In a new country, it was urged, "toil would no longer be the badge of

24. ibid., p.171.
hopeless poverty" but "a certain passport to independence".26 Here, whether a "peaceful and religious community" like Otago, or in the earlier settlements of the New Zealand Company, or in the more decorously ordered Canterbury settlement, the emigrants hoped, above all, to find opportunities for themselves and their children. Bad working and living conditions they hoped to have left behind, but not the least of the advantages for which they hoped was that of education - to exchange for "ignorance and barbarism", "instruction and civilisation"27 was an ideal for which the leaders of the settlements strove with much practical effect. Leaving neglect behind them, they determined to avail themselves of the opportunities which the foundation of a new colony offered.

That for the majority of settlers emigration was indeed an escape is evidenced by the fact that even in so comparatively "unbalanced" a community as Canterbury, the largest proportion of settlers was assisted. Thus, even in the first four ships which contained an unprecedented number of "better class" families there were five hundred and six assisted passengers, compared with two hundred and forty-seven passengers paying their own fare.28

26. Ibid., June 1848, p.29.
28. ASS. of Canterbury returns of shipping lists.
The traditions which were to determine, in part at least, the public attitude towards social questions and particularly towards industrial or educational problems, have thus been sketched. Poor living and working conditions had stimulated emigration. The founders of the colony had set before the emigrants the ideal of a country of opportunity, and in this record of development in the early decades an attempt will be made to show how this ideal was put into practice.
CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

IN NEW ZEALAND 1840 - 1870.

It was with this background that thousands of immigrants came to try their fortunes in a new country. Their thoughts and energies were directed to the development of the land; for it was obvious that manufacturing establishments could not be set up immediately in a new country. The first necessity was to win subsistence from the soil - the colony was for many years unable to feed itself, and in the tables of imports for the early years, one of the largest items is "provisions". Until this first aim had been accomplished, manufacture could find small place in the economy of the country.

Moreover, there was, in the first decades, a decided shortage of skilled hands for factory work. The men who came to the country had no thought of taking up positions in industry, and they had indeed been selected for the specific purpose of breaking in a new country. The Company in Nelson apparently showed some ineptitude in this matter of selection - "Tailors, music and dancing masters, clerks and journeymen of various kinds were employed in labour to which they were unaccustomed",1 but the mistake does not appear to have been repeated in the

other colonies. Sutch points out that free passages were at first confined to certain types of workers such as "farm labourers, blacksmiths, boat builders, coopers, boot makers, tailors, tanners, brickmakers and men of the building trade".²

The main interest of the new society was to be centred on the land - if its members were not actively engaged in breaking in new country, they were to aid those who were doing so.

In the various pamphlets and journals of the time, every inducement was held out to "our industrious working class" to emigrate, but preference was constantly expressed for agricultural labourers. In Otago, it was pointed out that "pastoral pursuits will form the primary occupation of the great majority of those who settle within the Otago settlement",³ while the Otago Journal of November 1848 cites as being mainly required - shepherds and farm labourers, with "a moderate number" of carpenters, shoemakers, bakers etc. Hodgkinson's Description of the Province of Canterbury also stresses the need for agricultural labourers, shepherds, dairymen, blacksmiths, wheelwrights and carpenters.

As late as 1864 the Southern Monthly magazine

published an article which points out that while labourers of all kinds are needed, it should be "as far as possible" the agricultural labourer who is sent to the colony — "Accustomed to handle the spade or the plow" he will be the most useful worker in a new community. 4

This, then was the type of immigrant that the company encouraged or assisted, and such was the type that was found in the main in the early years of the colony. In Wellington, where the majority of the settlers were "assisted", an analysis of early shipping lists shows the following distribution of occupations5 among five hundred and twenty-nine immigrants:

- Agricultural workers: 213
- Tradesmen and artisans: 193
- Female workers: 115
- Semi-professional: 8

In Canterbury where immigrants were very carefully selected, an analysis of the shipping lists for the first ten ships shows that by far the largest number, were agricultural workers of one kind or another, with "a modest number" of tradesmen, and a small number of professional men. Among three hundred and seventy-seven immigrants, the figures were as follows: 6

5. Dutch quotes figures p.18. No reference given as to exact period covered. See Appendix A.
6. MSS. records of the Assoc-n. For details see Appendix B.
In Otago too the great majority of early settlers were agricultural workers, as a table published in a contemporary paper shows. Among four hundred and sixty-six settlers the distribution of occupations was as follows: 7

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<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen and artisans</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female workers</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>37</td>
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With immigrants such as these there was little likelihood that manufactures would be established early. All the difficulties from lack of communications and an uncertain market, inevitably found in a new country, contributed towards discouragement of manufacturing industry.

Yet a combination of factors ensured that the foundations of this industry should be laid in these early years. An early report on New Zealand states that in

7. *Otago Journal*, May 1851, p.112. See Appendix C.
1848 there were fifteen establishments which could be classified as manufacturers, brewers, millers. Simple industries, connected with the processing of natural products, they were set up in Nelson and Wellington which may thus be ranked as the pioneer sites of manufacturing in the colony.

Despite the obvious fact that the first need of a new colony was to develop the resources of the land and that the colonists were in the main men who expected to take up agricultural work, optimistic hopes were expressed as to the possibilities of developing manufactures and secondary industries in the near future. In a pamphlet of 1842 we are told that "New Zealand will most probably become, like England, the seat of most lucrative and extensive manufactures", and soon manufacture sufficient to supply not only her own wants but also those of "Australia, India, China and Spanish America”. By the end of this period the general feeling in favour of the setting up of manufactures was particularly strong, and pamphlets and newspapers took up the cry that before New Zealand could be politically free, it must achieve "economic self-sufficiency".

There was an abundance of natural resources which

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11. e.g. L.T., May 30, 1858.
from the beginning invited development. Some of those who were eager for manufactures seized their chance at once. The best example of early development of the potentialities of these natural resources is afforded by the story of flax. The phormium tenax had long been known to the Maori who had dressed it skilfully to make twine and rope, while he had used the karahe-keheke for clothing. But despite liberal offers of government subsidies, and the keenness of individual investigators, the story of attempts to use flax in these early years is a record of failure.

There had been a great volume of trade in flax dressed by the Maoris and in 1848 a company formed in England sent out machinery and officers. They failed to set up manufacture on as large a scale as they had hoped, but the machinery was nevertheless utilised as far as possible to make doormats, cushions, twine and material for stuffing mattresses. The great difficulty, however, in preparing flax for export was that, while the Maori method of dressing the flax was too slow for commercial purposes, that of the pakeha was inefficient. Nor was any satisfactory method devised.

However, many more attempts were made to use flax. Colonists set up "rope-walks" where rope and twine were

12. A. to J. 1870 E-14, p.40.
manufactured, and there were ropewalks in Wellington as early as 1843, and in Nelson by 1844.\textsuperscript{14} By 1852 there were six establishments in Manawatu and two at Otaki.

Bags and fabrics had also been manufactured from flax by a Nelson settler, Luke Natrass, who began weaving in 1850. In Wellington, Kebbell had also begun manufacturing bags and it seemed that flax could well be used to spin the coarser fabrics.\textsuperscript{15}

By the end of the 'sixties there was a rapid increase in the demand for white rope and by 1868 in Otago, for instance "several flax mills had been established for the purpose of preparing the fibre of flax and for the manufacture of twine, cord and rope therefrom".\textsuperscript{16} It was hoped that this cordage would become an important item of export and displace other varieties of rope, but later there was rather a rapid decrease in the demand, due it was thought to the marketing of inferior material. The competition of superior foreign fibres helped to spoil the trade and Scholefield says that the highwater mark was reached in 1870, after which the trade declined rapidly.\textsuperscript{17}

It was obvious that certain primary needs of the colony could be satisfied by locally produced goods. The

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Op. cit.}, p.50.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{The Province of Otago in M.Z. Its progress, present condition, resources and prospects.} Published by authority of the Provincial Government Dunedin, 1868. p.50.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Op. cit.}, p.63.
largest class of imports in the early days was drapery of all kinds and efforts were soon made to satisfy the need for cloth with local products. The earliest attempt seems to have been made by Mr. Blick of Nelson. Apparently a shrewd business man he was able to drive hard bargains with his work people and he prospered. In 1847 while times were hard he set up his loom "after a good deal of trouble". German women who had brought spinning wheels with them spun the wool into yarn for the princely sum of a shilling a day "and in those hard times were thankful for it". The cloth produced was rough, but hard wearing, and Blick prospered until the colony as a whole also began to prosper, and the Germans were no longer content with so small a wage. However he began again in 1858 with improved machinery and turned out satisfactory material called Nelson Cloth which suited the requirements of the colony well enough. Later (in 1864) Webley set up the Nelson Cloth Factory, beginning with a small shipment of machinery with which he employed six hands and produced three hundred yards of material per month.

"Provisions" also figured largely in the tables of imports - these included, among other commodities, beer, biscuits and jam. It is interesting to notice that ales

19. Lowther Broad, op. cit., p.112
20. A. to J. 1870, F-I.
and beer form a particularly large item while the first "factory" of any kind to be set up in New Zealand was a brewery. This was established in Nelson in 1839, another was set up in Nelson in 1843 and many others were soon found in every part of the colony. The teetotallers were not to be outdone, however, by the end of the 'fifties cordial factories were set up in Auckland, and in other towns in the 'sixties. Flour mills were also at work early in the period, in each province, although flour was still imported in large quantities.

Other articles which figured in the list of imports and which were beginning to be manufactured locally were spices, soap and candles, pottery, coaches and bricks. Boots and shoes were also made locally, but until 1870 shoemaking, as well as leather tanning, were handicraft occupations.

It should be strongly emphasised that most of the early manufactures grew directly from the needs of farmers, and were closely related to the opening up of new land.

Especially is this so in the making of implements. Virgin soil called for different implements from those used in England, and colonial manufacturers, aware of colonial needs could adapt their tools accordingly and

22. Cyclopaedia of N.Z.
produce implements more suited to the farmer's requirements than the tools imported from abroad. Even when the imported machinery was suitable for use in New Zealand, as was that of American manufacture the freight charges on bulky tools were equivalent to a high import duty, and made local manufactures more attractive to farmers.

Smithies and foundries had been established from the beginning and these formed the basis of more ambitious projects. By the sixties, machinery of various kinds was manufactured in the colony. In 1864, Seagar established a boilermaking factory in Wellington. The manufacture of agricultural implements was begun in Oamaru in 1867 stimulated by the needs of a wheat growing province, and ploughs and reaping machines were made. In evidence sent to the 1870 Committee on Colonial Industries, Reid and Grey say that seven-eighths of the implements used in New Zealand could be manufactured locally. Their business at Oamaru expanded rapidly after its establishment and it seems that the colonial-made implements found much favour for their cheapness and adaptability.

It is thus evident that all early manufactures were

24. A. to J., 1870, F-I, p.22.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid, In 1868 implements worth £1,650 were produced
    In 1869 implements worth £3,100 were produced.
auxiliary to the work of taming the wilderness. They were necessary to feed and clothe the farmers, to provide them with building materials for their homes, tools for their work and containers for their produce. The peculiar demands which the first stages of cultivation made upon the farmers could best be satisfied by manufacturers in the colony who were in touch with local needs and could supply articles specifically designed to satisfy these needs. Just as colonial-made implements were most suitable, so also colonial-made boots and clothing proved stronger and more durable, and better adapted to withstand the rough usage of farming and navvyng.

In Otago, a pamphlet published in 1869 states that breweries, foundries, tanneries, a coach factory, soap and candle works, a bacon and fish curing factory, sawmills and flourmills have all been established in the colony.27

In New Zealand as a whole there had been a gradual increase in the amount of manufacturing carried on. While in 1858 only 3.04 per cent of the total population was engaged in "trade commerce and manufacture", this percentage had risen to 4.06 by 1867.28

27. The Province of Otago in N.Z., p. 52.
28. Statistics of N.Z., 1858 Table 4
1857 p. A
See Appendix E for details of occupations 1858, 1864, 1867.
In the main, however, manufactures had not developed to any great extent. Potential factory industries such as shoemaking were still handicraft occupations. Some stimulus was needed before they could develop beyond this stage, and this stimulus was not provided until the seventies.

But between 1840 and 1870, despite the exigencies of developing a new land, and the drawbacks in respect of communications, a stable market, or a supply of skilled labour, manufactures had developed to a certain extent as a result of official optimism, the possibilities for the development of natural resources and the satisfaction of the peculiar demands of a new country. Yet all are dependent upon the development of the land. Compared with the record of the expansion of agricultural and pastoral activity that of manufactures is insignificant. Not so insignificant however were the potentialities of these manufactures for future development — and for the evils which were attendant upon factory life in those years. The government was quick to direct its attention to both aspects of the problem.
CHAPTER III
GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGEMENT AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRY
1840 - 1870.

That the government was aware of the potentialities of the new development in the country's economy both for good and for evil is evident by the attitude which it adopted towards the establishment of manufactures.

In all the countries of the old world which began to establish manufactures in competition with England, the main method of encouragement had been the adoption of protective tariffs. In New Zealand however, little attention was paid to the matter until the 'sixties, when petitions were presented from the Chambers of Commerce in Christchurch, Auckland and Wellington, asking for an alteration in the Customs Tariff Bill. In the main, they still remained faithful to free trade principles but considered that "all raw materials and manufactured articles tending to develop the industry and resources of the country ... should be admitted free of duty." The Customs Tariff Amendment Act of 1866 carried out most of the suggestions of the Chambers of Commerce; no attempt was made to prevent the entry of foreign manufactures by a

1. A. to J. 1865, G-I Petition from the Auckland Chamber of Commerce.
prohibitive tariff, but such articles as "machinery for agriculture" - e.g. plows, harrows, pumps - were all exempt. The main bias was still towards the development of the land, and real aid to manufactures was given only by freeing some types of factory machinery from duty.

By 1869, duties which could be regarded as protective in nature had been imposed on beer, candles, boots, harness, leather, soap and tweed cloth - all commodities produced within the colony. However, there was no admission by the government of the principle of protection as a long and heated debate on the propriety of imposing a duty on cereals and flour shows.

This was by no means intended as a protective measure, for those who support it do so only because they consider it an unavoidable expedient for raising revenue - like Mr. Fox they "regarded the tax as a dose of medicine", disagreeable but efficacious. Vogel himself considers that "the word protection is an ugly one" but his desire for the "development of local industry" by the application of duties led to an outcry from the house. Here was the thin end of the wedge of protection - "a disastrous influence" says Mr. Stevens. Despite Vogel's optimistic remarks it was generally agreed in the house

4. Ibid., p.644.
5. Ibid., p.656.
that an alteration in the tariff "would not be effective as a stimulant to manufacture" - that it would indeed "ruin the embryo manufactures".  

Many of the manufacturers however did not agree with this attitude, and in 1870 a determined effort was made to obtain an increase in duties on imported manufactures. Flour, leather, soap, implements - all these it was thought needed protection.

The slump at the end of the 'sixties sharpened the demand for government aid, and although the principle of using the customs mainly as a source of revenue held its ground, there was a real desire to "give local industries a little encouragement". Other means consistent with free trade ideals were found, to do this. The offering of bonuses was most favoured, and here provincial rivalry served to stimulate efforts which became more determined in the following decades.

The General Assembly began to encourage manufactures in 1856 when it offered premiums up to forty-one thousand pounds for the production of marketable fibre from the phormium tenax. The Provincial Council of Canterbury offered a bonus of one thousand pounds while in Otago an

7. A. to J., 1870, F-I.  
8. P.D., Vol. 6, p.646.  
an honorarium of five hundred pounds could be claimed for the production of marketable fibre.\textsuperscript{10} It is obvious that the Southern Provinces were in a better position to develop their manufactures than were the provinces in the north, in these early years and Otago was one of the most energetic in encouraging the establishment of manufacturing enterprises. Thus, in a pamphlet of the time\textsuperscript{11} we find that the Provincial Council has offered one thousand five hundred pounds for the first five thousand yards of woollen cloth manufactured in the colony. Land to the value of one thousand five hundred pounds was to be awarded to any individual or company which successfully manufactured within two years "not less than one hundred and fifty tons of good marketable sugar" from beet grown in the province. Moreover, arrangements had been made for obtaining and distributing the seed, while flax seed might also be obtained free from the government. A bonus of two hundred and fifty pounds had also been offered for the establishment "in some central place" of a rope factory which would turn out at least a ton of rope daily by March 1869.

The Report of the Committee on colonial industries which sat in 1870\textsuperscript{12} summarises the various means which may

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{11} The Province of Otago in \textit{N.Z.}, pp. 52-3.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{A. to J.}, 1870, F-I.
be used to promote manufactures, and is a good measure of the current optimism. The maintenance of good wages and conditions in order to attract immigrants was considered most important, and although certain specified articles might be protected by temporary duties, a system of bonuses was more favoured. Immigration should be encouraged, and Welshmen and Yorkshiremen "skilled in the manufacture of flannel cloth" should be brought into the country.

Thus, by the end of the 'sixties, the government was showing its readiness to aid the development of manufactures but the potential evils of the system were also realised.

Labourers had not yet the parliamentary vote but their attitude, framed by a determination to avoid what they had left behind them, was from the beginning emphatically opposed to any attempt to impose unjust conditions upon workers. Dr. Sutch points out that the men who first landed at Petone beach formed an organised band to obtain an eight hour day, and an attempt was made to maintain this principle. In Otago too, an attempt

13. Viz. tweeds, cloth and coarse woollen goods, rope, soap, starch, leather, malt.
14. These should be paid on woolbacks, paper, scrim cloth, beet sugar, and beet syrup. Ibid., p.10.
to return to a ten hour day led to difficulties in 1868-9. The men organised themselves and won the struggle. The next evidence of united labour efforts is to be seen when, during the periods of distress in the 'sixties, meetings were organised in Christchurch and Dunedin.

Definite attempts were thus being made by the workers themselves to obtain fair treatment. The leaders of the colony, by the 'sixties, were sufficiently influenced by such agitation as this, and their own philanthropic feelings, to attempt to regulate the relations between employers and their labourers.

The first attempt at such regulation is made in the Master and Servants Bill of 1864. Speakers in the House concur in recognising the importance of the measure and it was rejected only because it was considered "neither right nor proper that a Bill in which such vital principles were involved should be allowed to pass hastily through the House".17

In 1865 an attempt to impose criminal penalties on a servant who broke his contract was emphatically rejected as "bearing too much on the labourer, leaving the master at freedom"18 while Mr. Reynolds considered it "a most improper measure" - it might serve for India, but was not suitable for New Zealand.19

19. Ibid., p. 630.
Despite these expressions of goodwill towards the workers, however, the general feeling was that the state should let well alone and not meddle with affairs which needed none of its interference. Enlightened self-interest, - the Liberal ideal of laissez-aller - was still the ideal of most members. Thus, Mr. Henderson "well knew that the master could take care of himself, and so could the servant without any such law". Mr. Fitzherbert voiced the opinion that "all interference between capital and labour was a great mistake". He considered that masters and servants could always provide their own remedy for any difficulties which might arise, and that "there was no necessity for a law for the regulation of capital and labour in this country".

It is significant that although the House thus set its face against any act to regulate labour conditions in general, its conscience was a little more keen where the position of children was at stake, and in October 1865 the first of a long series of bills was passed.

The Master and Apprentice Act was designed in the main to introduce English laws relating to the question into New Zealand, and to give to apprentices the protection of a formal contract which had hitherto been lacking.

20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., p.531.
Among the provisions, special attention is paid to the question of the apprenticeship of orphans and an attempt is made to ensure their protection, instruction and general well-being - including an injunction to the effect that "particular attention is to be paid to their morals". Penalties are provided against both master and apprentice for neglect or unauthorised dismissal by the one or carelessness or misconduct by the other.

There was no lack of unfavourable comment. Mr. Stafford complained of this "pushing forward of unimportant Bills" while Dillon Bell protested against the time of the House being "frittered away in the consideration of unimportant measures" - as if anything could well be more important than the happiness and well-being of the children of the country! There were also the usual complaints that the bill was unnecessary - that masters were well able to deal with their apprentices without any law; but the general recognition of the necessity for legal protection to the weaker, was marked enough to secure the passage of the Bill.

The important fact is that while labour legislation with more general application had failed to pass the House, this measure to regulate apprenticeship - to determine

24. Ibid.
that certain young people should have proper protection and training - received the support of the majority in the House.

There are thus two main threads to be distinguished in the government attitude towards manufactures in this period. Government encouragement took the form of some slight discrimination in favour of local industry in tariffs, and more important, the offering of bonuses. Government control was already recognised as necessary by a few men, but they failed to obtain any large measure of support for the regulation of labour in general. However, this support was given to provisions to protect children and young people who entered trades or factories, and it is certain evidence of the general trend of opinion in the colony.
CHAPTER IV

CHILD WELFARE 1840 - 1869

Even for the rebuilding of the Temple, the schools must not be interrupted (The Talmud).

Evidences of the keen interest in the well-being of children which was maintained throughout the colony were not wanting in other spheres than that of industry. From the beginning, the greatest interest was taken in the question of education. As Pember Reeves points out¹ "New Zealand was fortunate in the mental calibre of her pioneer settlers and in their determination to save their children from degenerating into loutish, half-educated provincials". Ideals of exchanging "instruction and civilisation" for "ignorance and barbarism"² were put forward from the beginning as an inducement to emigrants. The Wakefield scheme specifically named education as one of the purposes for which a portion of the land purchase money was to be reserved, while the various pamphlets of the time lost no chance of urging the degree of cultural as well as economic opportunity that offered in this new land. Thus, in the Otago Journal for January 1843, a scheme is outlined whereby an eighth part of the price paid for land was to be set apart for schools and colleges, and a hundred

1. Reeves W.P. - The Long White Cloud. London 1898, p. 405
2. Otago Journal Nov. 1843.
properties used as an endowment for an educational and ecclesiastical trust. Religion and education were closely associated in the minds of the founders of these early settlements. It was considered "necessary to give to religion all the advantages we can give it by dint of education". 3

The highest hopes were set on these beginnings and Domett, the Colonial Secretary at the time, was foremost in urging the necessity for universal education. "There it is in the power of society to bestow it, every born child has a right to the means of developing its moral and intellectual nature as well as its physical". 4 In a report made in the same year (1849) he voices the opinion that "it will be a disgrace, indeed, if there ever be found a single adult of British origin, born in New Zealand since its regular colonisation unable to read and write". 5

The Rev. H. Jacobs of Christchurch, opening the St. Michael's school and church in 1851 6 preached from the text - "who hath despised the day of small things" and expressed high aims and expectations for this small school. In a colony which "aspired to become the centre of civilisation in the

4. Miss Stevenson's thesis on Domett, p.271. Extract given from New Munster Gazette 1849, of Proceedings of the Committee on Education.
6. Sermon preached at the opening of St. Michael's, July 20th, 1851.
Southern hemisphere it was not to be expected that efforts would flag, for founders of Christ's College in Canterbury and of St. John's College in Auckland hoped that these establishments would attract students from India and the whole of Australasia. "The colony will be an immense nursery, and all being at ease without being scattered will offer the finest opportunity that ever occurred to see what may be done for society by universal education". In some respects, of course, such ideals were too optimistic, yet they set a standard at which to aim.

The Company was unable to fulfil its promises, as the result of financial difficulties, and it is significant that the people themselves shouldered the responsibility in the majority of the provinces.

In Wellington, no provision was made for endowment for religious and educational purposes, and the settlers were thrown on their own resources, although the nucleus of a library was provided and some kind of school was often held aboard the emigrant ships. Private enterprise and church organisations however were active, and schools were soon opened after the arrival of the immigrants in Wellington.

10. Ibid., 1840 - 3 private schools established 1842 - 6. Including the first public school 1841 4, including an evening school.
In Canterbury,\(^{11}\) the Association had provided that a third of the proceeds from land sales should be reserved for education and religion, but upon the pinch of necessity, the Association used most of this money to buy land for endowments. From this, the income was only about one hundred and forty pounds a year, and though plenty of sites for schools were available, there was, for some years no capital to build. A schoolmaster had, however, been appointed in London. Henry Jacobs\(^{12}\) arrived on the "Sir George Seymour" in 1850, and being forced to abandon his hopes for work of a more advanced kind, he founded a College and Grammar school in Lyttelton to teach the elements.\(^ {13}\) Various wealthy families in the district showed their interest in the problem of education. Ebenezer Hay who had come to Canterbury in 1843 was one early philanthropist. It is recorded that he...

...took a keen interest in educational matters and himself built a district school on his own land, and secured a teacher, the families benefiting contributing only to the salary of the teacher and not to the building.

Similar examples of benevolence are to be found in the work of other early settlers.\(^ {14}\) However, the Churches

11. Ibid., p.156.
13. Ibid.
were the prime movers in these early days - the Anglican Church School at St. Michael's was the first in Christchurch and as was only to be expected in a church settlement, the Church retained its grip upon the system throughout the period of provincial control.

In Otago, the people themselves took a keener and more active interest in education. The Agreement between the Otago Association and the N.Z. Company provided that an eighth part of the proceeds from land sales was to be set aside for religious and educational purposes. This was vested in the Presbyterian Church and was thus placed beyond the reach of the government for educational purposes, but the Association advanced three thousand five hundred pounds and this was used to erect a building for a church and school, and to pay a teacher for three years. James Blackie was the official schoolmaster to the settlement - he began school on the "Philip Laing" and continued to teach in Otago till 1853, no charge being made till 1849 when the Kirk Sessions imposed a small fee. When the Association surrendered its Charter in 1850, the colonists held a public meeting and raised money by public subscription to establish a small primary school in each district "so that every child shall be taught to read and write" and some measure of education, at least.

15. Ibid., p.149.
16. Ibid., p.150.
was provided by this means.

It is to Nelson that we must look, however, for the finest example of the practical interest which settlers took in education. The colonists here had some regard for learning, for steps were taken on board the "Mary Anne" towards the foundation of the Nelson Institute "for diffusing among its members literary and scientific information (Jan. 12th, 1842)". Thus when the Company was unable to provide the necessary money for education, the people themselves took up the task with the greatest energy, and the first public school was opened in September. The Nelson School Society had its origin ... spontaneously in the immediate wants of the place ... a few labourers and mechanics who saw the necessity of some effort on their own part for the instruction of their children ... tried to ... impart to them such humble information as they themselves possessed.

This scheme prospered and from the Sunday school which was first set up grew an extensive system, extending throughout the province. Non-sectarian, and almost free, the plan was well conceived and ably carried out. Dillon Beil in his description of the annual public

17. See Lothar Broad, op. cit., p.19.
18. Butchers, op. cit., p.139.
20. See Lothar Broad, op. cit., p.156.

By 1848 there were 622 children attending Sunday school, and 195 at day schools throughout the province.
examination of December 1949 remarks that "one of the most gratifying facts connected with education in this settlement is the very warm interest which is taken in it by all classes". (p. 157).

In the north, where native problems complicated the problem, the Church was the main influence in the establishment of schools. The first school for European children was set up at Paihia in 1831 for the education of children of missionaries. However, the main emphasis was laid on providing facilities for natives, despite the foundation of St. John's College by Selwyn in 1843, Wesleyans and Roman Catholics also playing a part in the establishment of schools.

The first law with regard to education was Grey's Ordinance of 1847. Its purpose had more reference to native conciliation than to European social conditions, but power was given to the Governor to afford some measure of assistance to the various denominational schools which already existed in the colony. This was not a

21. For an account of this see Loather Brood pp. 157-9 and also Miss Street's thesis on History of Education in Nelson Province 1842-77, pp. 13-17.
22. Ordinance of 1847.
23. "Every year, on an appointed day, children of all the schools in the whole district ... gathered at a central spot in Nelson, usually at Brook Green." There was a public examination and later the children could "enjoy a sumptuous feast".
24. Miss Street, op. cit., p. 117.
satisfactory system from the point of view of the Europeans, however, and many complaints were voiced in Auckland but no improvement was made for some time.25

Even with such a haphazard system, educational opportunities for the working classes were better than those offered in England. Domett26 points out that the percentage of the population between two and fourteen years of age receiving daily education, in 1849 was 38.00, while even in Scotland the number receiving daily education in 1837 was only 31.41 and in England and Wales in 1853, 30.7.

However, even this state of affairs could not be considered really satisfactory and when constitutional education was machinery was set up, one of the first subjects discussed by the provincial councils.

The Legislative Council of the Colony resolved on September 11th, 1854 -

That the establishment of a sound system of education for the youth of New Zealand is a matter of public concern ... That among the subjects reserving the early consideration of the Legislature, that of education is of the first importance.

These resolutions, together with one requesting that a survey of the state of education be made in every province,

25. Ibid., p. 312.
were sent to each of the Provincial Councils. In every province a commission was set up, upon whose report were based the Ordinances shortly passed in every Council. To relate the various changes and developments which took place in each province between 1857 and the end of the provincial system would be tedious. The most important point to be noticed in all the Acts is the degree of power and responsibility assigned to local school committees who had the management of local school affairs and upon whom responsibility usually lay for setting up new schools when they were required. In this way public enthusiasm was roused, and turned to practical purpose.

There were differences in the degree of control allowed to the Churches - Otago and Canterbury making most use of the denominational system from which Nelson was comparatively free. The amount of the fees levied also varied, Nelson being most liberal; but as Fox pointed out in many provinces the education Acts were almost identical.

At every move to alter the arrangements for education

the public interest which had taken so practical a shape in the earliest years was now expressed in a flood of articles, letters and newspaper leaders. Speeches at provincial elections and in the Councils also show the importance which was attached to the question.30

This interest in children was not confined to providing opportunities for those whose parents were willing and able to pay a fee, for the more unfortunate children had been early provided for.

As early as 1846 a Colonial Ordinance provided for the support of destitute families and illegitimate children31 and as the need arose, institutions for helping delinquent or pauper children were established. The Churches were of course very active in this field and each denomination had its own orphanages. In Christchurch, for example, the Standing Commission of the Diocese first took the matter up, and in 1861, obtained a grant of two hundred and fifty pounds from the Provincial Government, which it would appear had already been making some kind of provision for the care of orphans.32 Then further assistance was needed, in 1862, the Provincial Government

30. L., 1362 - April, 17, 19, 21, 30; May 3, 7, 10, 31, Nov. 1, 3, 12.
voted seven hundred and fifty pounds and the public raised
nine hundred pounds — sure measure of their practical
interest in the scheme.

In 1862 a Select Committee of the Auckland Provincial
Council (on the Distribution of Relief) pays very special
attention to the conduct of "children going loose on the
street". The establishment of an industrial school
was recommended, "to give the children a "round education
and train them up in industrious habits". It was urged
that

the non-education of the young, especially
of that portion likely to turn out criminals
saps the foundations of all governments and
in consequence, it is a primary duty of every
government to see to the education of the
young.

In Dunedin the question first received attention
then, after the opening up of the goldfields, the problem
of uncared for children became a major issue. Free
schools were set up by individual philanthropists in
1864. Government aid was soon forthcoming — the
provincial authorities leased land and erected a building,
and in 1866 a special report was made to the Provincial
Council on the Education of Dostitute and Criminal

34. Evidence of Mr. MacFarlane, p.16.
35. Report on Education Mar. 11, 1864, quoted by
Butchers, op. cit., p.159.
Session 185, p.3.
children\(^{36}\). Already, provision had been made by the Council in an amending Ordinance of 1865, to help the children of poor but respectable parents to attend schools, by granting an allowance from the central Education Board, of ten shillings for each child attending at district schools. In Nelson, provision had also been made for these children by the issue of free tickets, in cases of family distress or illness. However, more concern was felt over children who were really neglected — the local Commissioner of Police had reported that "children were growing up in habits of vagrancy, in and around Dunedin and receiving no education owing to the inability or indisposition of their parents to provide same.\(^{37}\) It was not thought that day schools would meet the case — to "renovate and raise the children's moral nature\(^{38}\) it would be necessary to set up industrial schools or reformatories where children would be both removed from harmful home influences and prevented from contaminating others. The Gaol Report for May, 1867, says that "on this question of a reformatory there is little difference of opinion".\(^{39}\) A Bill of 1867 was passed by the Provincial Council, but disallowed by the Governor in Council. In the same year the General Assembly passed an Act applying to the whole colony.

\(^{36}\) Supplementary Report on Education for Sept., 1866, Session XXII, p. 4.
\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 5.
\(^{38}\) Ibid., p. 6.
\(^{39}\) V. and P. of Otago P. O. Session XXIII, p. 25.
Providing for "the proper instruction and education of children who were altogether neglected" this Bill was presented by Stafford as one which "he was sure did not require any strong argument in support of it". It authorised the establishment of industrial and reformatory schools by the superintendent of the province, to "employ, correct, educate" the children; thus the functions of training children for a trade and effecting moral reform were to run parallel. In later correspondence regarding these schools it is interesting to notice the attention which began to be paid to the necessity of training children to a useful trade. For example, the Commissioner of Police in Otago (Mr. Branigan) suggests that the children be taught tailoring or shoemaking.

The general attitude in the colony towards child welfare, and especially the education and training of all classes of children to be useful citizens was thus made clear, even in these early years, for "the admission that the State may punish crime involves the admission that it may prevent crime". Again, it was considered that there was "no duty so incumbent upon a nation as that of transmitting to posterity, unimpaired, ... that moral and intellectual condition which ... it has

It is easy to elaborate principles but what is really significant is the way in which those principles are applied in practice. In this respect, the people had not avoided their responsibilities for, although the ambitious promises of the New Zealand Company had not been carried out, the people themselves had for the most part taken up the task willingly. Moreover, as soon as they obtained control of their government, the first subject engaging the attention of the councils throughout the colony had been education. Nor was the problem of the more unfortunate child neglected, and provisions had already been made for "the timely rescue of the precocious delinquent." 44

Thus, by 1870 an attempt had been made to ensure that each child had a reasonable chance of elementary education, and training, while the position of young people taking up apprenticeships was also safeguarded.

CHAPTER V
THE BOOM 1870 - 77.

I. Development of Industry.

If a dividing line may be drawn between the period when the colony was struggling to establish itself and that when it could build on these foundations, it would be about 1870 which "marks the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the colony." Until this time, Maori Wars had hindered development in the north while a small population and the exigencies of natural conditions were drawbacks throughout the colony.

However, by 1870, the native wars were no longer a problem, while the goldrushes had led to a great increase in population.

Scholfield remarks that by 1870 "development and wealth awaited two agents, men and money." Vogel seems to have seized upon this point with singular acuteness, and both requirements were soon forthcoming. His scheme of borrowing for immigration and public works, the neglected provision for providing land in order to make true colonists of the immigrants are too well known to

2. Ibid., p. 136. 1866 - 75,000 1869 - 237,000.
3. Ibid., p. 157.
need elaboration, but their effect, particularly on the industrial development of the country cannot be over-emphasised.

The conditions of the time made Vogel's schemes peculiarly attractive. Failing to find in Gabriel's Gully an El Dorado, many would-be miners had been driven from the goldfields and at the end of the 'sixties there was a great increase in the amount of unemployment. It is recorded that in 1870, three thousand miners were out of work on the Thames goldfield - half of them so desperate that they would work for food alone⁴ - Both in Otago and in Westland, hundreds of claims were abandoned. Townships were deserted "and where once the hum of prosperity by day and the midnight revels of the miners held away, now empty whares, dismal mounds of gravel, and overgrown shafts testified to the disappointed hopes of yesterday".⁵ In Canterbury and Otago the position was so serious that the Provincial Councils set up select committees to consider the problem.⁶ Moreover, agriculture was at a standstill - no markets could be found for produce. Sheep were now the most valuable product and the consequent alteration in farming methods made the position with regard to employment even worse.⁷

⁵. Scholfield, op. cit., p.156.
"Stagnation had been destroying the vitality of the colony for the last four years" and now that a remedy was proposed it was grasped eagerly - "The feeling in its favour increases from day to day" and it was received with "an almost electric thrill of satisfaction".

The most extravagant hopes were based on these plans, both by the public and by Vogel himself. The text of the close of one of Vogel's speeches was published, by way of propaganda, - he will "lead the colony to prosperity and enable it to do justice to its splendid resources" - this was the key note. It was "an issue between stagnation and progress" for New Zealand had abundant resources and peaceful conditions - all that was now needed was labour. Ample evidence of the emphasis which was laid on the need for labour to develop new industries is afforded by pamphlets of the time, in which, on the whole, far too much stress was laid on industrial prospects. Of this, the Handbook for New Zealand, published in 1875 and edited by Vogel is the classic example. In his preface Vogel stresses the possibilities of industry, and each colony devotes a section to "industries present and possible".

It is interesting to notice the ambitious - almost

8. L.T., July 2, 1877.
9. Ibid., July 3.
10. Ibid., July 12.
11. Ibid.
unrealistic note in the lists of projected industries drawn up.\textsuperscript{13} In every province, "the industries which present themselves to the enterprising colonist are numerous".\textsuperscript{14} Debates in the General Assembly had shown a similar spirit of optimism. In the Council in 1870 Mr. Seymour considered that salt, soap, candles, spirits, paper and iron might well be produced in the colony\textsuperscript{15} while Mr. Williamson thought that "it was impossible for a colony to gain any position as long as it did not satisfy its own wants".\textsuperscript{16} The Council, debating the question of the development of colonial manufacture in 1870 expresses the general sentiment that lack of labour was the main cause of the comparative absence of manufactures in New Zealand - there was in fact "no doubt that the great thing which was required was immigration, by which skilled labour could be introduced"\textsuperscript{17}

\begin{itemize}
\item 13. Auckland province drew up the following formidable list of manufactures which, it was thought might be developed - agricultural implements, boots, biscuits, bricks, bone dust, baskets, cellows, bookbinding, cordials, cooperage, coffee roasting, drainpipes and pottery, coach building, fioencing, glassware, hats, jewellery, flour, ovens, printing, preserved meats, sauces, saddlery, sashes and doors, stone cutting, shirnaking, tailoring, turneries, tinware, venetian blinds - All these were represented as being already in existence "to a small extent"! p.253.
\item cf. Otago - the following were suggested - glass, pottery, iron, slate, paper, beet sugar, woolpacks and bagging: Labour was required especially for clothing manufacture, and for boot factories which seem to have been a special object of interest to all the provinces (p.168).
\item 14. Handbooy, p.105.
\item 15. P. D. Vol. 7, p.284.
\item 16. Ibid., p.283.
\item 17. Ibid., p.297.
\end{itemize}
while even the most conservative considered that the introduction of skilled labour was "an unobjectionable substantial way in which to lend a helping hand" (to industry). 18

Thus no effort was spared to induce the requisite type of labour to come to the colony. Moreover, "persons possessing capital and prepared to commence manufacturing industries cannot fail to succeed - This is the class most needed". 19

There was an enormous rise in the rate of increase in population, the peak number of immigrants being reached in 1874. 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Immigration (to l.z.)</th>
<th>Emigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>8,903</td>
<td>5,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>9,124</td>
<td>5,547</td>
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<td>10,083</td>
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<td>1872</td>
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<td>13,572</td>
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<td>1874</td>
<td>42,265</td>
<td>8,333</td>
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<td>1875</td>
<td>31,757</td>
<td>6,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>18,614</td>
<td>9,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>12,987</td>
<td>8,611</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total increase 107,525

As Concliffe points out, it was unpopular to argue that a quarter of a million people could not absorb a sudden accession of almost half its own numbers without a serious economic disturbance, 21 but this was proved to be the case. The disturbance was rendered the more

19. *Statistics of l.z. for each year.*
acute by the type of the immigrants, no longer predominately agricultural workers, although the most urgent need of the country was still for farmers. The agricultural population was increased by two hundred and thirty per cent while the artisan class expanded by two hundred and seventy per cent.\(^\text{21}\) Even so early as 1870, a colonial newspaper remarks that too large a proportion of the immigrants arriving on a recent ship were artisans and mechanics, and that this has had an unfavourable effect on their chances of employment.\(^\text{22}\)

Thus, among the large number of new arrivals, there was a large enough proportion of the artisan class to ensure a plentiful supply of the appropriate type of labour, should "persons possessing capital" wish to embark upon manufacturing industries in New Zealand.\(^\text{23}\) Even while the boom was at its height, there was a general tendency to turn to industry as a means of employment, although this tendency became more pronounced later. Gisborne, writing to Vogel in 1871 tells him that "disadvantages (in the development of the cloth industry) are the want of skilled labourers, and the dislike of persons in a new colony to settle down to the

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22. L.T., July 20, 1870.
23. The only returns which seem to be available of occupations of immigrants during the period are those for 1875 which are as follows - Farm labourers 6,741; Labourers 5,538; Artisans 6,353. A. to J. 1875, D-45.
steady work of a mill. Necessity is however gradually overcoming this prejudice in the large centres of population" and he hoped that "a very large number of those ... at present almost useless to the colony will be profitably employed as producers". The same attitude is continuously apparent. For example, one reason put forward to impress commissioners with the advisability of setting up a company to produce kerosene and petroleum is that it will provide a means of employment.

Determined efforts were now made to obtain a protective tariff for the embryo industries. In 1872 appeared the first pamphlet attacking the Liberal axioms of free trade. The Colonists' Protection League Society was founded in Auckland in the same year, and a paper on the protection of native industries was read before it in 1873. The question was again raised in the House, and it was maintained by some members that the re-arrangement of the tariff was absolutely necessary. However, the principle of free trade was still upheld, and the general opinion was absolutely opposed to the introduction of any measure of protection. In this connection it is interesting to notice that in his efforts to obtain the consent of the Imperial Government

24. A. to J., 1871, G-14, p.15.
25. A. to J., 1873, I-4, p.19.
to the Reciprocity Bill of 1871, Vogel could say that "there was considerable objection to protection in the colony". 23

The only way by which manufacture was aided through the tariff was by the exemption from duty of materials used in industry. Thus the Customs Tariff Amendment Act of 1873 24 enumerates lead, copper, brass in bars, pigs or sheets, logskins and saddletrees, card and small board.

A method that was much more favoured was that of awarding bonuses or subsidies and again, as in the earlier period, both the Provincial Councils and the General Assembly were active in promoting manufactures. A letter of the time refers to "the liberal policy of the Government in fostering the opening up of new industries" 25 and this policy took effect mainly through the use of bonuses.

Flax manufactures were still the subject of many optimistic hopes, and numerous attempts were made to induce some enterprising capitalist to utilise its seemingly multitudinous possibilities. In 1870 a

24. N.Z. Statutes 1872, p.3.
25. A. to J., 1873, I-4, p.19.
bonus of sixpence per yard was offered by the Otago Provincial Council for the manufacture of bagging and matting from flax, and it was thought that paper might also be produced. However, although the General Assembly in 1871 offered a bonus of four hundred pounds for the first five hundred reams of printing paper manufactured from flax, and renewed the offer several times during the next fifteen years, there were no applicants.

A bonus for the manufacture of paper by any means had already been offered by the Otago Provincial Council in 1864, but apparently this was done with traditional Scottish earnestness, for in 1871 a committee remarks that the smallness of the bonus explains the fact that no applications have been received—while "protection will not be effective at all", a larger bonus was certain to produce results and these recommendations having been carried into effect, notice to compete was received from four people in 1873.

Provincial rivalry was keen, as the Handbook of 1875 shows, and it provided in great measure the necessary stimulus for the development of new industries. The most notable example of this is to be found in the

31. V. & P. of Otago P.C., Session XXVIII, p.43.
33. a. to J., 1871, 5-7, 9.11.
34. Ibid., 1872, 5-16, p.1.
35. Ibid., 1873, 5-24, p.1.
establishment of woollen mills which it is safe to assume would not otherwise have been set up for some years. Thus, in 1870 the Otago Provincial Council offered a bonus of one thousand five hundred pounds to anyone establishing the industry\(^3\) and the sum was soon claimed. Canterbury, not to be outdone by its Scottish neighbour followed suit, and a mill was set up at Kaiapoi in 1875.\(^4\)

This "judicial application of the system of bonuses" by the provincial authorities attracted much favourable comment from the various committees and commissions on colonial industries which were set up by the House.\(^5\) There are continual recommendations for the award of bonuses in a wide variety of industries "black glass bottles", beet sugar, kerosene, woolpacks, iron, steel and fish curing being among those mentioned.\(^6\)

No opportunity was neglected to obtain information for the advancement of New Zealand manufactures. Thus, when Vogel and Fox went overseas, one of their missions was to investigate the possibilities of various manufactures. For example the manufacture of finer

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37. Ibid.
38. A. to J., 1872, p-3: It was pointed out that the successful establishment of the Otago woollen mill was largely due to the bonus which was offered.
Ibid., 1873, p-2, p.2.
Vogel's Handbook (p.131) also refers to the award of bonuses by Provincial and Central authorities.
kinds of cloth could not at first be attempted because there was no suitable machinery in the colony. It was thought that it would be too expensive for private enterprise to import it, and Vogel was instructed to collect all the possible details with a view to the government offering aid. Over flax manufactures, the object of so much hope, Fox spared no pains and while in England he enquired into types of machinery, and methods of utilising the fibre. Vogel obtained estimates as to the cost of machinery for the manufacture of coarse cloths such as sacking "which may be of service to persons who contemplate the establishment of this branch of manufacture from the fibres indigenous to the colony" and enquiries were also made about machinery for cloth and blankets.

Of indirect assistance to the establishment of manufactures was the improvement of communications undertaken by the Government. In 1870 Mr. Fraser expressed an opinion in the Legislative Council that railways were essential before existing manufacturres could be expanded, or new factories set up, and pointed out to one honourable gentleman that "if they had a railway from Picton to Dunedin he would be able to wash

40. A. to J., 1871, G-16, p.15.
41. For information regarding these investigations see A. to J., 1871, G-4, p.vii ff.
Ibid., 1871, G-19, p.10 ff.
42. Ibid., 1871, G-19, p.10 ff.
43. Ibid., 1871, G-2, p.16.
every morning with soap which was manufactured in Dunedin. Under Vogel's scheme there was a very notable development of the railway system. Scholefield points out that there were only forty-six miles of railway in the country in 1870 but by 1877, one thousand and fifty-two miles had been built, and two hundred and fifty-one miles were building. Some lines were undeniably "white elephants" like that which ran out to the Malvern Hills to exploit the deposits of coal and clay, while many were erected for purely political reasons, but improved communications were essential before either the agriculture or the manufactures of the country could be developed.

Thus, conditions were in all respects favourable for the development of manufacturing industry. Suitable labour had been obtained, government encouragement was forthcoming and communications were being improved rapidly under Vogel's public works scheme.

"While the expenditure of Vogel's borrowed money carried New Zealand along easily, local manufacturing industry found fairly easy lodgement", and the wave

46. Statistics of N.Z., 1873, p.182. See Appendix F for detailed account of development.
47. Condliffe, op. cit., p.145.
48. Ibid., p.145.
of prosperity in the mid-seventies was attended by the setting up of numerous new industries and the rapid expansion of those which already existed.

The means by which the woollen industry was encouraged have already been mentioned. In Otago Mr. Burns converted his flour mill at Mosgiel into a woollen mill, going to Scotland to obtain suitable machinery and skilled operatives. By 1875, tweeds, blankets, knittings and worsteds were all manufactured and other industries had developed out of this one, several factories having been set up in Dunedin to make up these materials. By 1877 the industry was apparently "paying well".

In Canterbury, a company for spinning and weaving from New Zealand flax was formed with its headquarters at Kaiapoi, in May, 1873, but changing its plans it took up woollen manufacture, which was successful enough to obtain the award of the bonus in 1875. The old established Nelson factory apparently continued to prosper, and in 1875 it was turning out

"a superior kind of tweed", 53

Much attention was still paid to the subject of flax manufactures. The prevailing optimism is nowhere more evident than in the attitude towards this industry. "If ever I went to sea again" wrote a former mariner "I would use New Zealand rope of good quality as soon as any other, for every purpose on board ship" 54 - this despite its proven inferiority. In 1870 an association had been formed to test the adaptability of flax for commercial purposes 55 and a pamphlet of the time states that it has been found suitable for ropes, twine, linen, sheeting, towelling, fine bagging, and paper - an optimistic array. Efforts were made by the flax commissioners, appointed in 1871, to find a process to use flax for producing textiles. Yarns are woven cloth could be manufactured, and also canvas, 56 but it does not seem that these were likely to prove a success commercially. Nothing could better indicate the current optimism than the stubborn enthusiasm with which this

54. L.T., July 11, 1870.
During the same month there are numerous other articles and letters to be found in the press on the subject.
56. A. to J., 1872, G-17, p.iv.
matter of flax manufactures was pursued, although English manufacturers showed great reluctance to make the experiments; "notwithstanding the various analytical reports were calculated to suggest a contrary result" New Zealand investigators were satisfied that the fibre could be adapted to textile fabrics.

A beginning was however made in several industries. In 1870 "a Mr. Gorrie of Elenheim ... commenced the manufacture of bags from New Zealand flax in a small way", while a later pamphlet boasted that textiles have been successfully woven - "Shirts made from New Zealand flax are stated to be worn by the officers and men of His Majesty's regiments, and possess certain advantages over linen shirts e.g. greater durability." Much was expected of these small beginnings.

The manufacture of implements had already been carried on for some years, and during this period it developed still further, stimulated by developments within the colony. The production of sheep, for instance encouraged the production of new types of implements suited to local conditions. The meat preserving works also needed machinery, and all the heavy portions

57. Ibid., p. 7.
58. Ibid., p. 16.
59. O.T., Aug. 4, 1876.
60. Province of Canterbury, p. 5.
of the plant were made in Christchurch workshops. By 1873 there were numerous foundries and machine works which could turn out all types of implements", while "land, marine and hydraulic engines" were manufactured in Otago by 1875. Thus there was "... no necessity to import horse gear, hay rakes, harrows ... or any other farm requisite as these are all made in Otago, with the particular recommendation that they are made by men who know the country and the kind of implement required". Foundries were also to be found in Wellington, Hankey's Bay and Auckland (see Handbook).

By 1877 it was remarked that "though it was once said that we would never be able to manufacture agricultural implements, it had been found that they could be manufactured just as well as imported and at as favourable prices". An enthusiastic article describing P. T. Duncan's works in Christchurch speaks with pride of "our local Cyclops who fashion ploughshares instead of thunderbolts" - in a workshop sixty feet long, containing fourteen forges, what is more.

Brewing was still an industry of great importance.

63. Prov. of Canterbury, p. 25.
64. Vossel's Handbook, p. 111
65. Ibid., cf. Beneficial effect on development of colonial enterprise of knowledge of local conditions in the bootmaking trade, and in the manufacture of clothing. English products did not stand up to colonial wear and tear, nor did they fit colonial figures.
In 1873 there were "no less than 7 breweries and more malthouses" in Christchurch alone, and the industry was thought likely to grow still further as "colonial beer was generally preferable to English ales" according to the optimists. 68 By 1875, brewing was "largely carried on" in Wellington 69 and in all provinces.

Meat preserving was a new venture. By 1870 a factory had been set up in Canterbury, 70 and the export value of preserved meat throughout the colony amounted to £161,346 in 1872. 71 By 1873 there were three works in Canterbury "scarcely able to keep pace with the increased demand". 72

A special effort had been made to introduce a number of boot operatives into New Zealand. 73 Already tanneries had been set up and it was urged that "labour is all that is required to develop this trade". 74 Christchurch had one boot factory in 1870. 75 By 1877 there were four, in Canterbury, and an account of "our bootmakers" expresses great pride in local effort. "The manufacture of boots and shoes it was said now occupied an important place, and houses. Lightbourn were equipped with much modern machinery". 76

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68. Prov. of Canterbury, p.35.
70. L.T., July 23, 1870.
72. Prov. of Canterbury, p.75.
73. GReen...e, Vol. 1, p.8. 17, 2.11.
75. MArk...e, p.10.
Other manufactures established or extended during the period include brickmaking, bottle and pottery manufacture and a paint factory in Nelson.\textsuperscript{77} In this period, use was often made of the materials produced by works which had been set up earlier to carry out the processing e.g. tanneries.\textsuperscript{78} By 1877, hopes ran high and the general feeling was that "they had talent in New Zealand, and could manufacture anything nearly, if not quite as well as in the old country".\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{77} See Appendix G for tables comparing amount of manufacturing in 1870 and 1878.
\textsuperscript{78} cf. boiling down works which paved the way for meat processing processes on the flex.
\textsuperscript{79} L.R. Aug. 17, 1877.
II. CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

Although it was true that manufacturing in New Zealand was not yet out of a "precarious infancy", this period saw the first real attempt at control of factories. Mr. Richmond struck the keynote of this early legislation in a speech during the debate on the 1885 Bill. "I am quite sure" he said "that even with such little manufactures as we have at present, it is highly inexpedient that we should assume that enlightened self-interest will be a sufficient safeguard for the lives and health of the rising generation - of the children and future mothers of the race".

The conditions which enlightened self-interest had allowed to grow up in the England which the emigrants had left at least served as a warning to a new country and attempts were made to prevent the establishment of conditions in which there could be "wives and mothers working from morning to night with only one meal". That the effort was eventually unsuccessful seems to have been due more to the unprecedented rate at which manufactures were later set up, to the extent of over-population and general depression than to any Liberal laisser-faire sentiments within the House.

3. Cole and Postgate, op. cit., p.299 (Richard Filling 1842)
"A weak but promising beginning", the Act of 1873 attracted but little attention - in the House "honourable members did not when in committee take much interest in it". The state of manufacturing in the colony was such that Mr. Seymour "was not aware that there had been any necessity for this Bill up to the present time" and although he admitted the necessity of regulating flax mills, this was regarded in the main as a precautionary measure. Outside the House, the interest was no greater, and the press of the time seems to have had no comment to offer.

It is interesting to notice, however the emphasis placed on the need for protection of children in industry. The processing of flax was the only industry established to any extent in the early part of the seventies, and the employment of children in the rope-walks received unfavourable comment in the Report of the Flax Commissioners in 1870. They remark that in some mills children under ten are employed and though "there is no oppressively hard labour... lengthened confinement... injurious to health besides depriving them of the chance of being educated". It was thought

7. A. to J., 1870, D-14, p.17.
that this subject should receive the immediate attention of the Legislature - "a fearful crying ill or calamity", it should be immediately prevented. Later, Mr. Thomson speaking in support of the Factory Act of 1873 remarked that "the employment of children of tender years in flax mills was a great evil and there should be legislation on the subject".

Interest was growing, however, and in 1874 the tireless Mr. Bradshaw opened a debate on factory regulations in an attempt to emphasise the need for the protection of children. He quoted English experience to urge the absolute necessity for rigorous regulation from the beginning "to prevent women and children from falling into physical, moral and intellectual decay. Especially does he emphasise the fact that children's interests need protection against the designs of parents no less than of employers - even the English Liberals had conceded that the State should afford some measure of protection to the weaker members of the community and Bradshaw appeals to the same spirit in the House that had passed the 1873 Act, the Mines Regulation Act and the compulsory clause of the Education Bill, to introduce

3. Ibid., D-14, p.46.
measures of protection in industry. 12

In 1874 speeches on a proposed amendment to the 1873 Act 13 demonstrate the points at issue very clearly. Conservatives rallied to the defence with the charge that regulations harmed both employers and manufacturers. The latter, it was prophesied, would be driven from the country altogether and the case of Victoria was quoted by way of warning. 14 Happily the general opinion was more enlightened than that of Mr. Shepherd, and even in the Legislative Council, the Bill was found to be "in accordance with the philanthropic views and wishes of honourable members". 15

A bill for the inspection of machinery 16 met with no opposition, all being agreed on the necessity for government supervision, and a Government Apprentices Bill in 1875 to protect workers in railway workshops in Dunedin, Auckland and Christchurch drew no comment whatever. Government regulation was tacitly accepted as inevitable and necessary.

However, the Tory spirit was not altogether absent for in 1875 a bill was brought forward by manufacturers

13. To define the hours between which men might work and prevent evasion of the law.
to obtain a system of shifts between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. so that machinery could be kept going twelve hours a day.\textsuperscript{17} Although ostensibly this measure contemplated no alteration in the number of working hours,\textsuperscript{18} the debate was the occasion of many arguments as to the propriety of limiting these. Concern was expressed at the disappointment which immigrant working people would feel if they found that they were prevented from "using their time to the best advantage of themselves."\textsuperscript{19} It was considered that "it would prevent the establishment of manufactures unless the Assembly could withdraw the present restrictions and allow machinery to be worked twelve hours a day."\textsuperscript{20} The usual protests were made at the unnecessary imposition of "stringent and vexatious restrictions"\textsuperscript{21} - the government should not interfere with the freedom of the individual, and the less State interference the better, while a petition was presented from the workpeople themselves protesting that "any reduction of our hours of labour would be hurtful to our welfare."\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{17} The complaint was made that it did not pay to keep costly machinery running for less than twelve hours and that overseas factories whose accumulated wealth made the length of working hours matter little would be able to capture the trade in H.2.

\textsuperscript{18} The objection to the extension of the limits of hours was not so much for the worker as that it would be impossible to keep a check on how long individuals had been working. Inspectors already complained of evasion of the law and such a measure as this would facilitate such evasion.

\textsuperscript{19} F., Vol. 19, p. 304.

\textsuperscript{20} I.\textsuperscript{12}, p. 114.

\textsuperscript{21} I.\textsuperscript{10}.

\textsuperscript{22} Page 199. To this Mr. Pollaerton retorted that "it only shows that would not have been good for them."
In the main however, opinion was unfavourable to this amendment. Mr. Bowen remarked that while such industries as the Mosgiel woollen mills had been of great benefit to the country, they would become "an absolute injury" were they the means of overworking women and children. Mr. Bradshaw with his usual vigour protested that "the Bill before the House would have the effect of destroying life" and it met with little support.

Apparently the Mosgiel owners did not accept defeat for in 1877 we find them in trouble on a charge of overworking their employees. An appeal was made by both employers and workers for a nine hour day. However, philanthropy would not permit compromise - it was pointed out to the workers that the preservation of their health was as important as wages and the House determined "to protect them even against their own wishes". As for the employers, Mr. Joyce remarked bitterly that "the proprietors of the Mosgiel factory did not care who they sacrificed, as long as they made money".

23. Ibid., p.113.
24. Ibid., p.110.
25. Ibid., Vol. 27, p.544.
26. Ibid., p.545.
Particular stress was thus being laid upon the necessity for protecting both women and children.

Mr. Bradshaw continually urged the example of the Acts of the Imperial Government, which had made provision for the part-time education of apprentices and he was supported both in the House and in the Legislative Council. Women, having "neither the education, the faculties nor the training" to protect themselves by combining as the men had done were in need of protection as much as children for, as Mr. Stafford had remarked, "It was the duty of the State to see that no employment should be open to them that would interfere with the duty which Nature imposed upon them as mothers and protectors of the young".

Thus during this period conditions were conducive to the development of manufactures, and judicious government aid helped in the establishment of these.

27. By the Act of 1874 no child might be employed till he was 10 years old. Between the ages of 10 and 13 years they might take only half-time work, and the rest of the day was to be used for education. "It was a shame upon this colony that at present they permitted children to be worked all day in factories and made no provision for their being educated", P.P.L., Vol. 19, p.106. There was a close connection between the interest in the education of children and concern over hours of labour.

With the feeling that "it was a great thing when a country was young to establish the principles upon which they should go," government control of conditions was soon attempted, and special concern was shown over the employment of children.

30. Mr., p. 112 (Mr. Rollston, 1873).
III. THE END OF THE BOOM - 1877

By 1877, however the boom was over, and there was a general realisation that all was not well. It would be amusing, were the implications not so tragic, to contrast the enthusiastic reception accorded Vogel's plans of 1870 with the tone of the press in 1877. 1876 had been a year of "great expectations and of small results". Now it was felt that the country was "constitutionally in a fog, financially near the breakers", and "Julius Vogel's relinquishment of office under any circumstances was a blessing".1 The blame for all the ills which seemed about to come upon the colony was laid upon his "disastrous legacies".2

Unemployment had become serious. Of emigrants sent to Blenheim it was remarked "That is to become of them is hard to tell. We hear of no outcry for labourers in any part of the province".3 There was usually unemployment in the winter, but that of 1877 found an unusual number of labourers out of work - "It was really painful to see so many stalwart men walking about the country in search of employment, and little or no work obtainable."4 In July Hessars, Lighthand & Co. locked out sixty workers preparatory to reducing their wages

3. The Express quoted L.T. supplement, July 1, 1877.
and conditions continued to become worse.

Evidence that unwise selection of emigrants was in a large measure responsible for this seems to be afforded by the fact that there were always to be found advertisements for "capable married couples for farms" for ploughmen and other agricultural labourers. It was preponderantly the "doll's eye maker" type of emigrant who found himself unneeded in the colony. In October a railway contractor was unable to obtain labourers from Christchurch to work in the north island.5

The labourers themselves were in no mood to be philosophic about their misfortunes - they were "prepared to do anything but starve"6 - and public meetings were held in Dunedin and Christchurch to arrange effective protest and attempt solution of the difficulties.7

The outlook was already a gloomy one. By 1877 prosperity had come and gone, and "as the glorious seventies flickered out ... there was not a ray of sunshine on New Zealand's horizon".8

5. Icid., Oct. 10, 1877.
CHAPTER VI

THE DEPRESSION 1878-90.

I. Conditions in New Zealand 1878-90.

The high hopes of the earlier seventies had not been realised, and despite the boom year of 1878, by the end of the decade, the depression was already upon the colony, which was suffering her share of one of the periodic world slumps which occurred throughout the nineteenth century and continued in the twentieth.

The consequent fall in prices for New Zealand's produce had the most unfavourable results upon a colony whose wealth depended almost entirely upon the proceeds from her agricultural products, while it became increasingly difficult to borrow money. Problems were however aggravated by two peculiarly local circumstances—an extravagant borrowing policy and an unhealthy land sales system.

Whatever might be the ultimate advantages of Vogel's borrowing, the fact remained that between 1872 and 1881, New Zealand had "cast caution to the winds" and by 1881 a population which was still only half a million was staggering under a public debt which had increased from ten million pounds in 1872 to twenty-eight million in 1.

1831, and the evils which arose from "hastily considered and wasteful expenditure" were bitterly criticised. A paper read before the Canterbury Industrial Association in 1885 deplores the "un-natural stimulus of borrowed money" which has led to "unhealthy speculation" gives a picturesque description of the situation:

> We have drunk deep and long of the wine of public extravagance, and been deluded by the glitter of a fictitious prosperity, till the whole of our economic system has been thrown into a dangerous burning fever. The body politic is now lying prostrated in a state of collapse and exhaustion.

The basic difficulty, arising in part from this borrowing, was however the system of land tenure and farming which had developed during the boom period. With all Vogel's safeguards defeated by the greed of the provinces, and banks ready to lend, there was a "wild boom" in land values. Thus, the price of land placed it beyond the means of the majority, and such practices

2. Ibid.
4. Founded in 1873 to foster the development of manufacture and industry within the colony.
5. A. to J., 1885, H15-A, p.4.
6. Condiffe, op. cit., p.143. He quotes (p.409) a table giving index numbers for land values in the period. They rise unevenly from 17 in 1870 to 128 in 1878, and despite a sharp drop to 75 in 1879 they rise again in the eighties.
as "gridironing" and "spotting" were used to keep out the small men. When the depression came and mortgages were called in the banks found themselves with large areas of land on their hands, but the small settler had still little chance of obtaining land, for it was still in large blocks and for sale only at prices commensurate with the mortgages which had been raised. There was thus little chance that even those fitted for and anxious for land would be able to take up farms, while the wasteful methods of farming such large estates reduced the number of agricultural labourers needed. Thus would-be agricultural labourers and farmers drifted to the towns to make still worse the problem of unemployment which was already serious by the end of the eighties and continued to increase in intensity.

"Reckless and extravagant importation" of the artisan immigrant was, however, largely the cause of the

7. Scholefield, op. cit., p.163.
8. See Concliffe, op. cit., p.143, and Scholefield, op. cit., p.168—Figures quoted to illustrate the position which had arisen by 1882. At this date there were more than nine million acres of land in the hands of forty-nine thousand men, while 250 freehold estates, amounting to seven and a half million acres were larger than ten thousand acres.
unemployment of the time, and it is obvious from evidence before the various Commissions of the time that a large proportion of those who were unemployed were of the artisan and mechanic type, who, trained to work in factory and workshop had been encouraged to expect the same type of employment in New Zealand. Furniture manufacturers, hatters, bootmakers, carriage builders complain in the same strain as A. and G. Price, implement makers, that "skilled workmen are idle" and that there are "tradesmen walking about the streets, taking to pick and shovel, or to other work they may get to do." Such was the case throughout the decade and in 1867 and 1868 it was still a matter for concern that though there were "plenty of skilled workmen", they were "walking about idle or leaving the colony".

Dissatisfaction among the working class, a measure of their distress, had already been expressed in 1877, and by 1879 there was considerable excitement. Meetings held in Christchurch during this year express the discontent very forcibly, one Mr. Clemens

11. In 1878 The Immigration officer at Invercargill complains that the women sent out are mainly "factory hands who have never been out to service" whereas what is needed are domestics. A. to J., 1878, D9, p.s. In the same year however there are requests for agricultural and ordinary labourers - see DL, p.14 ff. DIA, Dk p.16.
15. See Press w.r.o L.T. Nov-June 1879.
expressing a desire to see Julius Vogel "strung up by the heels". The general tone of the meetings was however remarkably good and it says much for the character of the men that it was for work that they petitioned, not for relief, for "they did not want to become paupers". Their petitions were, however; of no avail and by 1880 there was "considerable distress in the city", with four hundred and fifty people on the books of the Charitable Aid Society. Soup kitchens were set up, and the Times tells us that the numbers which came for food were much larger than had been expected - on June 10 two hundred and seventy-three people were fed and it was "a truly distressing sight to see the half-famished women and children who were among the applicants". The famous petition which solicited aid from the United States Government described the unfortunates as "willing and honest working men but who were with their families in a starving condition for want of employment from our government of New Zealand".

In short, the extravagant hopes of the seventies and the attempt to force development at too great a pace:

17. Ibid., June 4th.
18. L.T., June 12th, 1880.
were doomed to disappointment and the blame was laid on
a government whose "whole policy of the last ten years"
(it was claimed) "has been one of direct interference,
with the view of forcing development at a much more
rapid rate than it would have assumed if left to its
natural course". It was to the Government that
appeals were now directed for relief, and it was for
them to find a remedy for the ills of the time.

One of the first necessities was to find a means
of absorbing the surplus labour, for skilled artisans
had been imported and it was considered that "the
Government is morally bound to find employment for the
various classes of labour imported ... if by any
reasonable means it can be done". While it was
generally realised that farming must form the core of the
country's wealth, still it was thought that "they would
never be able to afford employment to a large population
at remunerative wages, unless they did their best to add
to that industry varied local manufactures". Those
who wished to obtain Government aid in industry
continually stressed the point that manufactures would
afford employment for large numbers of men and for the

22. A. to J., 1880, H-22, p.103.
24. Evidence to the Colonial Industries and Tariff
Commission, A. to J., 1880, H-22.
c.e. pp. 51-2, 54-6.
"rising generation". The Protectionists, for example, made great use of "the hue and cry of 'what shall we put our boys to'." 25

Thus, one obvious line which the Government's policy would follow was to encourage manufactures, but it is to be feared that optimism, tinged with a certain degree of wishful thinking, outran practical considerations. In 1881, the report of the Tariff commission remarks that "increased civilisation and intercourse have given these colonies greater facilities than the world has ever before afforded, and we should use them. 26 A paper read before the Canterbury Industrial Association sets its aspirations high: "The remote and insular position of these colonies fits them to become, in the future, a great maritime nation: to fulfil this destiny they must likewise become a purely manufacturing people." 27 The press too urged the necessity for a "practical, wide-spread, intelligent determination to push the cause of local industry" 28 while Julius Vogel, opening the "Industrial Conversazioni" held in

26. A. to J., 1381, L-10, p.5.  
27. A. to J., 1885, H-15A, p.5.  
1887 said that "the colony is greatly suffering from
the inadequacy with which the colonists supply their
own wants". 29

Thus, throughout the period the Government was
subjected to pressure both from the circumstances of
the time and from interested individuals and public
opinion urging the establishment of manufactures. A
large variety of means whereby this might be done, were
discussed, and the ingenuity with which the Government
investigated possibilities is perhaps explained only by
the seriousness of the problem.

In the first place, a number of commissions and
committees were set up to investigate possibilities;
detailed studies were made of various industries such
as flax and sugar cultivation and manufacture, while
such problems as that of the tariff were also studied
by commissions.

In 1885, Sir Julius Vogel writes to the Agent
General in London, asking him to do anything in his power
to promote the progress of the manufacturing industries
of the colony. 30

The possibility of extending markets for colonial

29. 8th Annual Report of Industrial Assoc., p.21.
produce was a question that received a considerable amount of attention. Brazil was suggested, and on the question of Indian markets much trouble was expended, Pember Reeves suggesting that the manufacture of "ghee" might "add to our somewhat scanty list of saleable exports".

It had been a sore point with colonial manufacturers that contracts for machinery for public works had gone out of the country, but the Government eventually adopted the policy of using colonial made goods wherever possible, and the Hon. E. Richardson, closing the Industrial Conversazione speaks of the measures which have been taken by the Government to encourage manufacture - bridgework, steam cranes and a great variety of requirements for public works have been made in the colony, and a contract is in process for building locomotives.

Yet another means of rousing interest was the holding of industrial exhibitions throughout the country, although these were usually the work of local organisations. In Christchurch the "Industrial

32. Ibid., p.8, pp.15-19. Also A. to J., 1885 H-43, A. to J., 1837, H-16, Session II.
33. A. to J., 1885, H-15A, p.9. Ghee was a kind of rancid butter.
34. L.T., Aug. 1887.
Association of Canterbury", set up in 1879 to "aid, foster and encourage the Industries and Productions of N.Z." sponsored several exhibitions and "industrial conversaziones" in Christchurch. It also opened rooms in which to exhibit relevant papers and pamphlets, and held regular meetings at which addresses upon industry were given.\textsuperscript{35}

However the chief method which the Government used by way of encouragement was that of offering bonuses, and each commission recommends this method as most useful - "more just, more economical and more honorable than protection".\textsuperscript{36} The extent to which the Government was prepared to offer these "pecuniary and honorary rewards"\textsuperscript{37} affords a measure of the hopes which were set on manufactures to draw the country out of depression, while the wide range of industry over which these efforts were spread seems evidence of the almost desperate strivings to avert disaster. The Commission of 1880 recommends bonuses for sugar cultivation and manufacture,\textsuperscript{38} for starch,\textsuperscript{39} sulphuric acid and silk.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{35} Exhibitions were held in Christchurch in 1880, 1882 (Messrs Joubert & Twopenny's) and 1883-4 while annual "industrial conversaziones" were held from 1886. Exhibitions were also held at Ashburton and Wellington in 1881 while exhibits were sent to the Wool Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1881, and to the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880.

\textsuperscript{36} A. to J., 1880, B-22, p.128.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p.136.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p.6.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p.7.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p.12.
It is impossible to enumerate all the industries for which bonuses were offered, in the period but a schedule published in 1885\(^1\) gives a complete list, and affords a valuable survey of the wide field to which the attention of the Government was directed in both agricultural and manufacturing industries.\(^2\)

Under the stimulus of the depression the question of tariff reform received increased attention and protection was constantly urged as a method of restoring prosperity. Already begun in the seventies\(^3\) the agitation now became more determined - Employers and labourers united their efforts for it was felt that "the depression ... has brought home with startling clearness to the most of the thinking of both classes that this (recovery) can only be accomplished by a thorough adjustment of the tariff".\(^4\)

The growing trade union movement considered protection necessary to improve conditions. The boot-makers, for instance, "knew that free trade came as a

\(^1\) A. to J., 1885, H-15B.
\(^2\) A bonus is even offered for "the importation of ostrich chicks to be maintained and raised in the colony." \textit{Ibid}, p.6.
\(^3\) \textit{Vide supra}.
\(^4\) A. to J., 1880, H-22, p.54.
great boon to the paupers of England, but their idea was that a country like New Zealand required protection to prevent the pauperisation of her population. The Otago Trades and Labour Council published its platform in 1881, and advocated among other measures the adoption of a protective tariff.

The manufacturers advocated two main lines of reform—the importation of raw materials free of duty, and the erection of tariff barriers against imported manufactured goods. The bookbinders wanted leather and inks to come in free, the leatherworkers such things as machine threads, "brown Kangaroo skins for whip making" and saffron. The Commission of 1880 recommended the remission of duties on some raw materials and the Act passed the following year exempted carriage materials, sewing cottons and tailor's trimmings from any duty. This, however, was not sufficient. The cry for a more positive protective policy was gathering strength, and no matter with what protestations as to their fundamental free trade beliefs manufacturers and politicians formulated their plans, it is obvious that

45. Ibid., p.104.
47. Ibid., p.50-1.
48. Ibid., p.105. The Canterbury Chamber of Commerce urged that "relief may be afforded to local industries by the remission of customs duties on articles imported and used for manufacturing purposes". p.131.
49. Ibid., pp.10,12. - materials for the leather trade, carriage building and bookbinding were to be exempt.
under pressure of circumstances opinion was swinging towards protection. On the whole, it was considered that although free trade was the right and proper policy for a country like Great Britain to adopt, her manufactures being already well established, such a policy was not applicable to New Zealand, for "in a young country, industries require nursing and fostering and one cannot expect them as a rule to be at once self supporting any more than a young infant to be able to walk right away". The New Zealand Protection Association was formed in 1884, as were associations in each town, throughout the eighties, to urge the question upon the Government. In 1884, Vogel writing to the Agent General admits that it is necessary to raise revenue by means of customs, although this should be done "without adopting any policy of protection as a policy". The agitation continued to grow, and in evidence sent to the Committee on Colonial industries and manufactures in 1897 the case for protection is urged very strongly. By 1888 the demand for protection

51. Ibid., 1880, H-32, p.52. Bootmakers, implement makers, tinsmiths, paintmakers also spoke in the same strain. cf Blair The Industries of N.Z., p.64
53. Ibid., 1887, I-9, pp.3-11, cp. Blair speaking before the Industrial Association in Christchurch: he proposed to lean neither to free trade nor to protection, but he points out that "every commercial and manufacturing country in the world has at one time or another protected and stimulated its trade and industries in a direct manner", p.7. The Industries of N.Z.
had reached its height and a Conference of industrial and protection societies called "for the purpose of considering a revision of the tariff with a view to assisting colonial industry and matters incidental thereto" roundly condemned "the fiscal policy which alike retards manufacture, sends the flower of the colony to other lands, and annually exports hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling to be expended for wages in foreign countries, while our own wage earners are crying out in vain for employment".55 It was pointed out, moreover that much of the imported clothing, for instance, was made under sweating conditions with which colonial labour should not be asked to compete.56

Tariff reform was thus waged on behalf of labourers, to maintain conditions and prevent unemployment, of manufacturers who wanted a return for capital expended, and of the public interest which made increased revenue imperative.

Earlier, it had been argued that "much injury might be done ... by capricious alteration of the fiscal laws",57 but by 1888 agitation was too determined to be withstood any longer, and Sir Harry Atkinson introduced

55. Ibid., 1888, H-10, pp.1-2.
56. Ibid., p.5.
57. A. to J., 1880, H-22, p.4.
a tariff to give some measure of protection.\textsuperscript{58} Public opinion might regret the passing of free trade, but it was considered a concession to the needs of the times. 

"There is no possibility of free trade in this country, or any other which owes so much money as we do\textsuperscript{59} Yet however necessary the measure might be, it destroyed the prestige of the Conservatives and paved the way for a new spirit towards State interference in industry.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{58} Statutes of N.Z. 1888, pp.17-33.
\textsuperscript{59} L.T., July 6th, 1888.
\textsuperscript{60} Condliffe, op. cit., p.161.
II. The development of manufacturing industry.

In these circumstances it was only to be expected that industry would develop rapidly and, during the period, while existing establishments often did not expand very greatly, many new ones were set up. In 1886, as compared with 1878 there is a wide variety of industries, but many of these establishments are very small and the wide spread of effort seeming evidence of the somewhat desperate attempts which were being made.¹

In the industries which had made a start earlier, many new workshops were set up and some of the older establishments, especially those catering for colonial needs, were greatly expanded.

One of the most important was that of leather manufactures, especially bootmaking. Tanneries had been set up very early and by 1884 leather was exported extensively.² Use was soon made of it within the colony, and the period saw an enormous increase in the number of boot factories.³ While in this case the claim that "the colonial article was better fitted for New Zealand wear than that from England"⁴ was important, the large number of boot operatives introduced under

¹. See Appendix I for table comparing the position in 1878, 1881, 1886 and 1890.
². Stout. Notes on the Progress of New Zealand, p.29.
³. 18 in 1878, 47 in 1890.
⁴. A...to J., 1880, H-22, p.103.
Vogel's scheme was also a determining factor in extending the industry. By 1887 the press comments favourably upon the display of colonial made boots and shoes at the industrial conversazione held in Christchurch. "No praise can be too high for the admirable workmanship of the boots and shoes shown by Messrs. Lightband ... the tasteful and artistic finish of their fancy boots is really excellent".5 Other goods manufactured from leather included leather belting and "well finished harness" as well as portmanteaux and Gladstone bags6 although these do not appear to have been very extensive.

There was also a great increase in the manufacture of implements and machinery of all kinds, and just as tanneries had increased to keep pace with and pave the way for boot factories, so foundries increased in proportion to the machine shops. Despite the fact that there was little artificial encouragement, the manufacture of agricultural implements prospered throughout the depression, extended its markets to Australia, and improved its scope. The assembling of parts and actual manufacture of other machines was also extended to a great variety of work from all kinds of

5. L.T., July 27th, 1887.
household requirements (even including "an ingenious washing machine") to the inevitable bicycle at Christchurch, and of locomotives and other machinery for public works.

The most marked development, however, and one significant from the point of view of labour conditions for women and children took place in the clothing trade and woollen manufacture. Despite their complaints about the restrictions imposed on the hours of labour, the proprietors' predictions of ruin were not fulfilled, and in 1884 Dr. Hector reports that "the great development of woollen manufactures was the leading feature" of the New Zealand Industrial Exhibition held in Christchurch in that year. Considerable pride was felt in the successful establishment of such industries in New Zealand. "These productions are very beautiful" boasts Sir Julius Vogel, to the Agent General in 1885, and Blair remarks that the woollen manufactures "undoubtedly merit the estimation in which they are held" for "the New Zealand cloth mills produce a great

7. A. to J., 1881, H-6, pp.2-3, shown at the Ashburton Exhibition. The gentleman who reported on the exhibits remarks "if anything could wash a blackamore white, that would".
8. See The Press, July 26, 1887, for the types of machinery shown at the Industrial Conversazione. L.T., Aug. 4th 1887 for Mr. Richardson's comments on colonial machinery.
9. 6 clothing factories in 1878. 35 in 1890
3 woollen mills in 1878 : 8 in 1890
variety of fabrics suitable for all the purposes of humanity, old and young, savage and civilised.\textsuperscript{12}

In the establishment of new manufactures, efforts covering the widest range had been those to utilise natural products. In 1879, Seddon had remarked that "we had everything here necessary for manufactures" - timber, iron, coal, wool, leather, sand for glass and it "would be a sin and a crime" not to make use of these.\textsuperscript{13}

Many possibilities were explored. Some attempt was made to meet colonial needs for food of which a large amount was imported, in a manufactured state. Fruit preserving to make use of the great surplus of fruit, together with such industries as jam, sauce, and pickle manufacture had already existed in Nelson and Auckland for some years. "A thoroughly domestic, wholesome and much needed food industry"\textsuperscript{14} it prospered during this period, and many new factories were set up.\textsuperscript{15} Other foods manufactured include such things as fancy biscuits.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Blair, op. cit., p.22.
\item P.D. Vol. 32, p.444.
\item A. to J. 1880, H-22, p.6.
\item For instance, the \textit{Times} tells us that the N.Z. Fruit Preserving Company has begun operations in Dunedin - orders for jam have already been received and the factory expects to turn its attention later to pickles, tinned fruits and other preserves. Jan. 19th, 1882.
\end{enumerate}
and confectionery, and Blair says, in 1887 that the exhibits at the late Exhibition "would do credit to the best confectioners in the world". 16

Other attempts included efforts to manufacture Portland cement. By 1887 the Industrial Association of Canterbury reports that tests of colonial manufactured cement have been carried out. Made in Auckland and Dunedin, this cement was "of a very high quality and at a low enough price to meet the demand of consumers". Doubtless it had "a great future in store". 17

The possibility of manufacturing iron was also investigated. Evidence was brought forward to the 1880 Commission to show that use could be made of the ores in New Zealand - the N.Z. Titanic Steel and Iron Co. had already begun work at Taranaki, 18 but according to Dr. Hector, by 1885 there was only one iron furnace at work in the colony (at Onehunga), using black iron sand

16. Blair, op. cit., p.20. Some measure of the extent to which these industries developed during the period is afforded by the following table comparing the amount of biscuits and jam imported in 1877 and in 1889. Amounts given in lbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1889</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fancy biscuits</td>
<td>1,917</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain biscuits</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jams, jellies and preserves</td>
<td>41,343</td>
<td>3,220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


17. 8th Annual Report, pp.6-7.
from Manukau Heads, and even this had not been very successful. However, a bonus had been offered and at the end of the eighties hopes were still high - "Cement and iron, capable of so much development, and for which there are requisites in abundance, can be talked of with some degree of assurance".

Yet another possibility was that of the manufacture of paints and varnishes from Kauri gum, and other minerals - "The number of earths and ores suitable for pigments that can be obtained in this country is astonishing". Small quantities had already been manufactured in Nelson, before the eighties; now, in Thames and in Auckland, use was made of the various minerals available, such as manganese, copper, nematite, ochres, and silicate, and Blair remarks that these industries are producing "considerable quantities" by 1887, those at the Thames particularly producing a great variety of colours.

The question of the manufacture of gunpowder was being considered by the end of the seventies, especially in view of the risk attendant upon its transport and the fact that all the necessary materials but saltpetre were to be obtained within the colony. Enquiries were made

19. Ibid., 1835, H-15A, p.3.
20. Ibid., Sept. 2, 1887.
22. Ibid., cit., p.25.
as to methods, by the Agent General, and a bonus offered in 1882 to be claimed early the next year by manufacturers at Owake in Otago.\(^\text{23}\) In 1887 however, Blair does not speak hopefully of the mill at Catlins River which manufactures blasting powder\(^\text{24}\) and though a cartridge factory had been set up it does not seem that the colony could yet supply its own gunpowder.

An attempt was made to produce manufactured goods from such introduced plants as tobacco, lint, sorghum and beetroot (for sugar), and silk, but in the main they met with but indifferent success.\(^\text{25}\) Between 1831 and 1836 a great number of new industries were begun - small in the main, often of the "doll's eye" type they covered a wide field and at least show great resourcefulness.\(^\text{26}\)

Most of these enterprises were, however, rather artificial developments, forced into being, more by the exigencies of the depression than to fulfill any real need within the colony at this stage. But by far the most important new development of the time was brought about by the introduction of refrigeration which made

\(^\text{25}\) An exception is tobacco, - Dr. Hector says in 1885 "the growth and manufacture of tobacco is fairly well established and has succeeded well commercically" A. to J., 1885, H-15A, p.2.
\(^\text{26}\) See Appendix J for list.
possible an enormous extension of meat preserving works, as well as enabling colonists to set up butter and cheese factories whose products could be sent home to England. The bonus which had been offered for the production of a hundred tons of frozen meat was paid to the New Zealand and Australian Land Company in August 1882, after the safe arrival of the "Dunedin" in London with a sound cargo of frozen meat. This export alone proved a great boon to the colony, for now instead of boiling down surplus stock (an unprofitable procedure) farmers were able to obtain good prices for the carcasses. There were many difficulties to be overcome - faults occurred in the machinery, and there was at first "a violent prejudice" against the meat, in England.

Despite it all, however, the industry made great strides, between 1882 and 1890, until at the end of the period "there was no industry in the colony which was more uniformly flourishing than the meat industry".

28. 1882 Handbook (N.Z. Official Handbook) p.137. The English farmers maintained that the meat "was unfit for human food and lost all its nutriment by being frozen".
29. Year  | Amount exptd.  | Value  
1882    | 15,244 cwt.   | £15,339 | N.Z. Official Handbook, 1892, p.139.
1890    | 986,894 cwt.  | £1,087,617 |
30. Ibid.
This in itself would have been important enough, but refrigeration also opened the way for the manufacture of butter and cheese which was now beginning to be produced in a systematic way. It was thought that "we have only to make the prime article in butter and cheese, then no power on earth can stay the flow of gold in this direction". 31 A bonus offered in September 1883 for the first twenty-five tons of butter, or the first fifty tons of cheese produced in a factory "worked on the American principle and to which any farmer may send his cheese" was paid to the N.Z. and Australian Land Company in 1884 32 and the industry continued to expand; the Government took much interest in the development and attempts to obtain uniformity of production by the adoption of the co-operative system led to the appointment of a "dairy instructor" who after lecturing at the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition at Dunedin, in 1890, travelled about to make investigations and to lecture 33.

The discovery of refrigeration was one major factor in hastening New Zealand's recovery from depression. "It would be an idle speculation to consider in what condition New Zealand would have been, had the process for meat freezing now in use not been

31. A. to J., 1884, H-2, p. 3.
33. Ibid., 1890, H-33.
discovers), but there can be no doubt that it has been of almost incalculable value to this colony". The success of this process to utilise New Zealand's agricultural produce is in marked contrast to the small development or failure of the numerous manufacturing industries which were set up. Despite all the wild hopes of making New Zealand "the emporium of the Pacific", nothing could emphasise better - if the point needed emphasis - that the country must still rely mainly upon its agriculture. Even in 1945 it is questionable whether we have taken "the step that shows when a young country has attained its majority" - if we are ready yet to "go alone".

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35. A. to J., 1935, M-154, p.5.
III. Attempted regulation of conditions.

Amid this rush of somewhat artificial development, the Government made only a half-hearted attempt to maintain some degree of control of conditions, although men like Major Richardson gave a warning against Liberal ideas as "delusive theories and vain philosophies". It was however, generally considered that protection should be given to women and children for "as they cannot combine, as men can, the State should help them" - even Cobden, strong Liberal as he was, might be quoted as an authority in this connection - for though "he objected to all legislation of this kind, he could not resist the fearful evidence of the sufferings to which women are exposed". Mr. Pharazyn might agree with Herbert Spencer if he wished that "the function of Liberalism in the past had been to limit the power of Kings and that the function of true Liberalism in the future would be to put a limit to the power of Parliaments", but the general feeling was nevertheless that Parliament had a very definite duty to perform in protecting the weak. The protection that it gave was, indeed, too little, and it was badly administered, but given the drive of organised

1. The Employment of Females and Children in Factories and Workshops - Paper by Major J. Richardson, p.8.
2. A. to J. 1878, K-2, p.2.
labour, and an aroused public opinion, the reformers of
the nineties had no strongly entrenched Liberal
opposition to overcome when they embarked upon their
measures of State Socialism.

Dormant, but not dead, the progressive spirit
manifested itself somewhat weakly during the eighties with
Acts which contented themselves with some small extension
of existing provisions, but failed to meet the facts of
the case.

An Inspection of Machinery Bill of 1881 met with no
opposition — here, the principle of the necessity for a
degree of control was already accepted. When the Acts
regulating hours of labour for women and children were
consolidated in this year, there was no discussion of the
matter, but in 1882 an attempt to extend the provisions met
with the most violent objections — "What laws would
they next be asked to pass" protested Dr. Pollen. "Would
they be asked to revive the curfew?" It was asserted
that this piece of "overlegislating" was quite
unnecessary, as the working classes were in a good position
to take care of themselves — "their's was the self
reliant policy" and it was "a very injudicious thing to

5. In order (1) to include young people delivering
   parcels and messages.
   (2) To provide seats for shopwomen.
   (3) To allow inspectors to enter at any time.
be putting these false notions in their head - that they were a very much injured, overworked and underpaid class of people". 

Lovers of domestic happiness also protested that the Acts were doing "a positive injury to the working classes" by encouraging young women to go into factories. 

Mr. Wilson felt so strongly on this point that "he would like to see women prohibited from working in factories at all". However, such protests were obviously unrealistic in their outlook, and all Dr. Pollen's protests about "absurd interference with the liberty of the subject and the industry of the people" could not prevent the introduction, in 1884, of much needed amendments, which, in the House met with little opposition.

The question of payment for the Statutory half-holiday roused much controversy to pay workers for labour they did not perform savoured to some of a policy of "panem et circenses", and when an amendment was brought in in 1885

7. Ibid., p.139.
8. Ibid., p.140.
9. Ibid., p.140.
10. Ibid., p.279.
11. (1) No boy (as well as "female" or "child") was to work at night.
   (2) Inspectors were to be allowed to enter factories at any time.
to allow women and young people engaged in fish or fruit preserving, or in newspaper offices to work a certain amount of overtime,\(^\text{13}\) and to allow for some day other than Saturday being adopted for a half holiday if Saturday were not suitable, Dr. Pollen acclaimed "the end of an emotional paroxysm", which had done nothing but evil - "Young females" he observed righteously, "could be quite as profitably employed for a couple of hours in the afternoon in some light occupation ... as in exhibiting their artificial proportions on Lambton Quay, or in listening to the 'soft nothings' of the 'masher' under the trees of the Botanical Gardens".\(^\text{14}\)

At least those who claimed that "there could be no end to the depression until men and women were left to fight their own battles"\(^\text{15}\) did not win the day altogether, but the legislation which such men as Bradshaw and Richardson had achieved fell far short of what was needed.

13. (1) Not more than 10 hours per day to be worked, between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m.
(2) Wages to be paid for overtime.
(3) No more than 4 hours overtime to be worked per week.
15. Ibid., p.416. Even Mr. Pyke however admitted that it was necessary to protect children.
IV. Evidence of lack of regulation.

The unprecedented rate of development had outstripped government attempts at control; how far it had failed to keep pace with circumstances was brought home very forcibly by the Report of the Sweating Commission of 1890. On the technical point of definition, the commissioners might quibble, but no such qualifications could modify the description of the terrible conditions which existed. Insufficient legislation, lax administration, combined with the prevailing conditions of depression to allow the development of labouring conditions which, if they did not approach anything like the horrors of an English industrial city, were yet a bad enough slur to be cast upon a young country. The ills of which the commissioners complained - the practice of homework, neglect of safety conditions and sanitary arrangements, evasion of legal limitations on hours, slack apprenticeship arrangements, were steadily growing up throughout the eighties, and the Inspectors appointed under the Act pointed them all out regularly; yet no move was made to remedy them.

Homework was one of the major evils of which the Commission complained in 1890. Even in 1878, although the good effects of the existing Acts in limiting hours were attested by inspectors and workpeople, "to a large extent the Act was ... a dead letter, for ... there were
establishments in ... (Dunedin) where girls worked the given number of hours, and then rolled up their work and took it home with them, working into all hours of the night".  

Even in the factories where hours were legally limited, there were many cases of evasion and these again were reported throughout the period by the Inspectors and others. In 1878 Henry Hogg complains that "there are factories in this city in which the girls have been kept working till four or five o'clock on Saturday afternoons and someone standing at the door to watch." In 1885 the evil was widespread. The Auckland inspector "was aware of one dressmaker ... lately before the court and acquitted who takes her girls upstairs into her bedroom after 2 p.m. on Saturday and keeps them working to a late hour". In Christchurch it was said that "the leading drapers here do not conceal their dislike of the Act and do not appear to think it any harm to get as much work out of the females as they can", while in Dunedin "milliners got over the provisions by putting females behind the counter after 2 p.m." 

2. Ibid., p.13.  
4. Ibid., p.4.  
5. Ibid., p.6.
In work to which the Act did not apply, conditions were even worse, and in Dunedin the case was reported of a confectionery shop and restaurant where two women began work at 8 a.m. and worked till 11.30 p.m., each day but Saturday when they would go on till midnight. No seats were provided, meals were taken between times, and for this the wages were ten shillings a week. 6

There were provisions to limit the hours which children below a certain age might work; but these were also evaded, because inspectors had no means of knowing the age of the children. In 1878, the Dunedin Inspector says that although he is "thoroughly satisfied that the Act is infringed with regard to the ages of children" he cannot prove it. 7 Later he complains again that "children who "from their size and appearance did not look to be more than ten or twelve", who were working long hours said they were fourteen when questioned. 8

Another obvious gap in the Acts was soon noticed for, although the report of the commissioners who visited the woollen factories at Mosgiel and Roslyn were most favourable, 9 conditions were often very poor; but there was no specific charge that could be brought, so long as the workrooms were "properly ventilated". Already in

7. Ibid., 1878 H-2, p.15.
8. Ibid., 1885, H-20, p.5.
1878 the Inspector of Nuisances says that "some of the rooms are very small and dirty, and very badly ventilated, some rooms with 8 or 10 working in a space of 10 feet by 12 feet, and no accommodation for washing and cleaning", while the report of the commissioners in 1880 was anything but favourable with regard to the mill at Kaikorai.

One of the main difficulties was, however, that inspection was altogether inadequate and the unfortunate men who attempted to combine the duties of a police officer with those of an inspector of factories realised their own limitations. One inspector openly avowed "I only visit when I have time, and always make my police duties primary." What was more, although the Act of 1884 amended the provisions to allow the inspector to go in at any time, there was nothing to prevent either a delay which would enable workers to hide or to clear work away, or a positive refusal of admittance, in which case the inspector had no right to force an entry.

However one of the most exasperating conditions for

11. Ibid., 1880, H-22, p.117.

[Some places were "very small, badly lighted, dirty... cannot but have an ill effect on the health of the females employed therein" but he "could not say they were not properly ventilated", as all the windows were opened.]

A. to J. 1886, H-20, p.1.
these inspectors, who, one is led to believe performed their duties as faithfully as possible in difficult circumstances was that having once brought their charge they were often either unable to obtain the imposition of any real penalty, or suffered the humiliation of seeing it dismissed. In 1878 the report on the operation of the Act recommends an increase in the punishments which did not seem to be sufficient to act as a deterrent. It was hard to get workpeople to give evidence, for fear of losing their employment, and in 1886 the case of a tailoring establishment in Auckland is reported, where girls found working on a Saturday afternoon "swore that they were not working ... although one of them was working at a sewing machine, and did not see me until I touched her and spoke to her."

Moreover, magistrates seem to have been more than a little partial in their judgments. In 1886 the case of a laundress was brought forward, and "although it was clearly proved she worked for profit, the magistrate dismissed the case without assigning a reason".

14 Ibid., 1878, H-2, p.2.
15 Ibid., 1886, H-20, p.1.
16 Ibid., cf. A leader in L.T. Jan.11th, 1889 protesting about the lax administration of the Act — "Though passed seven years ago, the meaning of its sections is still treated as a matter open to doubt. Employers seem to be looked on as a good, well meaning, blundering sort of persons, very anxious to obey the law, but quite unable to understand its mysterious enactments. These are gently explained to them by the kind hearted court, and after a fine of 1/- has been reluctantly imposed, the honest employer is sent away to ponder in his mind over the iniquity of legislators and the way in which the wicked purposes of courts lawmakers can be tempered by the milk of magisterial human kindness".
The question of apprenticeship, which by 1890 was
a word without meaning for the most part, nevertheless
received special attention throughout the period. The
youth of the country was much abused, and inspectors
and commissioners were by no means blind to the fact,
although no steps were taken to remedy the conditions
which they described. There was no regular system of
indentures for apprentices - often no written contract
was made, and neither master nor servant had any
security. In 1878, while a few firms gave evidence
that they bound their apprentices, the majority answered
vaguely that "young people come for a time to learn,
without pay"17 or that "we do not bind apprentices as
such - we merely take them and teach them".18 In 1880
the matter received particular attention, and the entire
lack of any system was shown very forcibly - but quite
without effect. The position is aptly illustrated by
the frank avowal of one cabinetmaker that

Although we have a large number of
boys in our employ we do not bind them
as apprentices; that, we find does not
work in this colony. We take our boys
for four to five years and say to them
...'we morally bind you. While you are
good lads, pay attention to your work
and do what you are told, you will be
taught your trade, but if you do not do
that you will be turned about your
business.' That is our system here of
teaching lads to be cabinet makers.19

17. Ibid., p.11 - cf. many other examples pp.12,14,19,30 -
In every trade there was the same lack of system - in
dressmaking, bootmaking, cabinetmaking particularly.
The possibilities of exploiting youth which such a system offered are obvious and the employers used them to the full. Apprentices were a cheap form of labour, they could always be "turned about their business" once they became proficient enough to expect larger wages and given pressure of circumstances it was only to be expected that, as the Sweating Commission reported in 1890, most trades were overrun with boys". The report tells us that "the system of indenturing apprentices for a specific term has fallen, generally speaking, into disuse" but it is doubtful whether such a system had ever been in use. At least it was not regularly adopted at anytime during the eighties.

Thus, all the ills which the Sweating Commission denounced in 1890 had been growing up throughout the period. They had not passed unnoticed, but pressure of circumstances and the indifference of a bewildering succession of Conservative ministries left them quite unremedied - with what results, it was soon to be forcibly demonstrated.

20 A to J 1890 H-S P10
21 Ibid P10
An unnatural boom and unprecedented prosperity might produce over-population, an atmosphere of optimism that was almost unreal and a rush to set up new manufactures prematurely. Desperate financial straits, absorption in finding a means of recovery, might produce futile legislation to regulate these manufactures, an lax administration with the attendant growth of a system of virtual slavery among women, grave abuse of youth and injustice to men. Yet there was one thing which they could not affect, and this was the determination of the Government to create and maintain a system of education which should prevent any young person in the colony from growing up "a colonial arab and an ignoramus".¹ One saving feature of the policy of the Government through the rise and fall of fortune is this conviction that "the Government which did not insist on the education of its youth neglected one of its most important duties".² A conviction that not even a depression could shake.

Thus, while the seventies saw a steady advance towards the establishment of a national system of education—free, secular and compulsory—the eighties

2. Ibid., p.347.
saw no retrogression. Rather was the existing organisation strengthened and extended to include, on the one hand institutions for higher education, and on the other establishments for unfortunates. If a cause touches a poor man's purse, it is certain that it has touched his heart, and nothing could give better practical proof of the genuine concern of the government for children in the colony. It did seem that, as Mr. Wynn Williams asserted "People with little education themselves appreciated the value of things they had been deprived of" and the history of education from 1870 to 1890 is a record of men's attempts to provide these things, economic vicissitudes notwithstanding.

Already by the end of the sixties, there was a move towards the establishment of a uniform education system throughout the colony. True, the provinces had "made interesting, careful and successful experiments in primary education" and especially in the more fortunate southern provinces the education system was extremely creditable. Yet it was too uneven to be satisfactory, and the complete breakdown of the system in Auckland was dramatic proof of the necessity for a National system to aid poorer provinces. Despite the desire of the

5. See Chapter IV.
settlers "not to disgrace themselves in the eyes of posterity by handing down an uneducated and untrained people", 6 a province harassed by Maori wars, suffering from the constant diminution of its land revenues and on the verge of bankruptcy could not support an adequate system of education. In 1868 the Provincial Council repealed the Education Act and left the schools to their own resources.7

There was immediate and energetic protest and Ball in the House urged that although "every province was satisfied with its own education system" 8 now, in the "decrepitude of Provincialism" and with the evidence of weakness before them, members should realise that "the matter was too vital to be left to provincial legislatures" 9 hampered as they were by lack of revenue. A speedy remedy was necessary for this "strangely discordant and incongruous state of things" and Ball obtained the passage of a resolution calling upon the government to provide "a comprehensive system of public schools adapted to the needs of the whole colony".10

Yet disagreement over the provisions of this

9. Ibid., p.524.
10. Ibid., pp.523-4.
comprehensive system delayed its establishment. "The dread of a colonial measure ... wrought wonders in some of the provinces" and reorganisation took place in every province.

The Bill introduced by Fox in 1871 was indeed "one in which all sections of the community took great interest." Public lectures, newspaper articles, election speeches all stressed the subject of education. "the all important object to which they should all turn their earnest attention". However, the issues which it raised were too controversial to be immediately accepted, and when it was re-introduced in 1873 with permissive clauses for the application of the compulsory principle, protests from the provinces were sufficient to reduce the Bill to "a legislative abortion".

This was but a breathing space, however. The establishment of a National system could not be long delayed and in 1877 Bowen's bill became the Act which was

12. See Butchers, op. cit., p.214.
16. See Butchers, op. cit., p.289. The system was neither free nor secular, but the compulsory principle was recognised. Provision was made for a strong central department with its own inspectorate. Scope was still given for the denominational system and Roman Catholics.
to be the keystone of the education system in New Zealand for twenty-five years. Apart from the principle of centralisation (which Butchers assures us was carried out very imperfectly) the Act merely asserted and co-ordinated tendencies in the field of education as well as of politics which had been manifested earlier in the period.

The principle of the necessity, the practical wisdom, of a system of universal education, had been asserted from the beginning and it had never been seriously challenged. Some alarm might now be felt at the prospect of over-educating the working class - "Who then", protested Mr. Haughton "would be left to black the boots?" No one, apparently, suggested that the honourable member black his own boots although it would certainly be the obvious rejoinder today. The general feeling was, however, that so comprehensive a measure, far from breeding up a nation of "educated paupers" was likely to afford to labour the means of avoiding poverty and raising the prosperity of the community as a whole.

Besides promoting prosperity, there seemed no doubt that

18. Ibid., p.335.
21. "Ignorance combined with poverty might grovel in misery for ever. With the spread of intelligence among the masses, slavery and serfdom were disappearing from the world". P.D. Vol.10, p.349.
education would benefit society by preventing crime, for "education teaches the self control that is absolutely necessary for a civilised state of society".  

There was then no contention of the principle that while education was the just prerogative of all, it was in the true interest of society to fulfil that prerogative. How this was to be carried into effect was a matter for some dispute. Had the State any right to force children to attend school? Should it do so, if it could? Was it possible for a system to be both compulsory and free? Could it be made compulsory without being free? Such were the questions which agitated men's minds.

We have seen that in theory, the general opinion was distinctly in favour of education for all. In the practical problem of ensuring that the people should take advantage of opportunities offered, opinion was no less decided, although the matter was hotly debated.

Domett had early taken his stand on "the right and duty and wisest policy of the Government to compel parents to give their children the benefit of education when provided", and the question of compulsion had been

23. L.T., July 6th, 1877 "The State does not provide for primary education as a matter of charity, but as a matter of duty."
24. Miss Stevenson's thesis p.272. "There are perhaps more reasons why a government should by legislative enactment compel parents to provide children destitute of it with moral than even, as ours has already done, with physical sustenance."
an issue from the beginning. The Committee of Education set up in Auckland in 1849, upon recommending the adoption of compulsory education had met with a very unfavourable reply from the Governor, who contended that "the principle of compulsory education involves ... so new and startling a departure from ordinary practice that much consideration and many enquiries would be necessary before a Government would feel justified in proposing its adoption".  

It was, indeed a great step towards asserting the control of the State over the individual, and the importance of the interests of Society over those of the grasping parent. - "The stability of the whole and the interests of the child make it imperative that neither poverty nor carelessness on the part of the parents shall send their young into the world with the weakness and disadvantage of non-natural deficiency."  

It might be argued that here was an unwarranted assumption—surely a parent had the right to do as he pleased with his own children, "But the public good demands that he should not. Can anything be more injurious to his neighbours than to turn loose among them an uneducated son".

The provinces had differed widely in the application

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of any compulsion, and although the Nelson system had involved indirect compulsion the 1872 Act in Auckland was the first to introduce direct compulsion in attendance. The national bills which were brought in definitely recognised the principle of compulsion.

Fox in introducing the Bill of 1871 maintained that, "children should be of use to the State, instead of being allowed to perpetuate ignorance, vice and crime" and the measure provided for the enforcement of attendance of children between seven and twelve living within two miles of a school. When the bill was re-introduced in 1873 this provision was, however, included only with a permissive clause, and so it remained in the Act of 1877.

The abstract principle was thus recognised and fortified by the realisation that the "new, startling departure" was already accepted in many European countries opinion was, in the main, favourable. "Come it must" admitted an article in the New Zealand Magazine... compulsion is demanded on the grounds of exigency, economy and

28. Butchers Y.N.Z. App. B-4. A general rate was levied in respect of all children of school age living within 3 miles of a school, whether they attended or not. The system was introduced into Canterbury by the Bill of 1870.
29. This clause was only a permissive one, however.
31. Butchers Y.N.Z., App. C. Statutory obligation was imposed on all parents living within 2 miles of a school to send children between seven and thirteen years of age to school for at least half the period for which in a school year the school was open, although exemption might be obtained in certain circumstances, but this was to come into force on a vote of a majority of the school committee.
32. A. to J., 1871, G-16.
benevolence (for) ... the State is strengthened by every educated person".33

Yet the caution with which the clause was put into effect savours somewhat of the same laxity as was found in the administration of the factory legislation. The answer made to an enquiry on the matter in the house revealed that even when the accommodation available allowed a committee to adopt the clause, its enforcement was the very reverse of strict. The committee would enlist the aid of the police who were instructed that they should "cautiously ascertain if, on the beats, patrols or sections there are any children ... not attending school, in contravention of the law; and if so, make a note of the facts, taking the names of the parents and guardians; at the same time where necessary explaining to them the law relative to school attendance".34 Such a procedure, one can well imagine would hold no terrors for an unscrupulous parent determined to exploit his children.

At least, however, the principle had been affirmed - the foundation was laid for further advances, while the adoption of the compulsory clause ensured that the system should be free and secular.35 Commercial depression

33 N.Z. Magazine Vol. 1 p. 231
35 This notwithstanding protests that the one would lead to disregard for the value of education, and the other to the speedy disintegration of society.
notwithstanding the foundation thus laid down remained firm, throughout the period. "Hands off the Education Act" was the cry\textsuperscript{36} and although the motto of "No more Vogelism, no more extravagance"\textsuperscript{37} might involve considerable economies, the scope of free public education was not reduced.\textsuperscript{38} No economies were practised until 1887 when the salaries of teachers were cut down,\textsuperscript{39} and although the training colleges were closed the primary system continued to expand.\textsuperscript{40} The salaries of teachers might be niggardly, but a large number of small new schools were set up,\textsuperscript{41} and there was soon a noticeable improvement in the percentage of children of school age attending.\textsuperscript{42}

An important feature of the whole system was the degree to which local control was maintained. Mr. Tosswill, in a lecture delivered in 1871, attributed the wide interest shown in the subject of education to the fact that local committees had the management of their own affairs. "The result" he said "has been highly satisfactory so far as regards the awakening of the people to the importance of giving their children the

\textsuperscript{36} Butchers, \textit{Education in N.Z.}, p.13.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p.17.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., pp.15-16.
\textsuperscript{39} Butchers, \textit{Education in N.Z.}, p.17.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p.139.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p.138.
\textsuperscript{42} Before 1877 - \textsuperscript{50}\% \textsuperscript{1878} - \textsuperscript{73}\% \textit{Ibid.}
best possible education. Not only did such an arrangement stimulate interest, but it provided a means of using this interest to practical ends, and despite the fact that the Act of 1877 imposed a uniform system on the whole colony, the school committees kept wide powers, while the Provincial Education Boards had the right to appoint their own inspectorate.

In addition to the extension of the primary system, advances were made towards providing for higher education, and although "the greatest blot on the Bill" according to Sir Robert Stout was its failure to provide for a system of secondary education, Government aid was forthcoming to a large extent after the passing of the Act. An Education Reserves Act of 1877 had apportioned one quarter of the endowments in each district to secondary education and a feature of the period 1877 to 1890 is the increase in the number of endowed high-schools. Stout, especially, was concerned to provide secondary schools in every centre and although the provincialism of Grey had ensured that they should be a matter of local instead of national concern, the number of "superior schools receiving Government aid" rose from five in 1877 to twenty-two in 1890. There was also an increase in the

43. Prese, Sept. 13th, 1871.
46. These were described as "colleges, grammar and high schools aided or endowed". Statistics of N.Z. 1890, p.335
number of scholarships offered, from ninety-seven in 1878 to two hundred and thirteen in 1888, so that increased facilities ran parallel with increased opportunity and "the seed of free secondary education" was sown. 47

A great deal of hostility was shown towards these schools to which were allotted what was considered a disproportionate share of the endowments, in view of their limited scope. It was thought that it was not the duty of the State to provide "luxuries" in education, and that the high schools which were provided by the State were filled to a large extent with the children of the wealthy who could well afford to pay for their own education. 48 The curriculum too was criticised, as being too academic in bias, 49 and attempts to meet this criticism led to a consideration of the whole question of technical training.

This problem had, says Nicol "often been discussed in educational circles from the seventies on", but "it was not so vital to the material progress and welfare of the community as in highly industrialised countries", so that there was no urgent need to be fulfilled. 50

47. Butchers, Education in N.Z., p.141.
49. Ibid., p.97.
It was however realised in the industrial as in the educational world that technical education would, on the one hand aid in the development of industry and, on the other help to fit boys and girls to be useful members of society. "The more numerous the manufactures of a country are, the higher will be the intelligence of its inhabitants, and manufactures cannot be properly developed till more attention is paid to technical education", Stout maintained.

More advanced theoretical technical training was advocated from the seventies on by the N.Z. Institute, and Dr. Hector urged that use should be made of Museum facilities, while an enquiry was made to the Agent General in London for a report as to the scheme of scientific education most practicable for the colony. More elementary trade training was also provided to some extent in each of the main centres; before 1877, In Dunedin the Mechanics' Institute had been founded early, and evening classes began in 1857. Despite some vicissitudes these continued to be held under the auspices of various bodies throughout the earlier period. In Wellington, however, the Mechanics' Institute which had been founded in 1850 lapsed from lack of support and

52. A. to J., 1870, D-25.
53. Ibid., F-1, p. 29.
although in Canterbury agitation had led in 1870 to a Museum and Library Ordinance making preliminary provision for the establishment of a school of technical science\textsuperscript{56} and in other districts primary school teachers seem to have made some effort on their own initiative to set up classes, the commissioners of 1879 reported that satisfactory lecture courses were being held nowhere but in Dunedin and Timaru.\textsuperscript{57} A grant made in 1882 of four thousand pounds to be divided among the various Education Boards to encourage technical education was not expended.\textsuperscript{58}

However there was a growing realisation of the necessity for technical education and practical training, and it was pointed out that "in many countries a practical preliminary training, for a handicraft, trade or profession was ... considered indispensable".\textsuperscript{59}

In Canterbury, the University took a hand, and the Christchurch Industrial Association began negotiations with the Government at the instance of Professor Bickerton in 1881. The matter was eventually turned over to the Canterbury College Board of Governors who arranged a series of lectures.\textsuperscript{60} During 1884 Professor Bickerton

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p.9.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p.15.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Ibid., pp. 21-2.
\item \textsuperscript{59} N.Z. Mag., Vol. 2, p.155.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Nicol, op. cit., p.19.
\end{itemize}
gave lectures on elementary experimental science and a further course at a low fee was planned for 1885. The agitation was evidently to some effect, for the Otago Trades and Labour Council even tried to make technical education a political issue.

Stout, who became minister of education in 1885, recognised that "if the colony is to improve its position in production and manufactures, steps must be taken to train our youth." He complained that "technical education had been almost entirely ignored" and he set to work to give the syllabus a more practical bent. Within the primary schools where the syllabus was limited by the Act of 1877, little could be done beyond the introduction of drawing as a compulsory subject. Stout looked mainly, therefore, to the secondary schools and the newly established University Colleges to take up the work. In 1885 Habens brought to the notice of the Government the Report of the English Royal Commission on technical education, and Stout took up the cause energetically. Through Mr. Hislop, the chief inspector, he sent out a circular letter to secondary schools which pointed out "the great importance

61. A. to J., 1885, E-1D, p.5.
64. Ibid., Vol. 52, p.113.
of including in the programme of the secondary schools as much instruction as possible in subjects that have a direct bearing upon the technical arts of modern life".65 This led to "a great stirring of the dry bones",66 and within the schools it was admitted that "pupils should be taught such subjects as will be substantially useful to them when they take their place in the world".67 The Chairman of the Taranaki Education Board protesting against academic trends pointed out that "here, as elsewhere in the colony, a practical view is taken of these matters".68 As the numbers attending the high schools increased it became obvious that all could not be cast in the mould of the professional man or the clerk, and definite efforts were now made in many instances to fit them for industry, or for a trade.

In Auckland nothing was done until 1895, for lack of funds, but at Wellington College classes were begun in February 1885 in engineering, carpentering and blacksmithing - outside school hours,69 an art master was appointed, and evening classes began which eventually developed into the Wellington Technical School.70

65. A. to J., 1885, E-1D, p.4.
68. Ibid., p.8.
69. Ibid., 1885, E-1D, p.10.
70. Butchers, Ed. in N.Z., p.105.
Napier High School made a start with woodwork classes,\textsuperscript{71} and Wanganui Collegiate School had classes practical carpentering,\textsuperscript{72} while in Thames the syllabus had been given a more practical bias by the inclusion drawing, physics and chemistry, and evening classes held.\textsuperscript{73}

In Dunedin the matter was taken up by G. M. Thom who, impressed by an ex-miner teacher's scheme to make education practical and imbued with a sense of moral towards the young\textsuperscript{74} called a meeting which eventually to the formation of the Technical Classes Association in 1889, laying the foundation for the Technical Coll as in Wellington.\textsuperscript{75}

By 1890 then, a move had been made to provide for a larger secondary school population the kind of education suited to their needs. It was but a halting beginning but no more could be expected of a country in the grip of depression.

Provision had thus been made for the fortunate c

\textsuperscript{71} A. to J. 1885, E-LD, p.4.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p.5.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., p.6.
\textsuperscript{74} He "wanted something to provide for these young people the means of self improvement, which will to them a door of escape from the polluting influence of idleness, and thus give them the chance of using for wise and good ends the ample spare time which our easy-going working hours give them".
\textsuperscript{75} Nicol, op. cit., p.34.
\textsuperscript{76} Butchere, Ed. in N.Z., p.105, Nicol, op. cit., pp. 33-35.
and the normal child. The unfortunates were not forgotten.

Despite the financial straits in which it found itself, the government showed practical interest in the children of the colony who were handicapped physically.

In 1886, in his speech, refers to the fact that a grant from the Charitable Aid Vote has been made for some years, to aid children to attend the Blind School near Melbourne, while at the end of this year "payment was being made (in part or whole) by the Government ... for the maintenance and education of six blind pupils sent to Melbourne for instruction, and of one sent to Sydney, and for instruction in music for a blind youth at Dunedin."77

A school for deaf-mutes was opened at Sumner in 1880, under Mr. Van Asch, and the numbers attending increased steadily from 10 in 1880 to 42 at the end of 1889.78 For the training of these children, a charge of £40 a year was made, but the Government admitted a number of children free, or at reduced rates "in order that no child capable of receiving benefit from the institution may be excluded".80 Here, the necessity for technical and practical training to fit the children to take their place

77. A. to J. 1887, E1-p.xv.
78. Butchers, Ed. in E.Z., p.78.
79. A. to J., 1890, E-4, p.1.
80. A. to J., 1895, E-4, p.2.
as normal beings in trade and industry was often stressed. "Industrial instruction" says Butchers "was a feature of the institution", and Mr. Wm. Asch urged the benefits which would follow the adoption of the European and American method of training the deaf by backing up school learning by some training in a useful trade.

Trade training, and education were also stressed as a means of recovering criminal and neglected children, cared for in the Industrial Schools which gradually came under the control of the Education Department. The Government had a great desire by education and such means to catch youths in time, and by the aid of the schoolmaster to lessen the duties of the gaoler, and throughout the period this was kept in view. Visitors and inspectors mainly prevented any serious exploitation or abuse of the children, and the boarding out system.

81. Butchers, Ed. in N.Z., p.78.
82. A. to J. 1889, E-4, p.1.
83. 1. The 1877 Education Act gave power to the Government to have all industrial schools inspected by an officer of the department. (p.74 – Ed. in N.Z.)
2. In 1880 the administration of these schools was transferred entirely to the Education Dept. (Ibid., p.75).
3. By 1886 the Ed. Bd. made payments to all industrial schools (Ibid., p.77).
84. P.D. Vol.41, p.305.
85. cf. Report from Benjamin Britton, master of the Caversham School in 1873 who tells us "I have a greater demand for boys and girls from the institution than I can supply at present, in consequence of the children of both sexes being too young and small and requiring more schooling" (V. & P. of Otago P.C. Scss. XXXI, p.57.)
begun in 1881 under the Adoption of Children Act seems to have worked well. On the whole, although perhaps official reports must be taken at a discount, the general atmosphere seems to have been kindly and the schools appear to have done good work, "the magistrates evincing a strong disinclination to commit young offenders ... to the common gaols, from a very proper fear of opening the gate to their entrance on a career of professional crime".

Such bequests as the Costley Bequest to which was later added the Rebecca Hodge Bequest, in Auckland, are also evidence of the general interest which was taken in saving unfortunate children from miserable lives by training them to take a useful place in the community.

On the whole then, although the period of 1870 to 1890 includes an economic boom and a depression of unprecedented intensity, in education there is no faltering. Once having co-ordinated all the various

86. Butchers, Ed. in N.Z., pp. 75-78.
87. For example - Both Caversham and Burnham boasted bands, and during his inspection of Caversham in 1885 Mr. Taylor tells us "a fife and drum band of about 20 small performers played some selections with accuracy and much vigor". A. to J. 1889, E-3, p.9, while the Burnham band even paid a visit to Dunedin.
88. A. to J., 1889, E-3, p.5.
89. A. to J., 1890 E-3A gives an account of the history and aims of the Costley Training Institute.
efforts hitherto made to ensure the proper education of children, and to enforce this the Government turned its attention to the further development of the system, and the principle of the necessity for training children in a practical way was already recognised and put into practice, especially in the case of children who were disabled or delinquent.

The actual achievements were not perhaps very extensive. But a beginning had been made in the building of a comprehensive system. That so much could be accomplished even at a time when the colony faced bankruptcy speaks volumes as to the sincerity of the humanitarian spirit existing in the colony.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The hopes of the early immigrants had not been entirely disappointed, and the "oligarchy" which had ruled New Zealand in these first years of self government had at least laid the foundations for further developments which the people, enfranchised in 1880 were now to effect.

That major reform was necessary is obvious from the picture drawn by the journalists of the Otago Times in 1889, and by the Commissioners of 1890. In industry, conditions were deplorable and ill-regulated, and it was only by the efforts of the people themselves that a remedy was found.

Yet the way had already been marked along which these reformers were to follow.

In the first place, as Pember Reeves points out, "the factory system in N.Z. was caught young" and before it had developed to any extent legislation had been enacted to regulate conditions. Here was to be no struggle as to the right of the State to interfere. The argument of the English example had been too forceful to be gainsaid, and the necessity for some restraint of the "rights of the

2. cf. Pember Reeves, The Long White Cloud (1893), p. 367
individual" in the shape of factory legislation was universally admitted in the case of protecting women and children.

Most noticeable is the marked interest taken in the children of the colony — an interest that has been continued with good result to the present day. In this early period we already see the beneficial results of this interest in several fields.

In the sphere of industry itself, the principle of the necessity for affording protection to children was accepted without question, and some degree of safeguard had been provided through legislation. But the inadequacy of this was atoned for in the field of education.

There had always been "a strong public sentiment in favour of a thorough going education for all classes of children," and it has been shown to what good effect this public sentiment was applied. The people themselves had already been able to make their influence felt in the matter of education as it was later to be felt in problems affecting land and industry.

In the eighties it is interesting to notice the importance which began to be attached to the inter-relation
of education and industry. The necessity for vocational training had thus already been recognised, albeit vaguely, and in this one may see the beginnings of the modern system of technical schools.

Unfortunate children were already cared for, and an attempt was made to reform the delinquent. Numerous institutions testify today to the development which has followed from these beginnings.

There was then no cause for disillusionment in considering the situation in 1890, for a sincere humanitarian spirit had, in these fields of child welfare, already had good effect.

An additional factor now to be considered in politics ensured that reform would be carried out where necessary, and that the foundations already laid would be built upon in an energetic way. Labour was beginning to stir. Enfranchised in 1880, with overseas example as an inspiration, the failure of direct action as a warning and dissatisfaction as a goad, Labour now felt that "it must awaken its thousands and use the unanswerable argument of its numbers". 4

So revolutionary Socialism was its programme but simply the search for a practical remedy for the ills of

the time. That such a remedy should involve a considerable degree of State control was no matter of mere doctrine, but of practical concern to regulate conditions in the best possible way - it was to be "le Socialisme sans doctrines", and the basic principle of State control of conditions had already been asserted in this early period. The concern of the Labour reformers, keenly conscious of existing ills, was not with doctrinaire declarations, but with practical measures to regulate conditions and to express the humanitarian ideal which should inspire State control.

"I see two Englands" said the Young Stranger to Egremont, "...Two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy, who are as ignorant of one another's habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets." The men who had led the colony, the masses who could now bring their opinion to bear, had also seen two Englands, and known what they meant. They were determined that such conditions should not be allowed to develop in New Zealand.

By 1890 then, it has been shown that the way had already been opened which future generations were to follow, while an aroused public opinion, and keen

5. Disraeli's, Sybil, 1845.
political consciousness ensured that the necessary reform would be speedily effected.

The dictum of Sir Robert Stout was not to be forgotten by succeeding statesmen, who have agreed with him that "the true function of the State is to make the most of the citizen. This is its only inexhaustible function".
APPENDIX A

Occupations of Early Assisted Immigrants to Wellington during 1840.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural Workers</th>
<th>Tradesmen and Artisans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farm labourers</td>
<td>blacksmithe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general labourers</td>
<td>bakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gardeners</td>
<td>butchers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>shepherds</td>
<td>bricklayers</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>cabinetmakers</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>carpenters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ships carpenters</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>engineers</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>plumbers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sailors</td>
</tr>
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<td>seedsman</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wheelwrights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tailors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shoemakers</td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shoebinders</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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### APPENDIX B

**Occupations of Early Canterbury Immigrants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ships arriving Dec. 1850 to Aug. 1851</th>
<th>1st 4 Ships</th>
<th>Castle Eden</th>
<th>Isabella Hercus</th>
<th>Travancore</th>
<th>Duke of Bronte</th>
<th>Steadfast</th>
<th>Labuan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shepherds, Ag. &amp; General Labourers</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painters</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbers &amp; glaziers</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printers</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemakers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanners</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>Tailors</td>
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<tr>
<td>Storekeeper</td>
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</table>

(Contd. p. iii)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shipp arriving Dec. 1850 to Aug. 1851</th>
<th>lst 4 Ships</th>
<th>Castle Eden</th>
<th>Isabella</th>
<th>Travancore</th>
<th>Duke of Bronte</th>
<th>Stead- Labuan fast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Servants</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. passengers (excluding wives and children)</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
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</table>
### OCCUPATIONS OF OTAGO SETTLERS

**MARCH 1850**

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<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shepherds and Labourers</td>
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<td>Male dom. Servants</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innkeepers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boatmen</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Servants</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundresses and Dressmakers</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others - incl. a gentleman employing labour</td>
<td>37</td>
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</table>
### APPENDIX D

**OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION IN 1848.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Wellington</th>
<th>Petre</th>
<th>Nelson</th>
<th>Akaroa</th>
<th>Otago</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalists and employers</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>253</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manufacturers, brewers, millers</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers etc.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks &amp; overseers</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>Manual labourers</td>
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<td>Printers</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Sawyers</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>147</td>
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<td>Carpenters</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bricklayers</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masons</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddle &amp; harness makers</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemakers</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>99</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Pastoral and agricultural</td>
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<td>labourers</td>
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<td>317</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>955</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carters</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishermen and Sailors</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Servants</td>
<td>M. 41</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. 117</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>4,668</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2,954</td>
<td>265</td>
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### APPENDIX E

Table to compare Percentage of total population in various provinces engaged in "trade, commerce and manufactures" 1858, 1864, 1867.

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<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>1858</th>
<th>1864</th>
<th>1867</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>3.87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>5.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>no figure</td>
<td>6.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(stated)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>5.74</td>
<td>5.15</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Total for 5 provinces 13.81 16.97 24.07

*(omitting Nelson figures)*

Figures adapted from Statistics of N.Z.

1858 Table No. 4.
1864 Pt. I Census No. 16.

-------------
APPENDIX F

Table to show the increase in Railway Construction 1870 to 1877.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount spent</th>
<th>No. miles Built</th>
<th>No. miles Building</th>
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<td>1870</td>
<td>£467.19. 5.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>£208,106. 4.10.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>£292,851.12. 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>£830,945.13. 6.</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>£1,564,576.11. 8.</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>£1,780,674.15. 3.</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>£1,432,191. 3. 0.</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>£756,047.11. 3.</td>
<td>1,052</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX G

Table to compare the state of industry in 1870 and 1877.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>No. of establishments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural implement fact.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon curing factories</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscuit factories</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonecutting mills</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiling down and meat preserving works</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick and tile factories</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brush factory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breweries</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot Factories</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage factories</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaffcutting mills</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing factories</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical works</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning and Dye-ing works</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee and spice factories</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordial factories</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonial wire making</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering works</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellmongery etc. works</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishcuring works</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaxmills</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture factories</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasworks</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glue manufactories</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain mills</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hat and cap factory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hematite paint works</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limeworks</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malthouses</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical instrument makers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oilskin manufactory</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papermills</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portmanteau factory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing works</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway building workshop</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rope and Tinsworks</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sail factory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauce and pickle factories</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship building works</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship's goods factories</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocking weaving</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cont.)
APPENDIX G (Contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>No. of establishments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soap and candle works</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouting and ridging factory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woollen mills</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures for 1870 are taken from the Julius Vogel Handbook, p.60 and those for 1878 are adapted from Statistics of New Zealand, 1882, p.242 ff.

The 1870 list also includes the following:

- 21 malt Kilns
- 38 collieries
- 109 sawmills
- 191 "factories for various purposes"
APPENDIX H

PROVISIONS OF N. Z.'S FIRST FACTORY ACT.

An Act to provide for Employment of Females in Workrooms and Factories (2nd October, 1873)

1. (Short title to be "The Employment of Females Act")

2. In the construction of this Act the following terms shall, if not inconsistent with the context or subject-matter, have the meanings hereby respectively assigned to them, that is to say:—

"Employ" shall apply to all kinds of manual work and labour in the preparing or manufacturing articles for trade or sale, not being contract or piece work.

"Female" means any woman or female child employed in preparing or manufacturing articles for trade or sale.

"Workroom" includes any place in which females are so employed.

3. No person shall employ any female at any time between the hours of six in the afternoon and nine in the morning, or for more than eight hours in any one day.

4. Every female shall have holiday on every Saturday afternoon from two o'clock, and on Sunday, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, and any other day set apart as a public holiday, without loss of wages.

5. Every workroom shall be properly ventilated.

6. If any employer of females commits a breach of this Act, such employer shall be liable to each offence to a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds. The penalty may be recovered before any two Justices in a summary way by any person who may sue for the same.

7. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions hereof, any person authorized in writing by a Resident Magistrate may enter and inspect any workroom at any time during working hours.

Statutes of N.Z., 1873, p.313.
### APPENDIX I

Table to show the development of manufacturing industry in New Zealand 1878–1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>No. works hands 1878</th>
<th>No. works hands 1886</th>
<th>No. works hands 1886</th>
<th>No. works hands 1890</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural implement</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine factories</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon works</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellows manufactory</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscuit factories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiling down and meat</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres. works</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonecutting mills</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot factories</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breweries</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brush factories</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick, tile and pottery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>works</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaffcutting mills</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical works</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning-Dyeing works</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing factories</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach building factories</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordial factories</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee &amp; spice factories</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellmongeries</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishcuring works</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flax mills &amp; factories</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture factories</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>479</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glass factories</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glue factories</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain mills</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hematite paint factories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron and brass foundries</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malthouses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical instr. makers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ornamental silk workshop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portmanteau factory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing works</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1268</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>1779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper mills</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucers and pickle factories</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawmills, saw and door</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factories</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>4114</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>4238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship-building yards</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap and candle factories</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouting and ridging</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factories</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starch works</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woollen mills</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Many unspecified)
industries in 1890 -
"other industries"

Figures for 1878 and 1881 are adapted from Statistics of N.Z., 1882; p.224 ff.
Those for 1886 from Statistics of N.Z., 1886, p.280 ff. and those for 1890 from the
See Appendix J for the manufactures begun between 1821 and 1886.
## APPENDIX J

### INDUSTRIES SET UP BETWEEN 1881 AND 1886

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>No. Works</th>
<th>No. Hands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baking powder works</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbed wire mfr.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bark crushing mill</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket and perambulator mfr.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boilermaking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brush mfr.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardboard box mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartridge mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair &amp; washboard mfr.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese and butter mfr.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cream factory</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confectionery mfr.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperages</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cork mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycle making</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire Kindler mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flock mills</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit case mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiddle string mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heel &amp; toe plate mfr.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jam and fruit preserving</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladder &amp; barrow mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil mill</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ointment making</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper bag mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfume mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar refining</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinware mfr.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinegar mfr.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venetian blind mfr.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from *New Zealand. Statistics, 1886*, p. 230 ff.
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ABBREVIATIONS.

For the sake of brevity the following abbreviations have been used.

A. to J. Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives.

P.D. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.

L.T. The Lyttelton Times.

Ed. in N.Z. Education in New Zealand.

Y.N.Z. Young New Zealand.


P.C.