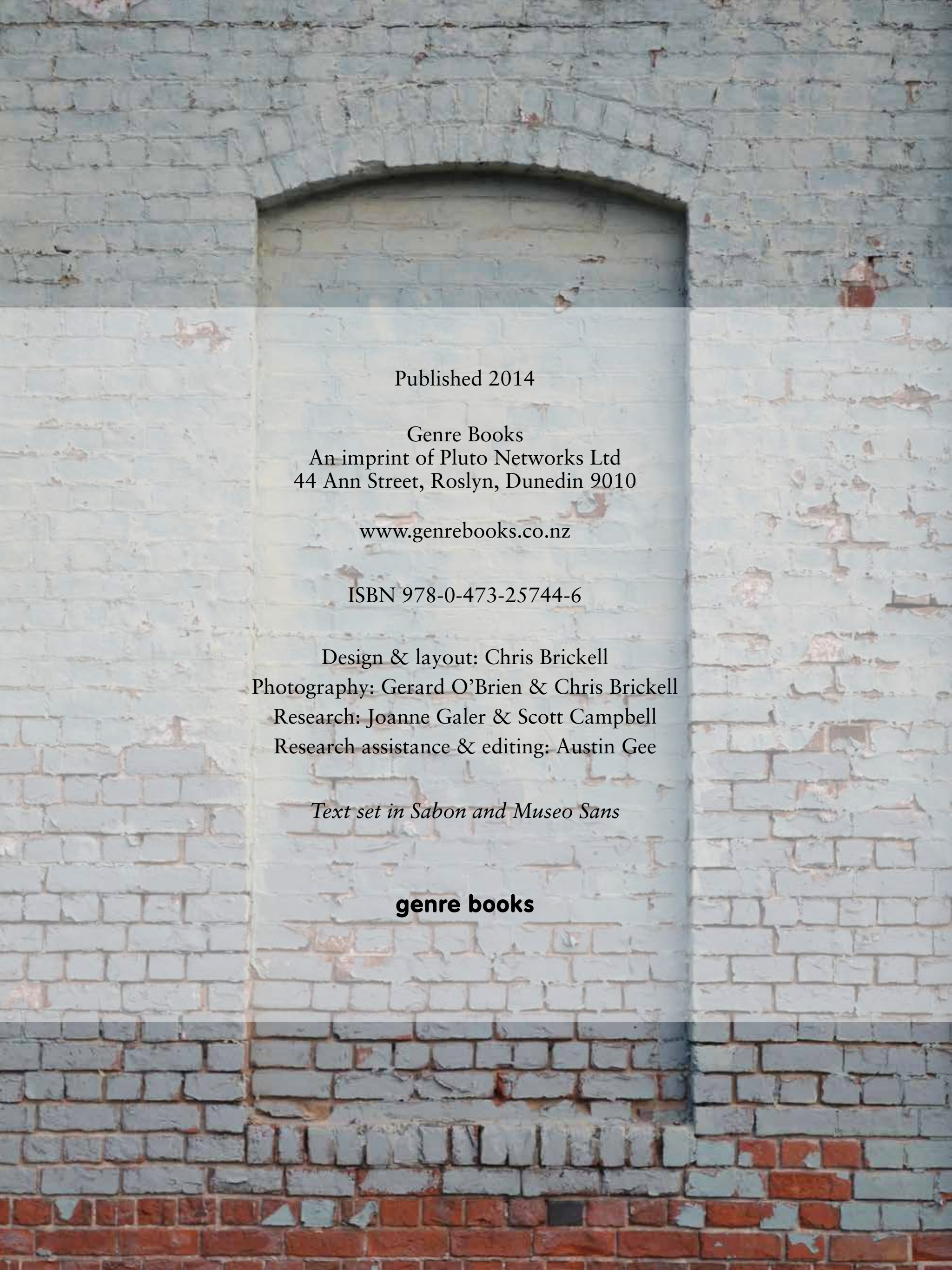




DUNEDIN'S WAREHOUSE PRECINCT

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Published 2014

Genre Books
An imprint of Pluto Networks Ltd
44 Ann Street, Roslyn, Dunedin 9010

www.genrebooks.co.nz

ISBN 978-0-473-25744-6

Design & layout: Chris Brickell
Photography: Gerard O'Brien & Chris Brickell
Research: Joanne Galer & Scott Campbell
Research assistance & editing: Austin Gee

Text set in Sabon and Museo Sans

genre books

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COVER IMAGE: Vogel Street was laid out on leasehold Harbour Board land created by the phase of harbour reclamation that began in 1879. Its northern end developed rapidly and remains one of the most built-up parts of the precinct. Many of the façades were modernised in the mid-twentieth century, but the original doors and windows were usually retained. Only two of the buildings shown here do not also have a façade to Cumberland Street. From *left to right* can be seen Queens Gardens House, formerly the offices of the Perpetual Trustees Estate & Agency Co, designed in 1880–2 by John Burnside; next the offices of the coal merchants Ogilvie & Co, a small building no deeper than its façade is wide (it backed onto an internal courtyard formed by the Cumberland Street block of the Terminus (later the Gresham) Hotel); then comes WH Dunning’s warehouse extension of 1929 for the ironmongers Paterson & Barr; Hogg, Howison, Nicol & Co’s building of 1881–2 by Robert Forrest; the Milne Bremner building, built for Hogg, Howison in 1887–8 also by Forrest; and Vogel House of 1886, by RA Lawson. Across Water Street, the third NMA head office, built for the USSCo in 1883 by David Ross; Keith Ramsay and Henry Guthrie’s offices of 1880–1, also by Lawson (like Ogilvie & Co, it has no Cumberland Street frontage); the USSCo store (later the South Island Dairy Association’s store); and, nearest the camera, the northern end of Donald Reid’s large warehouse of 1881. Most commercial buildings have been colourfully painted since the late 1980s. For most of their existence they displayed their natural rendered finish, stone or brickwork.



Introduction: Heritage in Place

YESTERDAY'S ephemera are today's treasures. Relics of the past once consigned to eclectic local museums and antique shops now can be found throughout the entire country in a wide range of contexts. We take solace from the past and its buildings, relics and landscapes. They provide us with comfort and a source of collective identity in a globalized internet-linked world where points of reference are sometimes obscured.

Dunedin's warehouse district is a newly rediscovered treasure. Spanning the few blocks stretching from the harbour-side to Princes Street, from Queens Gardens to the Oval, for many years this area slipped out of the public eye. The grid-pattern street layout contains a dense mixture of commercial and industrial buildings, typically between two and four storeys high. Many have a decorative façade to the street and plain brick or masonry walls facing their neighbours. Some became derelict, others home to a variety of uses. A few have been demolished to create car parks. Recently, many of the buildings have become the subject of renewed enthusiasm, being strengthened, refurbished, repainted and valued once again. The city council promotes the adaptive re-use of former commercial buildings and improvements to the streetscape. There are clear signs of a new interest in the precinct among the public in the form of walking tours and articles in the press.

Alongside this new enthusiasm lies an interest in the history of these structures. They were not just warehouses, but also head offices, stores, shops and manufacturing plants. There is diversity here as well as unity:



THIS UNION STEAM SHIP COMPANY building in Water Street was repainted in mid-2013 while, over the other side of the railway line on the corner of Thomas Burns and Fryatt Streets, the NZ Loan and Mercantile Agency building awaits a new future.

similarities and differences can be seen in function, scale and architectural style. The precinct was the commercial heart of the city in the period when Dunedin was the financial and manufacturing capital of New Zealand.

MONUMENTS, markers, buildings, plaques and memorials play an important function in providing social cohesion. Their shared stories help individuals within a society connect with each other and provide a shared community heritage. At a national level, collective identity incorporates cultural values that are commonly agreed upon. With this sort of collective sense of identity we can speak of 'our' heritage or 'national' heritage. Yet even such broad meanings of heritage are constantly being redefined and reshaped. A changing population base brings with it national introspection and continual self-evaluation. Migration from Europe and Asia and the rise of Maori culture have altered perceptions of national heritage. A range of groups and communities are now asserting their identity within a national framework that has traditionally focussed on a British heritage.

In the New Zealand environment, British and Irish names and look-alike English or Scottish landscapes abound, along with sometimes unwisely imported flora and fauna. While domestic architecture followed Australian

adaptations of British and American designs, New Zealand's early colonial public buildings often consciously followed English or Scottish styles: Gothic revival and Scots baronial, but also neoclassical. This built environment came to be seen by later generations as something unique to New Zealand, and it has acquired heritage status. Its features have also become defining characteristics of New Zealand's national identity.

The Christchurch earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 not only reshaped the physical landscape, they also shaped and transformed our consciousness of the heritage value of the built environment — not just at a local level, but at a provincial and national level as well. The destruction and damage to iconic Christchurch buildings, potent symbols of that city's history — including the Provincial Council buildings, the former university and both cathedrals — has prompted a number of other regional cities to re-evaluate their own heritage buildings. Dunedin is at the forefront of this process: along with Oamaru, this city has the most significant remaining collection of Victorian commercial buildings. Earthquake strengthening is a significant consideration, but so too are heritage values in general. These re-evaluations have led to tensions among planners, architects, heritage advocates



THE CLARION BUILDING in Princes Street dates from 1878. Designed by William Mason, it was originally home to the retail drapers Kirkpatrick and Glendining, and subsequently to the hardware merchants Paterson and Barr. It was extensively earthquake strengthened in recent years and is now fully tenanted once more.

and property developers. They have also refocused the debate: no longer are we concerned only with individual buildings, but now we take clusters of buildings and entire heritage precincts into consideration. One aspect of this refocusing is the very concept of ‘Dunedin’s warehouse precinct’. This concept describes a coherent area which formerly had been seen as merely a collection of rather forgotten buildings.

The idea of a precinct is particularly important. It can be defined simply as an area in a town or city that holds special historic or heritage importance. It often finds its expression in the qualities of architecture and public places. In a heritage precinct we should aim to preserve both historic buildings and the precinct’s special ambience (within appropriate building and conservation codes), while at the same time allowing people to continue to live and work within the area. However, there are bound to be tensions between ‘heritage’ preservation, tourism, business and commercial realities, and the residential and social functions that make up communities.



THE PRECINCT CONCEPT is clearly visible in this image: the Union Steam Ship Company’s building, again, in the centre of the shot, with Consultancy House (the former NZ Express Company building) behind. Framing the two are (*left*) the recently restored NMA building and (*right*) Vogel House, formerly a store for Remshardt and Company and now apartments.



THE HORSE SALE YARD in Maclaggan Street. This is an attractive building with a prosaic purpose.

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE is a sadly neglected part of New Zealand's built environment. Until recently, professional and public interest focused almost entirely on churches, grand and great houses, and public buildings. Unfortunately, industrial sites, where much of the population worked, have been given scant and perfunctory treatment by professional and government institutions vested with the responsibility of conserving the nation's heritage. Priority has been given to the high-status buildings of the socially powerful rather than the factories and warehouses where a great many working people spent their days. Peter Spearritt points out that money and taste, rather than historical or cultural significance, frequently determine which industrial sites survive. The fabric and the workings of industrial plants can be read as a record of a particular phase in our history.¹ To the workers who were employed in them, they are a poignant reminder of their working conditions, industrial relations and technology in the same way as a re-used church building reminds its former congregation of its spirituality and sense of community.

New Zealand has inherited a significant legacy of structures resulting from colonial developments in areas such as agriculture, mining, shipping, railways and processing industries. Their tangible remains can be found in cities, provincial towns and throughout the countryside. Only in recent times have steps been taken to document and record this heritage. As Kathleen Stringer has noted, up until ‘the 1980s, the industrial heritage of New Zealand was neglected by both the Historic Places Trust and historians in general.’² From the late 1960s onwards the focus has tended to be not on industrial heritage, but on the natural environment, on the conservation of rivers, parks, flora and fauna. ‘Even now, the Historic Places Trust register does not use the term “Industrial” but rather “Manufacturing and Processing”; this category has 107 listings. “Agriculture and Horticulture”, on which foundations New Zealand was built, has 231 listings. In comparison, there are currently 514 religious buildings and 1680 “residential buildings and associated places” listed.’³

Heritage can be defined in holistic terms and includes the natural and the cultural, the tangible and the intangible. These elements are recognised and incorporated at an international level in the Nizhny Tagil Charter for the [sic] Industrial Heritage. This charter suggests that industrial heritage

consists of the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value. These remains consist of buildings and machinery, workshops, mills and factories, mines and sites for processing and refining, warehouses and stores, places where energy is generated, transmitted and used, transport and all its infrastructure, as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education.⁴

Further, the Charter states, industrial heritage

is the evidence of activities which had and continue to have profound historical consequences. The motives for protecting the [sic] industrial heritage are based on the universal value of this evidence, rather than on the singularity of unique sites ... industrial heritage is of social value as part of the record of the lives of ordinary men and women, and as such it provides an important sense of identity. It is of technological and scientific value in the history of

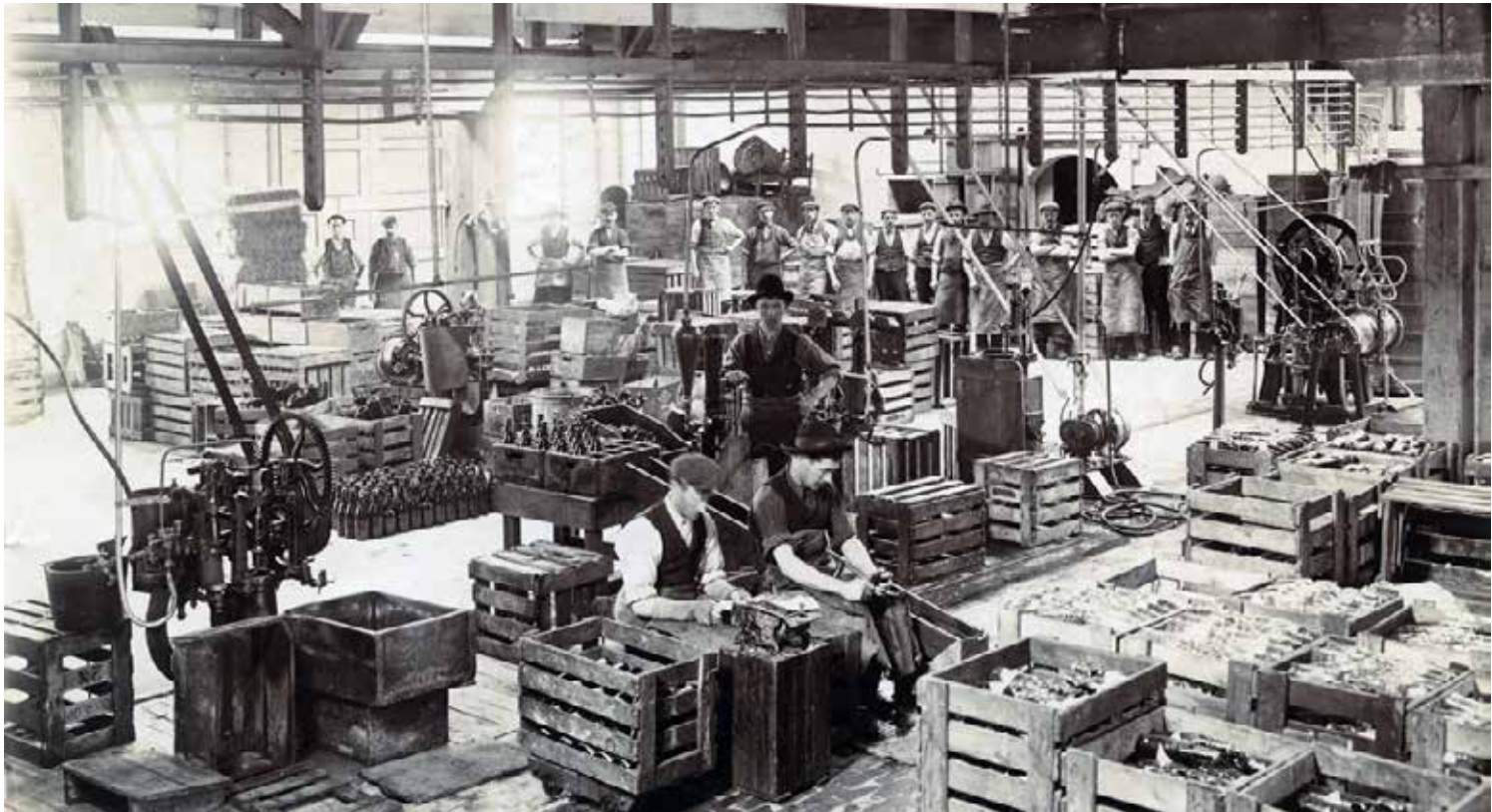
manufacturing, engineering, [and] construction, and it may have considerable aesthetic value for the quality of its architecture, design or planning.

These values are intrinsic to the site itself, its fabric, components, machinery and setting, in the industrial landscape, in written documentation, and also in the intangible records of industry contained in human memories and customs ... rarity, in terms of the survival of particular processes, site typologies or landscapes, adds particular value and should be carefully assessed. Early or pioneering examples are of especial value.⁵

We should take an historical landscapes approach, as the Nizhny Tagil Charter exhorts, and move away from the single-site approach towards a broad spatial, contextual view of industrial heritage. A landscapes approach to the warehouse area of Dunedin recognises the inter-relationship of both the tangible and intangible elements of heritage. It provides relevance and context to the waterfront community and its visitors, enriches our understanding of the past, and connects that past to the present and the future. The Dunedin waterfront warehouses constitute a particular type of cultural



THE VIEW NORTH UP BOND STREET from the Jetty Street corner encapsulates the importance of an historical landscapes approach. The buildings are of a wide range of periods and, considered individually, only a few are of particular architectural interest. The whole is greater than the sum of the parts, however: as a collective entity, they tell us far more about the close interconnectedness of the commercial life of the city and make clear the stages of its development. The prominent corner building with the Otago blue-and-gold corner shop is the former Wilson's Bond of 1873, designed by RA Lawson.



THOMSONS CORDIAL FACTORY, corner of Police and Crawford Streets (now demolished). Though the packing room does not look especially hygienic to modern eyes, Thomsons advertised its products under the slogan 'Purity'. Aprons are the only specialised clothing worn by the workmen as they label and pack the aerated water bottles. Otherwise, most are dressed in the waistcoats and flat caps or soft cloth hats typical of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; only the foreman wears a bowler hat. The numbers of workers employed by individual firms were not large: rarely more than thirty.

landscape: a historic local vernacular that has evolved as people's occupancy and activities have shaped that landscape. The precinct reflects the physical and cultural character of those everyday lives; the relationships between society and the built environment are inter-reactive and interdependent. Regardless of the power different cultural groups possess, they all create cultural landscapes to varying degrees and interpret them from their own perspectives. As Winston Churchill once said, 'We shape our buildings, and afterwards our buildings shape us.'⁶

A whole range of people made Dunedin's warehouse precinct: merchants, warehouse staff and factory workers. A 'warehouseman' was in charge of the warehouse, while the 'storeman' took responsibility for the goods stored there. 'Balers' made up the wool into bales, while the 'carters', 'carmen' or 'draymen' drove the vehicles that transported these goods to and from the wharves. The carters' assistants were sometimes known as 'nippers'. 'Tally clerks' kept a record of the goods arriving or departing from the warehouses. 'Wool factors' were the agents of wool merchants, while 'fell-

mongers' dealt in hides. 'Puddlers' worked in the iron foundries, casting in moulds made by the 'moulders'. A warehouse was not only a large building for the bulk storage of goods. Rather like 'The Warehouse' today, warehouses could also be large retail outlets selling consumer goods in bulk at low prices with a high turnover, typically ready-made clothing or china ware.⁷

There is a relative paucity of New Zealand sources on industrial heritage. Geoffrey Thornton's book *New Zealand's Industrial Heritage* (1982) provided the first survey of industrial archaeology in this country. It is an ambitious undertaking which attempts to trace the history of industry in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Thornton charts in some detail the progress of a number of early industries: flax, timber and flour milling, ship and bridge building, agriculture and mining; sealing and whaling fell outside his remit. Although it is lavishly illustrated, Thornton's work focuses solely on buildings and does not address the theoretical debates about industrial archaeology. Nearly twenty years after Thornton's book appeared, Nigel Smith attempted a similar overview in his *Heritage of Industry*. It too lacks a discussion of the theoretical debates, though it does incorporate aspects of an historical landscapes approach. Smith examines the development of a wide range of industries and the nature of work within them, as well as describing their physical remains.⁸



ALLEY WAY off Police Street between Princes and Bond Streets. The three gables to the right form the back wall of Briscoes iron yard of the 1860s, once one of the most prominent structures on the waterfront, but now dwarfed by later developments and several blocks inland. Today, this Dickensian alley's picturesque seediness has acquired an aura of post-industrial chic.

This book, *Dunedin's Warehouse Precinct*, covers more than 60 structures in their social, economic and historical context. Most were built in the late nineteenth century during the city's industrial golden age, when Dunedin was the largest and most industrialised city in the country — ahead of Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland. Embedded within the histories of these buildings — who used them, and how — is a national history of how colonial New Zealand found its industrial feet. After all, Dunedin was at the cutting edge of the country's industrial development. This makes the surviving buildings important to our national heritage; our sense of where we came from and how we worked when we got here. Oamaru has its well-known harbourside heritage precinct, but the irony is that Dunedin, where the head offices and largest warehouses were located, has yet to achieve similar recognition. If only we could unlock their histories, those still standing would tell of a time when Dunedin epitomised the possibility of achieving relative wealth in a new country thousands of miles away from an overcrowded Britain. This fast-changing and rapidly growing Dunedin was very different to the city we know now.



DISAPPEARED DUNEDIN: Another view of Thomson's cordial factory. Delivery trucks stand outside, on Police Street, the corner to Crawford Street on the far left.

Early boom times

MOST OF THE BOOM-TIME development of the 1860s, '70s and '80s occurred in an area around lower Rattray and Jetty Streets — the latter originally so named because Dunedin's main jetty for shipping was at its lower end. Early photographs show a conglomeration of industrial settlement at the water's edge. As a result of successive reclamations in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, this development gradually crept seaward; contractors poured more and more rubble and soil onto the bed of the harbour. In the 1870s, it was believed the land being reclaimed would provide 'the most valuable building sites for the metropolis of the future.'⁹ Two contemporary wood engravings of the same view of the city illustrate the great rate of progress: by 1875, reclamation had reached as far as the east side of Crawford Street, and by 1898 dry land stretched all the



PART OF A PANORAMA taken by the Burton Brothers from the spire of First Church in December 1874. The waterfront runs along Crawford Street, and Jetty Street ends in the two jetties. The railway line runs to the jetties, and the station is at bottom left in what is now Queens Gardens. The clock tower to the right of the picture is on the Stock Exchange building, completed in 1868 as the Post Office and demolished a century later. In front, the Customs House of 1863 stands at an angle facing lower High Street. Beyond the Exchange, in brick with distinctive limestone quoins, is the Provincial Government building of 1864. It was demolished in 1928 for the new Central Post Office, completed in 1937. In the bottom right of the picture is the second, temporary First Church in lower Dowling Street, which by this time had become Sargood, Son and Ewen's clothing and boot factory.

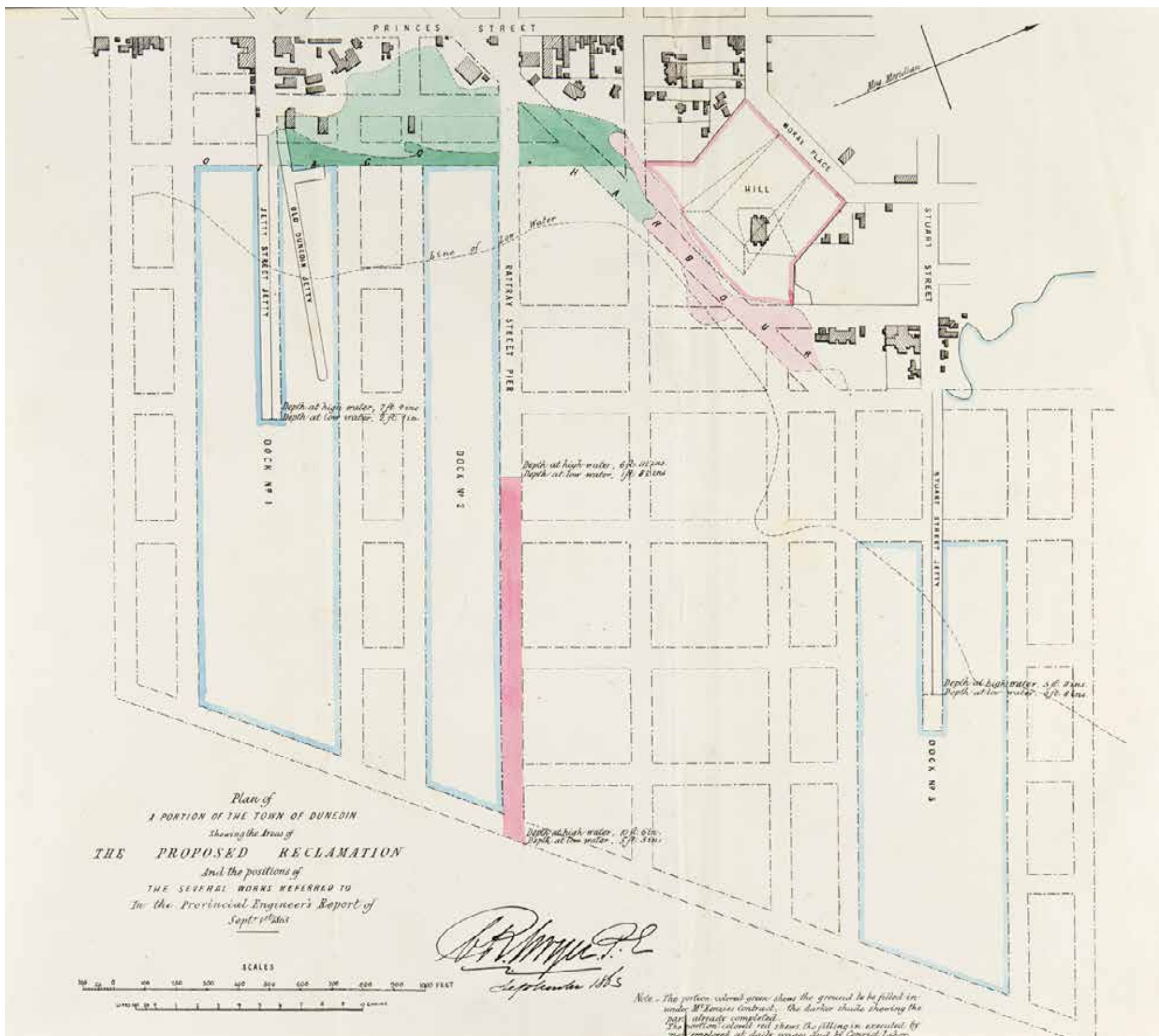


RATTRAY STREET WHARF (now Fryatt Street) in the late 1860s. This shows the ambitious scale of the reclamation that greatly increased the amount of flat land and anticipated Dunedin's expansion as a major commercial and trading centre. Just to the left of the ships' rigging is the Universal Bond, completed in 1865 and demolished in 1983. Commercial buildings and private houses spread over the hills to the west; the area north of Bell Hill was only sparsely populated at this stage.

way to Cumberland Street, then over a new railway line to Willis, Fryatt and Richardson (now Cresswell) Streets, where the shoreline remains to the present day.¹⁰

Reclamation created new land on which to build warehouses, offices and foundries. At the precinct's greatest extent, there were 118 warehouses, each employing up to thirty workers. Many of the warehouses and bonded or free stores comprised two or three storeys and could in some cases cover an acre or more.

The warehouse was often only part of a retail shop or a factory. Here produce was sorted, packed and re-packed both for export and for local sale. The warehouses dealt with most of the material passing through the port. Briscoe's, one of the larger, but by no means the largest[,] warehouse[s], had seven travellers on the staff to serve the South Island, as well as the normal warehousing staff.¹¹



THE PROVINCIAL ENGINEER'S PROPOSAL of September 1863 for the harbour reclamation scheme. The solid line shows the shoreline, which followed the base of Bell Hill and came close to Princes Street at what later became the Exchange; the limit of the then foreshore is indicated by the broken line. The site of the present-day First Church is marked 'Hill' and was yet to be excavated. In the event, Bond and Crawford Streets were laid out along the lines indicated, together with the Rattray and High Street extensions, but the docks and most of the other streets indicated were never constructed along the lines of this plan.



THE WAREHOUSE DISTRICT, in a detail from a large three-dimensional map of Dunedin published by WJ Pictor in 1892 and printed by J Wilkie and Co. This detail contains some familiar sights: Queens Gardens at lower right, and the auditorium of His Majesty's Theatre (until recently Sammy's performance venue), in Crawford Street (see the lower left quarter of the map). The direct route between the wharf and the central city (*lower right*), formerly a well-trodden path for sailors in search of a drink in town, has since been closed up. The railway over-bridge shown here was about a block south of the present one (from just north of Police Street to Roberts Street).



BUSTLING DUNEDIN: A view to the south-west from the spire of First Church in 1933.

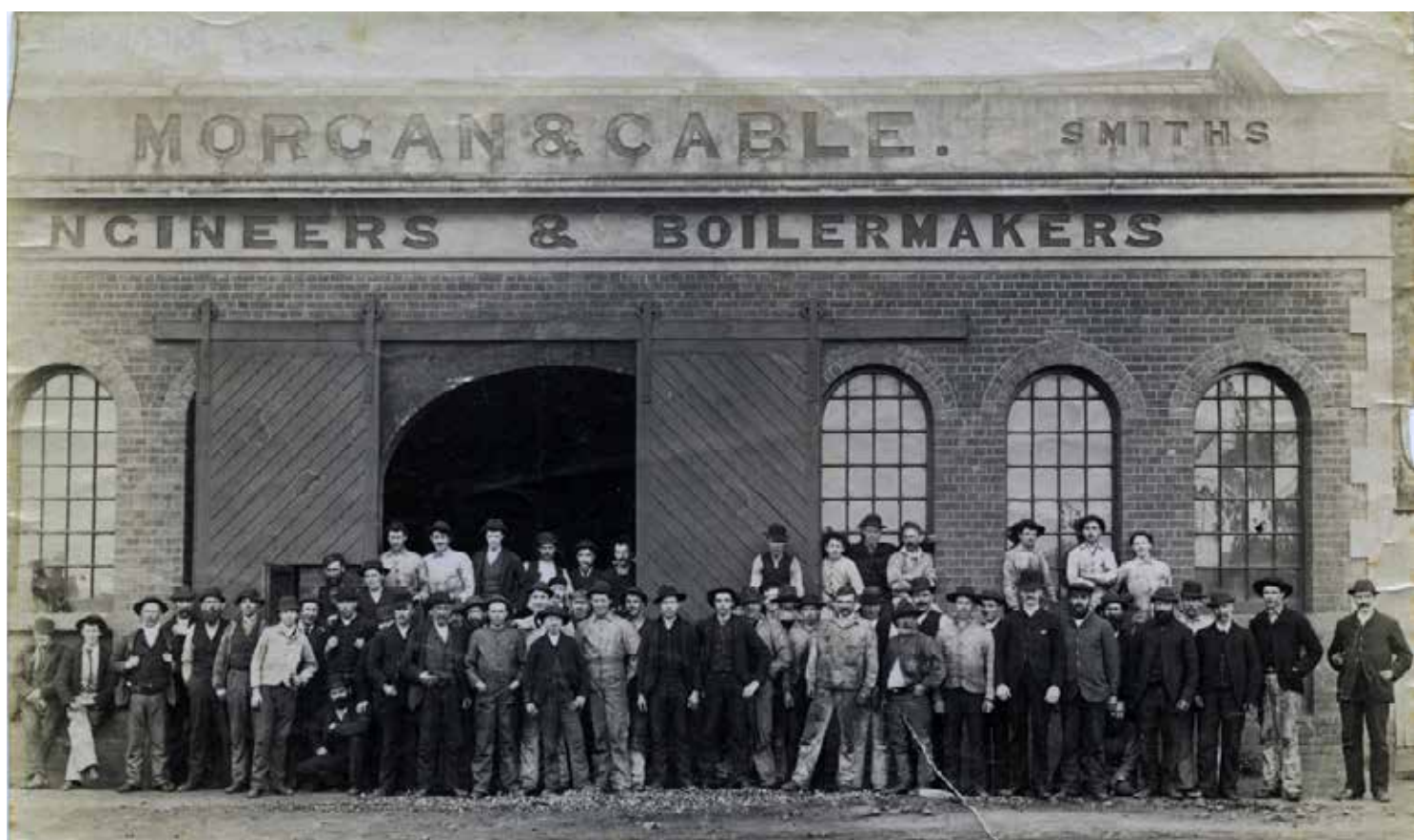
Bond Street (immediately parallel to Princes Street) was created by reclamation during the 1860s. This area was described by Erik Olssen as ‘the heart of the city’s business district.’¹² The first sale of 99-year leases for land on the strip between Bond and Crawford Streets as far south as Jetty Street took place on 9 March 1864. The leases sold for at least £1 per foot of street frontage, and some fetched almost £6000. This reclaimed land became the home of many warehouses and office complexes.¹³ New buildings were also erected in stone or brick nearby in established areas in the 1860s in the aftermath of various fires that ravaged the closely packed wooden buildings.¹⁴ The land between Princes Street and the shoreline south of Jetty Street, which had been designated as a reserve for visiting Maori, was also made available for development in the 1860s.¹⁵

Further reclamation from the 1870s onwards created Crawford, Vogel and Cumberland Streets; this new area was Harbour Board land held on leasehold. Finally, around 1900, the waterfront was reclaimed as far as Thomas Burns Street. The present-day Dunedin wharf runs alongside that street, and then juts back out into the harbour on both sides, creating a dock known for many years as the Steamer Basin. The edges of this basin were further built up during the last of Dunedin’s reclamations towards the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, creating many more acres of building space and new streets. In 1951, McLintock summed up the ‘progress’ thus:

at Dunedin, where former swamps and tidal flats threw wide a challenge to man's enterprise, the facts themselves speak eloquently. For a city has emerged from harbour spoil, and streets and factories and wharves have taken shape as the waters have receded.¹⁶

This book, *Dunedin's Warehouse Precinct*, focuses mostly on the pre-1900 buildings still standing between Thomas Burns Street (including some of Fryatt and Willis Streets) and Princes Street (from the Oval as far north as the intersection with Dowling Street). The area includes the full lengths of the parallel, roughly north-south, streets created by harbour reclamation. It also includes the base of the eastern part of the reduced Bell Hill which met this flat, reclaimed area. Lower Stafford, High, Manse and Rattray Streets were laid out at the foot of the hill. Most of the boom-time development from the 1860s to early 1880s took place within this relatively wide strip along the edge of the harbour and the base of what was left of the hill.

Today, in the historic warehouse area, the one-way road system runs north and south. The shopper can find a range of homeware stores around Crawford Street in particular. Everywhere around this old waterfront area,



THE WORKMEN OF MORGAN AND CABLE, marine engineers, boilermakers and shipbuilders of Beach Street, Port Chalmers in the 1880s or 1890s. The firm was founded as Morgan and Macgregor in 1878 and later became Stevenson and Cook. Depending on their trades, the men wear either boiler suits or ordinary street clothing with soft cloth hats or bowlers; the fashion for flat caps has not yet arrived.

the monuments to Dunedin's former glory remain — buildings like the old New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency building, the National Mortgage and Agency Co (NMA) buildings and numerous other Victorian buildings and old warehouses in various states of disrepair or rejuvenation. What sort of businesses set up here? What role did they play in society?

Dunedin was a struggling township from its foundation in 1848 until the discovery of gold in 1861. This was the starting point for Dunedin's industrial boom-time; from the mid- to late 1860s through to the late 1880s, a great many firms were founded. As Erik Olssen notes, 'the discovery of gold transformed Otago and Dunedin.' The province became the wealthiest in the country. Its elite,

increasingly held together by complex family, business, and social links, became the most powerful within the colony. A small and relatively cohesive community, dominated politically and morally by Free Church [Presbyterian] proponents of organized settlement, fast became a large and sprawling population, indifferent or even hostile to the pretensions of the founders.¹⁷

The gold rushes generated demand for goods and services, and merchants and farmers prospered.¹⁸ In course of the 1860s, £21 million worth of gold was extracted. Capital flowed into Otago, especially from Scotland and Victoria. British and Australian banks opened branches, and in 1863 a group of Dunedin investors formed the Bank of Otago. Many

fortunes were made: 'James Rattray, who came to open a branch for FG Dalgety, formed his wholesale company and made a sizeable fortune by importing goods ... Moses Joel and other brewers did well by supplying the thirsty thousands with beer; Messrs Ross and Glendining formed their partnership.'¹⁹ (Ross and Glendining's 1891 High Street warehouse is shown *above right*.) Although joint-stock companies began appearing in the 1860s, wealth was still largely personalised and 'family capitalism' (characterised by individual or family firms) was the norm. The meat and shipping



industries were the most corporatized activities, and provide exceptions to the ‘family capitalism’ model.

The merchants and some of the professional men benefited from the staggering prosperity. Gold had made Otago the richest and most populous province; by 1870 it provided one-third of New Zealand’s exports and contained one-quarter of its European population. By 1871, when gold exports had slumped to about the level they remained at until the end of the century, Otago had almost as many sheep as Canterbury and ‘ranked second only to that fertile province as a grain producer’. From being one of the least industrialised provinces, Otago by 1871 had more factory workers than Auckland and Dunedin had become the major *entrepôt* not just for the province but for much of New Zealand.²⁰

Some of New Zealand’s best-known national brands emerged in these years: Wright, Stephenson and Co, stock and station agents; Charles Begg and

Co, music dealers; W Gregg and Co, coffee merchants; P Hayman and Co, importers; Herbert Haynes, drapers; Lane’s Ltd, cordial manufacturers; the *Otago Daily Times* (all in 1861); A and T Burt, engineers; Ross and Glendining, drapers and later woollen manufacturers; Mackerras and Hazlett, merchants; Arthur Briscoe and Co, ironmongers;



B FOR BRISCOES: the only hint on this otherwise prosaic structure that this is Briscoes iron store of the 1860s, one of the earliest surviving commercial waterfront buildings in Dunedin, now marooned far inland.

John Edmond Ltd, ironmongers (all 1862); Scoullar and Chisholm, furniture manufacturers; the *Evening Star* (both 1863); Irvine and Stevenson, jam makers (1864); H Wise and Co, publishers (1865); Neill and Co, merchants; Thomsons Ltd, cordial manufacturers (both 1866); the New Zealand Express Co, carriers (1867); R Hudson and Co, now Cadbury, confectioners (1868); and McLeod Bros, soap manufacturers (1869).²¹

Many of the buildings erected in Dunedin's warehouse precinct were, in different ways, related to New Zealand's early agricultural and pastoral development. In particular, they reflect the stock and station industry — those businesses which provided farmers with the expertise to store, transport and sell their produce. Their offices and warehouses formed the harbour-side infrastructure for the storage, sale and shipping of our earliest export offerings. The observation, still often expressed today, that the rural areas underpinned the economic strength of New Zealand towns could not have been more accurate in the case of Dunedin's early development.

A SOLID STREETSCAPE: In the commercial heart of the city, the Royal Exchange Hotel of 1878-79 in lower High Street (now Queens Gardens) was designed by RA Lawson. Next to it stood Sargood, Son and Ewen's warehouse, designed by Reid and Barnes of Melbourne in 1874. These two buildings were demolished for car parking in the 1960s, and the site remains vacant (apart from a public toilet block). The third building, Cromwell Chambers, Donald Reid's first warehouse, survives next to the wedge shaped Imperial Buildings built after this photo was taken.

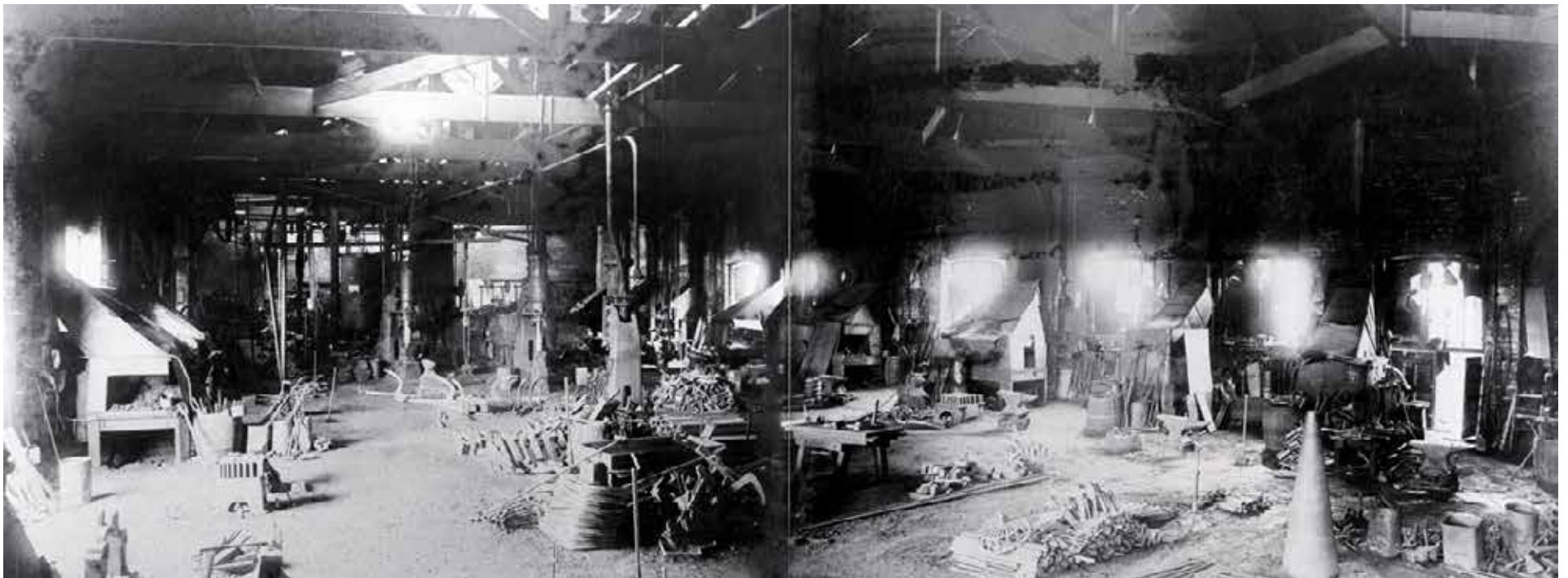


Even so, as a factor in the development of Dunedin and of New Zealand in general, the farm–town link is often overlooked. Dunedin’s warehouse precinct is the outcome of this vital town–country interdependence.

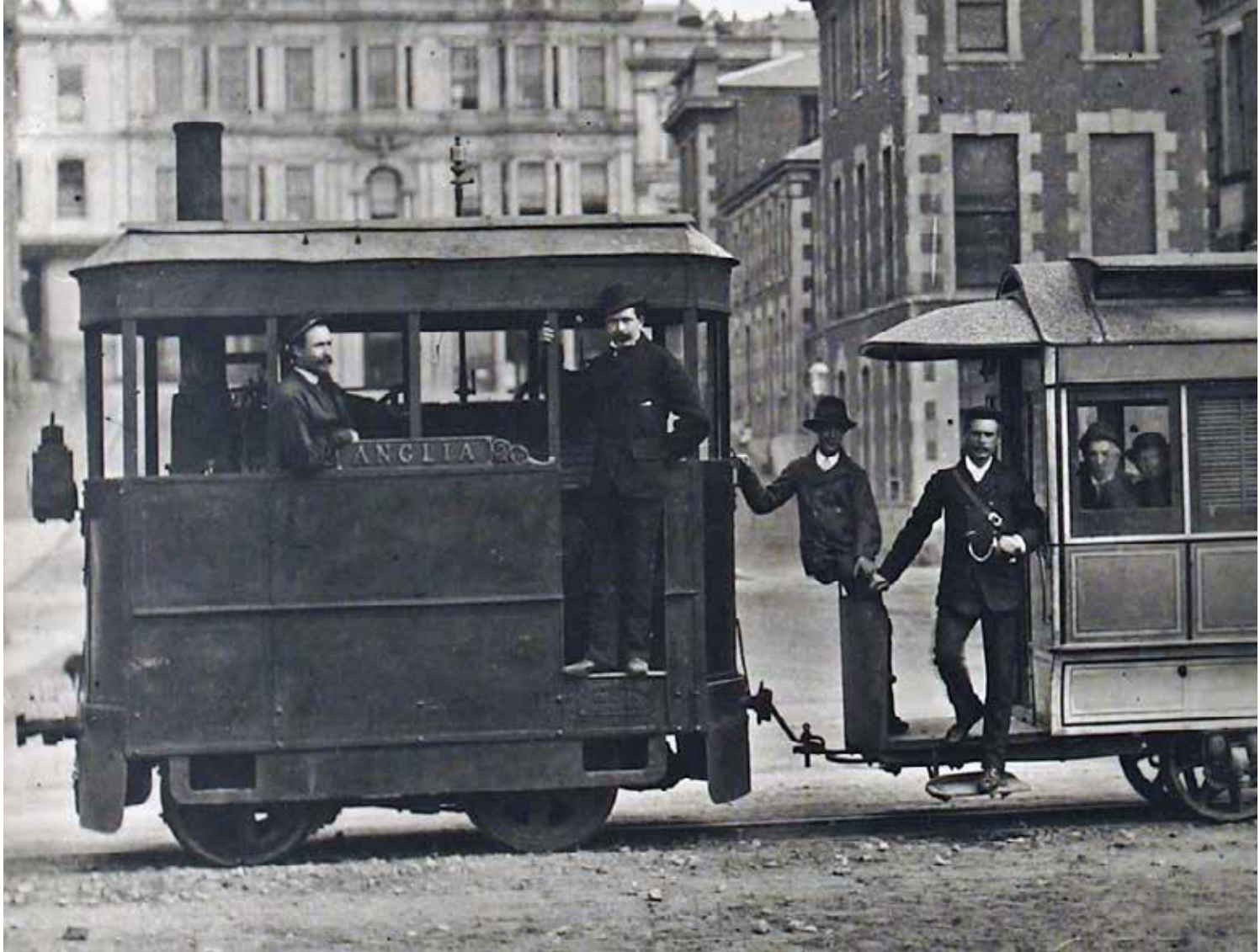
The 1870s and 1880s

CONTEMPLATING THE FUTURE in the early 1970s, the Dunedin City Council’s planning department looked back to the period a century earlier when Dunedin was at its industrial zenith: ‘Dunedin was still, but only just, the most industrialised city in New Zealand,’ the planners wrote. ‘In 1873 solid stores and warehouses were being built on newly reclaimed ground ... by 1874, the prosperity initiated by the gold rushes was being stimulated and maintained by the Vogel public works and immigration policy. Between 1872 and 1875, almost 18,000 people arrived in Otago — a larger number to arrive than in any other province.’²²

William N Blair gave a snapshot of this industrial era in which most of the warehouse precinct buildings were erected. He had come to Dunedin in 1863 to work as a civil engineer for the Otago Provincial Council, the province’s first major governing body, and later became assistant engineer-in-chief of the New Zealand government’s Public Works Department.²³ Blair



REID AND GRAY: located opposite the Oval between Princes and Crawford Streets, Reid and Gray made agricultural implements. This is the rather gloomy interior of their blacksmith’s shop; when active, the forges would have produced a great deal of heat and light.



A STEAM TRAM: This photograph was taken in Crawford Street, looking west up Liverpool Street with Wain's Hotel in Princes Street in the background. Designed by Mason and Wales, it was completed in 1879. Although the trams have long gone, Wain's is still there, now the Mercure Hotel. The substantial building on the right, in brick with contrasting limestone quoins, is the Provincial Government building, demolished in 1928.

gave a lecture to the Industrial Association of Canterbury on 24 February 1887, and this talk was later published as *The Industries of New Zealand*.²⁴ He noted that 'without agriculture, the establishment of manufactures would be impossible. Thus the various branches of settlement and trade create and produce others; they act and react on each other, nourishing and fostering each his neighbour in the general march of progress.'²⁵ Blair pointed out that by 1887, Otago and Canterbury exported two thirds of the nation's wool,²⁶ and thought they had developed a clothing and woollen industry of which they could be proud: 'We make cloth and clothes with the cloth ... the New Zealand clothing mills produce a great variety of fabrics suitable for all purposes of humanity, old and young, savage and civilised.'²⁷ Blair also noted that the grain market had collapsed by 1887, having been 'swamped in the London market by the cheaper production of America and India.'²⁸ The frozen meat trade, however, was on the rise. Other industries prospering in the South included agricultural implement manufacturing,

brick and tile works, quarries, steel works, breweries, export manure production, and rope, candle, soap and earthenware manufacture.²⁹

Gavin McLean points out that as early as 1857, less than a decade after the founding of Dunedin, the wool industry accounted for the bulk of export receipts, along with the trade in wheat, potatoes and oats.³⁰ The development of New Zealand's agricultural industry was already under way before the gold rush began. But the biggest growth in non-gold trade occurred in the 1870s. By the turn of the century Dunedin

was a busy, confident place, only gradually modified by the long depression of the eighties and nineties. Dunedin was still, as it proudly claimed, the



THE STOCK EXCHANGE BUILDING, after which this part of town ('the Exchange') takes its name, can be seen here on the left. It was formerly known as Custom House square after the Custom House in the left foreground. Just beyond can be seen the upper part of the Clarion Building, one of the few survivors from this photograph. In the centre, with its distinctive cupola, the Colonial Mutual Life Assurance building stood on the spot once known as Jacob's Corner. Designed by JA Burnside, it was replaced in 1974 with a new building by C Ashley Muir. Behind the Cargill monument, also designed by Burnside, is Louis Boldoni's Grand Hotel of 1883. It became the Southern Cross Hotel in 1966 and, renovated in 1988, it now incorporates a casino. The Exchange was a busy spot for social interaction; no doubt more than the odd business deal was conducted in these streets.

commercial capital of New Zealand. To this period belongs the legend that the North Island was developed by Dunedin money. There was some truth in it, at least for a time. New businesses, many of them destined for long and prosperous careers, sprang up constantly.³¹

A great many companies were born in Dunedin in the 1870s and early 1880s. They included Hallenstein Brothers, clothiers (1873); J Rattray and Son, merchants (their tea store is shown *below*); Cossens and Black, engineers; the Standard Insurance Co (all 1874); the Union Steam Ship Co (1875); Nimmo and Blair, seed merchants; Donaghy's Rope and Twine Co; James Speight and Co, brewers (all 1876); Arthur Ellis and Co, bedding manufacturers (1877); Kempthorne, Prosser and Co, manufacturing chemists; Joseph Sparrow and Co, engineers; Ross and Glendining's Roslyn woollen mills (all 1879); the Trustees, Executors and Agency Co; the Westport Coal Co (1881); McGavin and Co, brewers; the New Zealand Refrigerating Co's Burnside freezing works — the first in the country (both 1882);



the DIC, drapers; the Taieri and Peninsula Dairy Co; and the Perpetual Trustees (all 1884).³² Many of these businesses form the subject of the potted histories in the chapters that follow.

William Blair's description of 1887 reinforces the major theme that the principal uses of the warehouse precinct buildings were agricultural and processing — in fact the words 'wool' and 'grain' stores can still be seen on some of them, such as the NMA store, the Donald Reid building and the NZLMA stores. By the 1870s, these two commodities, first grain, and then

wool, were the new gold in terms of exports. At this time the stock and station industry was also in an expansionary phase. The other industries Blair discussed were literally spun off the sheep's back, showing how very quickly New Zealand became entrepreneurial and self-sufficient in making its own clothes and other household commodities. This paints a very different picture to the import dependence New Zealand has for the same types of goods today. Thornton's book *New Zealand's Industrial Heritage* outlines how, at the start of its industrial history, New Zealand was not expected to compete with Britain. Very quickly, though, people like Blair felt there was no reason why New Zealand could not create its own industries and cater to its own needs.³³ This theme also comes through when one delves into the individual histories of these firms: their owners were New Zealand's industrial pioneers. They acted on opportunities they found here and collectively helped to form New Zealand's industrial backbone.



THE EXCHANGE BUILDING, designed by Francis Petre in the early 1880s. This building still stands on the corner of Crawford, Liverpool and Bond Streets, and has been converted into apartments. The first head office of the Union Steam Ship Company is on the right.

Blair's other point is that industries grew in a process of interaction — they acted on and reacted to each other: 'the various branches of settlement and trade create and produce others.' The historian Jim McAloon reinforces the point that there was much interlocking of businesses in Otago by pointing out that many directors sat on more than one board.³⁴ This is startlingly obvious in the operation of the NMA. Its manager, John Macfarlane Ritchie, had board connections to the pioneering Union Steam Ship Co, the National Insurance Co and the New Zealand and Australian Land Co. In the age before telecommunications, he had only to walk out of his office in Bond Street and down to the corner of Water and Vogel Streets — a stone's throw away — in order to do business. There is a good reason why so many businesses, essentially performing different functions within the same trade, were located cheek by jowl in this way: there was no better way of freely discussing ideas than by face-to-face contact, even after telephones were widely adopted in the early 1880s. Through this process of 'nourishing and fostering' each other, grand financial empires were built. As McAloon concludes: 'we may in general speak not of "a single and extensive intercorporate system", but rather of a relatively small-scale interpersonal system.'³⁵ The mercantile-financial elite comprised about four per cent of the city's population:

Their power rested in part upon their wealth, legitimised by conspicuous consumption and handsome benefactions, but largely on their economic functions. In partnership with the wealthiest estate holders, to whom they



A DENSE WEB of interaction took hold in a part of town with many different types of businesses in close proximity.



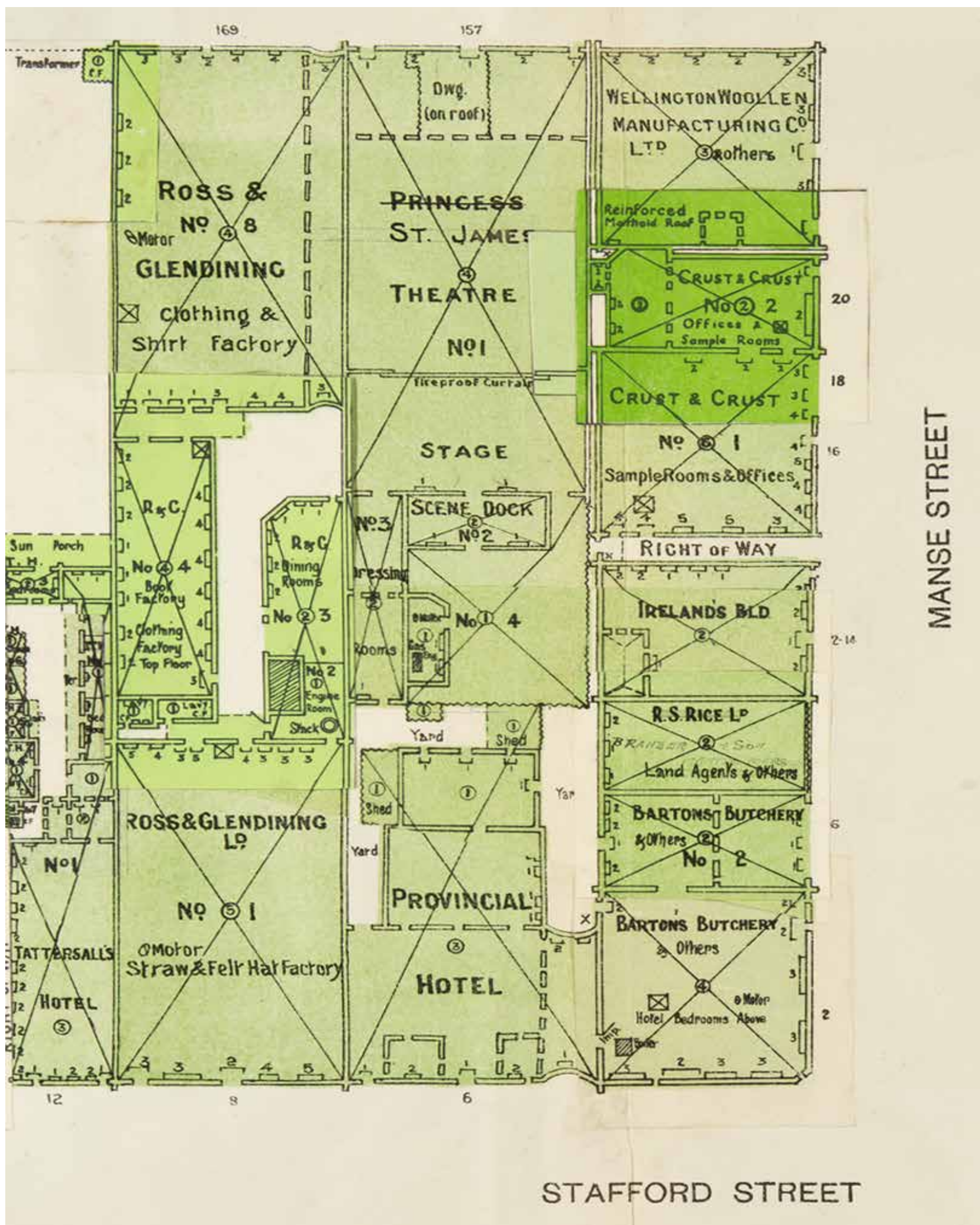
CONSULTANCY HOUSE was built in 1908-10 for the New Zealand Express Company whose name can be seen in this image, at the top of the building. This symbol of commercial success still dominates the Queens Gardens area. Designed by Christchurch architect Alfred Luttrell, it owes its architectural inspiration to the Chicago skyscrapers of the period. It provided office space for the carrying company that bore its name, and there were sample rooms for commercial travellers on one of the upper floors. The adjoining Bank of Australasia was demolished in 1973 to make way for the Norwich Insurance building.

were tied by business and kin links, they constituted the informal board of directors for the provincial economy. Most were Fernhill Club members (or members of the less prestigious Otago Club) — dominated by Scots Presbyterians. Most of the members of both clubs had arrived in Otago in the 1860s, the sons of businessmen and professionals. Most [were] educated — c. 12% at university, and most had commercial experience (many in Victoria) before arriving. Dalgetys, Sargoods, Kettles and Hallensteins had family engaged in similar businesses in Melbourne. They tended to marry in their thirties, and usually took their wives from [among] the daughters of their business peers.³⁶

THERE IS LITTLE published information about many of the buildings profiled here. A list of buildings included in schedule 25.1 of the Dunedin City Council's District Plan of 1999, formulated under the Resource Management Act, lists only a few — but with very little about their histories. Often there is just a vague guess at the date of construction and an unreferenced assertion they were built by a particular well-known architect of the day.

How can we find out more about these structures and their history? Street directories and fire insurance plans are two exceptionally useful sources for researching old commercial buildings. Several publishers issued directories of business and domestic addresses, but the two most successful and long-lived were Wise's and Stone's annual publications. In addition to alphabetical listings of all residents and thematic lists of businesses, these directories most usefully include lists of all businesses and private occupants, property by property, street by street. Dunedin is well served by historical street directories which survive from the 1860s to the 1950s.

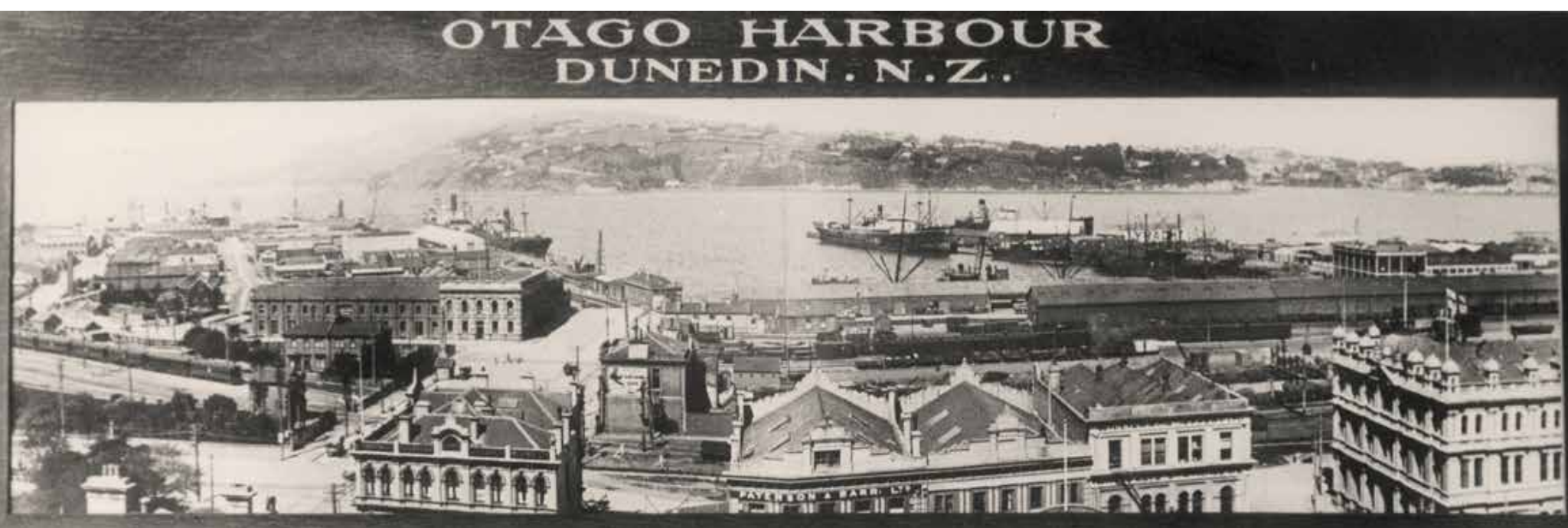
The fire insurance plans appeared much less often than the street directories but provide a high degree of detail of the layout and nature of buildings in the commercial centre of Dunedin. They were drawn up for insurance purposes by the Council of Fire and Accident Underwriters' Associations of New Zealand in 1892, 1910 and 1927, and copies were lent to the Dunedin Metropolitan Fire Brigade. Every structure is mapped — from a cathedral to a tin shed — indicating the construction materials, the height of the building, whether internal walls reach the full height of the building, the number and placement of doors, windows and skylights and the current



A DETAIL OF A 1927 FIRE INSURANCE PLAN for the central city block bounded by Manse, Stafford and High Streets. The figures inside the circles denote the number of storeys and each large X indicates the method of sectioning the building for taxation. The figures next to the window and door openings give the number of openings in a vertical line from the ground floor. Insubstantial iron or timber walls, such as the façade of RS Rice Ltd, are indicated with wavy lines.

owner or occupant. Annotated copies of the 1927 plans survive which show changes in ownership in later years. The details that were an important guide to fire-fighting at the time are now also of great value to the architectural historian seeking to identify a specific building and its owners.

Successful and long-lived businesses have in many cases commissioned anniversary histories, but for information on the great majority of now largely forgotten enterprises, the *Cyclopedia* of 1905 is invaluable. It was a commercial publication in encyclopaedic form; firms paid the publisher to be included and it took an ‘advertorial’ tone, but it is nonetheless an immensely useful, detailed source of information on the state of businesses in the early years of the twentieth century and their histories up to that point.



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- 18 Olssen, *A History of Otago*, 58.
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- 33 Thornton, 1.
- 34 Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840–1914* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2002), 62. Details of individuals with overlapping interests include Ross and Glendining, John Wright, Thomas Brydone, JM Ritchie, John Roberts, James Hazlett, Thomas Kempthorne, James Mills and PC Neill: 63–4.
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1

Donald Reid and Co

THERE ARE FOUR buildings associated with this business remaining in the warehouse precinct: a wool store in Vogel Street, still standing largely as it was; Reid's offices (the former Otago Harbour board building) in Jetty Street; Reid's first and oldest warehouse in Queens Gardens (formerly lower High Street); and Reid's mechanical showrooms in Crawford Street. These four buildings represent relatively intact and living examples of an early Dunedin business empire which provided New Zealand's colonial farmers with their vital city and port link. Transport was difficult in the horse-drawn era and the distances involved were great, so farmers needed assistance with transport, farm supplies, finance, expertise, storage and the sale of their produce locally and internationally. The stock and station agents and their warehouses filled this gap and marketed their produce, selling it on the farmers' behalf either for shipment overseas or to the many manufacturing firms developing in Dunedin at that time as the city boomed. Reid was always reluctant to venture into the financing of farms and stations, unlike some of his rivals. The symbiosis between town and country is firmly embedded in the history of this firm. This is not just of local importance, but also of national concern, as Dunedin in its heyday in the 1870s led New Zealand in the development of the stock and station industry and hence in the development of the national agriculture-based economy.

Stephen Deed points out that pastoral expansion was effectively 'implemented by the stock and station agents.' The agents 'played an important role in creating the prosperity of the nineteenth century' and were 'central'

to the expansion of pastoralism in New Zealand as they ‘provided the services farmers needed.’¹ These services were, in a nutshell, ‘the finance and the experts to assist farmers to sell their stock and produce.’² An agent dealt, on the farmers’ behalf, with banks, ship owners, insurance agents, wool buyers and freezing works: ‘The firms worked by selling farm produce of wool, skin, tallow, frozen meat, etc. for the farmer, on a commission basis, and also made advances to them on wool, stock, crops and, less often, on land.’³

The stock and station firms contributed greatly to the high rate of growth achieved. They provided marketing services for wool, livestock and other farm produce; distributed farm supplies and most important of all provided their farmer clients with advice, support and often the risk finance for expansion.⁴

As a side-line, they often ran a merchandising arm that sold supplies to isolated farms. Donald Reid and Co, the NMA, Murray Roberts and Co, and Wright, Stephenson and Co (later Wrightsons) were all in the farm supply business in addition to their main stock and station businesses.

Donald Reid’s warehouse

DONALD REID’S first office and warehouse, built in 1878, was in lower High Street. The area, then called the Triangle, was later renamed Queens Gardens and now has the Cenotaph at its centre. The area was a handy location for businesses as before 1906 the railway station stood on the ground now occupied by the gardens. Reid’s three-storey rendered brick Victorian building goes right the way through to lower Dowling Street, appears to be in relatively good repair, and is let to an estate agent; until recently it was tenanted as an antiques shop and auction house. Donald Reid described his building as ‘not showy, but honest and faithfully built of all the very best materials.’⁵ Donald Reid’s first warehouse became known in recent times as Cromwell Chambers.⁶

Next door, to the south-west, was Sargood, Son and Ewen’s large and impressive store and warehouse, demolished in the 1960s for car parking. On the other side of Cromwell Chambers are the Imperial Buildings.⁷

While his warehouse was being built, Reid occupied a brick annexe on the corner of the section, and financed the building to the tune of £12,000 by raising money on the security of his Taieri sheep farm, Salisbury Estate, and on the land — which he bought off Thomas Sargood in 1878 — in lower High Street. He raised this money from another pioneering stock and station firm located nearby in Water Street, the National Mortgage and Agency Co (NMA).⁸

Donald Reid — a Highlander who spoke with a ‘broad Scottish’ accent — was one of the first immigrants to the new Dunedin settlement in 1849. He worked his way into the sheep industry and in 1856 bought Salisbury Estate, where he would live and farm for the next 56 years. The house and farm are still there today. He owned 6000 acres altogether, including 2000 acres on the fertile Taieri plain.⁹ Reid also worked a gold digging in Central Otago in the 1860s, staffed by some of his farm labourers.¹⁰ In 1863 Reid was elected to the Otago Provincial Council and became ‘the champion of those who sought land settlement by independent men on small farms, as opposed to the alienation of agricultural land to large pastoralists.’¹¹ His ‘particular contribution was a deferred payment system, under which payments for freehold were deferred until the farmer was well established.’¹²

In 1866, Reid entered national politics with his election to the House of Representatives, becoming the Minister of Public Works in 1872 and the Minister of Lands in 1877.¹³ By 1878 he was 45, and had achieved not only political success but also independence and a high standard of living for himself and his family.¹⁴ In this year he also became the Chairman of the Otago Board of Education. The *Otago Witness* wrote that Reid’s ‘administrative experience, his knowledge of every district in the Province, and its requirements, and his shrewd common sense, are calculated to give a methodical and practical cast to the administration, which will be of the first value in the carrying out details of duty that require so much judgment, prudence and tact.’¹⁵

Reid abandoned politics to start his new firm. His aim was to provide for his twelve children. In the 1870s wool prices were declining and the profitability of his Salisbury farm was adversely affected. Reid also came to dislike politics. The historian John Angus pointed out that Reid ‘was not one of Dunedin’s merchant–financier elite’, unlike ‘the Larnachs, Ritchies, McLeans, Wilsons and Roberts ... [who] were prominent in the many businesses established in the 1870s and 1880s.’¹⁶ Reid first made money mining, then switched to the more profitable and secure role of carrier to the goldfields. According to McAloon, ‘the goldrushes provided the capital to consolidate [Reid’s] farming business.’¹⁷ Donald Reid and Co progressed as rapidly as it did because ‘Reid received business from settlers who had supported his land policies.’¹⁸ McAloon emphasises the importance of the ‘connections and contacts made over twenty-five years of political life.’¹⁹

The *Otago Witness* reported on the establishment of Reid’s new business in August 1878:

We understand that, with the view of affording greater facilities to their numerous constituents for the sale of wool, stock, and station property, and agricultural produce, Messrs Cargills, Gibbs, and Co have determined to establish a branch of their business for the sale of the same by auction, and that with this view they have become jointly interested with Mr Donald Reid as auctioneers, stock and station agents, &c. We believe the new firm intend to devote especial attention to the disposal and shipment of grain, and that they are making arrangements for the formation of a Corn Exchange and Farmers’ Club in their new premises now being erected in High street, which will supply a want that has long been felt by the agricultural community, and which cannot fail to be of advantage to all interested in the purchase and sale of agricultural produce.²⁰

By the time the *Cyclopedia* was published in 1905, Reid’s firm was well established as ‘auctioneers, stock and station agents, grain, produce and wool brokers.’ A second partner had been taken into the firm in 1892, the Hon T Fergus.²¹ Simon Ville, in his book *Rural Entrepreneurs*, cites Reid’s business as the archetypical pioneer stock and station agent operating in Australasia in the earliest days of European-style farming development: ‘A common characteristic of the pioneer stock and station agents was their

embedment [sic] in local colonial society, closely connected with many groups, which helped promote trust, reputation and traditions vital for successful networks.’²² Donald Reid was just that: a successful farmer and politician before he started his business.

Donald Reid’s Otago Corn and Wool Exchange

THIS IMPRESSIVE brick structure became synonymous with Reid’s business as his offices and warehouse. It was built in 1881²³ when his operation became too large for the Triangle or lower High Street premises, and the business required a much larger building and warehouse facility. In 1912, the company added a third storey to the store, which takes up most of one block of the northern end of Vogel Street; they moved out in 1937. The *Cyclopedia* described this building in 1905 as ‘magnificent,’ covering ‘half



CUMBERLAND STREET in the 1930s, the railway yards in the foreground. The Donald Reid building is in the centre, with the NZ Express Co building peeping above its roofline. The Dalgety (formerly Mutual Agency) warehouse is on the left, and to the right of the Donald Reid building are the first NMA warehouse, the USSCo store and the third NMA head office with its row of minarets, then only recently acquired from the USSCo. The top of the Cenotaph and the spire of First Church are visible on the right.



THE VOGEL STREET FACADE of the newly refurbished Donald Reid building as seen from the railway overbridge approach ramp above Jetty Street. This photograph also shows (*right to left*) the first NMA warehouse, the USSCo store, the newly buff-coloured third NMA head office, and Vogel House, formerly Remshardt and Co's store.

an acre of land, and utilised for wool, grain and other produce, as well as for auction sales.’²⁴ The building has recently been refurbished for AD Instruments, and painted in an arresting colour scheme. It had been for years in a shabby state, many of its windows having been blacked out from the inside.

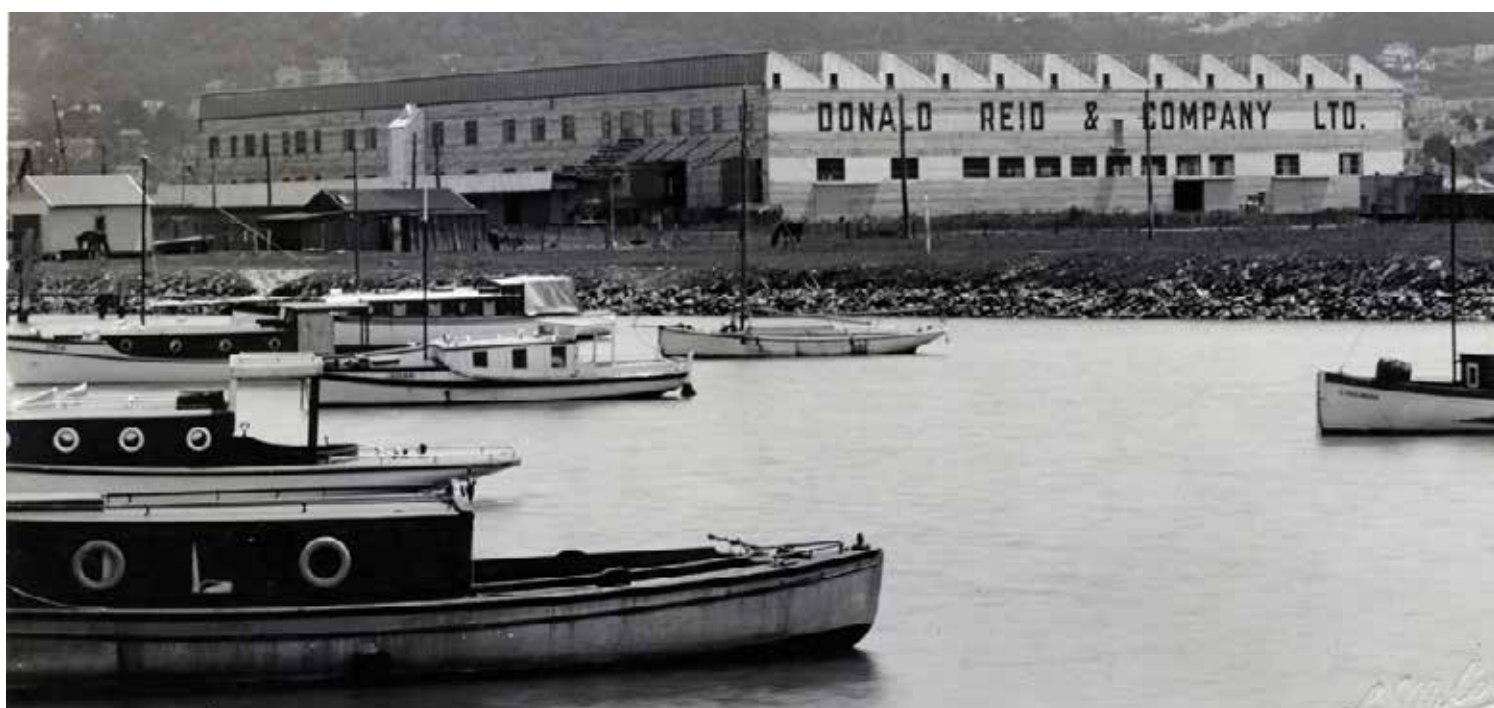
John Angus’s excellent history of the firm describes the working conditions in this building: the ‘smells of hides, potatoes, wool, manure and fertiliser permeated the whole building, including the offices ... When bales of wool were stacked above the offices, dust descended from the ceiling in clouds, coating ledgers and staff alike.’²⁵ The way the building operated was also indicative of the nature of transport — horse and dray, goods being sent down in chutes into the waiting drays below. Working conditions ‘were primitive before the First World War. There [were] no dining room or changing facilities ... others chewed tobacco and the pathway from the

grain elevator to the stock was at times a slippery one.²⁶ Wages were low and some storemen had a reputation for being 'severe'.²⁷

The use of the warehouse changed markedly as wool and grain prices fluctuated. The change to mixed farming, and the diversification of farm production, changed the business of the firm. For example, the shift from agriculture (cropping) to pastoralism (grazing) occurred when prices for wool and meat (exported in refrigerated form from the 1880s) became better than prices for grain 'and as the age of horse-drawn transport passed, and the future of fodder crops appeared poor.'²⁸ Consequently, the amount of wool handled at the store increased by about a third between 1919 and 1929.²⁹ This was a highly competitive field for Donald Reid to be in, however. The firm's share of the handling of Dunedin's wool market fell from 16% in the 1917–18 season, to 13% in 1923–4.³⁰

In 1937, Donald Reid Farmers Ltd built a new store on reclaimed land at Logan Point in North Dunedin (*below*). By then, the Vogel Street store had become old and inadequate. Poor access and cramped space meant double handling, and the modern trend towards greater diversification into brokers' binned lots (for wool) required better facilities.³¹

[I]n the summer of 1937, Donald Reid and Co vacated the old wool and grain store in Vogel Street. The lift and winch had hauled their last load of wool and produce to the top flat. The chutes, worn smooth by the passage of thousands of bales and pockmarked by the tapping of hundreds of bale hooks (the accepted signal to send down the next bale) were torn out. Seed floors were swept for the final time and the rats departed for other stores.³²



Donald Reid's office building

IN 1924, the offices of the managers and secretarial staff were moved from the first floor of the Vogel Street warehouse to another building a stone's throw diagonally across the road on the corner of Jetty and Vogel Streets. Designed by FW Petre, this 'new' office building was built on reclaimed Harbour Board leasehold land and now sits almost underneath the modern Jetty Street over-bridge. Donald Reid did not build these premises, rather they had 'come into the firm's possession in 1905, then had been leased up until 1924 when the offices were moved there.'³³ Today, the building appears squalid, derelict and untenanted.



THE DONALD REID BUILDING on the corner of Vogel and Jetty Streets before and after its modernisation in 1936 and the rebuilding of the two southern bays of the Vogel Street façade. The pilasters and their bases were retained, as were the round-headed sash windows. The offices of the publishers AH and AW Reed in Jetty Street are just visible to the right. Today, this view is blocked by the railway over-bridge approach ramp.

This was the second Otago Harbour Board building, built in 1884. In March 1877 the Harbour Board was reported to be ‘dissatisfied with [the] uncertain tenure of their present offices in the Government buildings’, the former Otago Provincial Council building in Princes Street (since demolished).³⁴ A new structure was completed in October that year.

The architect of this first Harbour Board building was RA Lawson (1833–1902). He was ‘pre-eminently a church architect’, designing and superintending the construction of more than 40 churches, including in Dunedin St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church (1868, later the Word of Life Church), Trinity Wesleyan Church (1869–70, later the Fortune Theatre), First Church (1867–73) and Knox Church (1874–6). Lawson’s commercial buildings include banks, offices, shops and warehouses. Notable losses include Arthur Briscoe and Co’s warehouse (1871), the Royal Exchange Hotel (1878–9) and the Seacliff Lunatic Asylum complex (1879–84). Prominent survivors include the Municipal Chambers (1878–80) and the second Otago Boys’ High School (1882–4).³⁵

Lawson’s first two-storey Italianate design for the Harbour Board had



THE REMODELLED FACADE in detail, showing both the current dilapidated state of the building and one of the column capitals in its art deco, Mayan-influenced style.

been praised as an ‘ornament to the city’. It contained a harbour master’s office, collector’s room, hall, board room, committee room and ‘public’ room ‘for use by captains of vessels ... furnished with maps, charts and nautical works.’ The building also had a look-out post on the roof, surrounded by an iron railing. From this point the full length of the harbour all the way to the ocean could be viewed. The building was erected on newly reclaimed land at a cost of £2300.³⁶ By 1880 however the building had subsided six inches, showing the difficulty of building on newly reclaimed land. The Harbour Board moved out that year and the building was demolished five years later. The Union Steam Ship Company had complained that it shaded their new, third, head office, completed immediately to its west in 1883.



THIS ART DECO-styled sign still sits in the upstairs space in the Crawford Street building detailed on the following page.



THIS TWO-STOREY BUILDING

on the corner of Crawford and Jetty Streets is identified on the 1927 fire insurance plan as 'Donald Reid's Machinery Showroom'. This and several other buildings were later converted for use by the printing firm John McIndoe. The upstairs is currently empty, while the downstairs space is home to Dutybound bookbinders. The glass in the bindery window reflects the buildings opposite. The pale yellow structure, built for the Co-operative of Fruit Growers of Otago, dates from 1923. In 1942, an air raid shelter was built in this building. It now houses apartments. The white Staveley's Bond can be seen on the right.



Donald Reid's later history

THE LARGE VOGEL STREET wool and grain store was sold in 1941. The company increasingly operated branch offices in places such as Milton and Balclutha, but its policy was not to expand outside Otago. As a result, the business did not grow as large as its competitors who chose to expand outside the province and become more national in outlook.³⁷ The company also increasingly made its money from commissions on stock sales.³⁸ 'By the 1960s the importance of grain, skins and hides had declined to such an extent that this turnover was less than 10% of its wool department.'³⁹ However, the company ramped up its merchandising operation, opening a new store on the corner of Crawford and Jetty Streets in 1947. This building, on the eastern side of the intersection, identified as 'machinery show-rooms' on the 1927 fire insurance plan, is still there (see page 47).

Post-war, turnover in fertiliser, seeds, and agricultural chemicals grew with the increasing use by farmers of drenches and dips.⁴⁰ Fourth-generation members of the Reid family still held executive positions in Donald Reid and Co in 1974⁴¹ when the firm merged with the Otago Farmers Cooperative Association. The latter had been based since 1899 in a two-storey building in Crawford Street. This stock and station warehouse was subsequently demolished to make way for the Rebel Sport and Briscoes retail development. The merged business was at first called Donald Reid Otago Farmers, but was renamed Reid Farmers in the late 1970s. PGG Wrightson took over Reid Farmers' assets in the early twenty-first century and consolidated its business in a new building between Vogel and Cumberland Streets.

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FACADE DETAIL on one of the National Mortgage and Agency Company's grain stores in Cumberland Street.



2

National Mortgage and Agency Co

THE NATIONAL MORTGAGE AND AGENCY COMPANY (NMA) was one of the pioneering stock and station agents in New Zealand. It was associated with the establishment of viable farms and was instrumental in many of the earliest selling and shipping innovations. The NMA was a national firm, vestiges of which survived into the 1970s and 1980s as Wrightson NMA. This national firm is now part of the agriculture-based business PGG Wrightson (which took over Reid Farmers). The NMA started with branches in Otago, Southland, Canterbury and Melbourne. It also had North Island interests, which included freezing works. Remarkably, all their Dunedin buildings survive. Its grandest legacy, the former Union Steam Ship Company head office, was until recently in a very poor state of repair. Its recent refurbishment won an award for heritage re-use.

The National Mortgage and Agency Co set up business in 1878. It was to become a major player in the New Zealand stock and station agency scene for the next century. The NMA was formed when a London-based company bought two established South Island stock and station firms: Russell, Ritchie and Co of Dunedin and Russell, Le Cren and Co of London, Timaru and Dunedin. The pioneering owners of these two businesses, Scottish colonists George Gray Russell (who built Glenfalloch on the Otago Peninsula) and John Macfarlane Ritchie (1842–1912), were appointed joint general managers of the New Zealand operation, headquartered in Dunedin.¹ Russell had recruited the enterprising 22-year-old Ritchie from Glasgow in 1864 to help run his Dunedin merchandising and wool-broking

business. Ritchie would eventually spend more of his life involved in the firm than his colleague and former boss.²

The early death of Ritchie's father had left his family struggling for money, and John was forced to abandon a promising scholastic career and enter the business world.³ 'In effect, Ritchie was plucked from a sheltered life of quiet grace and culture and pitchforked into the hurly-burly of a rougher existence at the same time as responsibility for the running of a young business was heaped upon him. It was a tough test for anyone.'⁴ According to McAloon, 'Ritchie rose through ability and fortunate connections to a position of great wealth and influence in the colony.'⁵

As well as trading in wool, the firm advanced money on land to settler farmers in Otago, Southland and Canterbury. In a letter to one of the firm's financiers in Glasgow, Ritchie astutely noted that in New Zealand, 'opportunities for prudent and profitable investment are considerable.'⁶ The first chairman of the NMA was Henry Riversdale Grenfell, MP for Stoke-on-Trent, who spent a term as secretary to Lord Panmure at the War Office.⁷ The head office was in Lombard Street in London until at least 1964.⁸

The NMA was also a 'foundation member' of the refrigerated meat export business. It financed and owned the Longburn freezing works in the Manawatu from 1890 to 1940.⁹ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the firm's activities developed in response to changes in the rural economy:

From the 1890s NMA emphasised stock and station agency business rather than mortgage finance. The company concentrated on selling produce on behalf of farmers, supplying them with inputs, and conducting livestock auctions, and it financed farmers primarily by current accounts and to a lesser extent by advances on produce.¹⁰

A prosperous small-farming sector was made possible by the introduction of refrigerated shipping in 1882 and the promotion of 'closer settlement' by the Liberal government from 1891. Prompted by the rise in commodity prices from 1896, many owners of large estates chose to subdivide their properties. Closer settlement 'meant that financiers' risks were much more widely spread, with many more farmers each borrowing much less' than

before.¹¹ The NMA expanded into this sector by purchasing the Farmers Agency Company in 1904.¹²

By 1905 the NMA had branches in Christchurch, Invercargill, Oamaru, Timaru, Gore, Maitaia and Melbourne.¹³ The *Cyclopedia* listed the company's business as 'the lending of money on the mortgage of freehold and other securities; consignments of produce, such as grain, wool, tallow, frozen meat, sheep and rabbit skins, hemp, butter and cheese.'¹⁴ All these goods were

accepted by the company at any of its branches, and liberal advances are made to consigners pending realisation. The company conducts business as auctioneers, and acts as stock and station agents, shipping and general commission agents; and regular and periodical auction sales are held — under the company's auspices — by its auctioneers.

As shipping agents, the company represented both the Union Steam Ship Company and Shaw Savill and Albion.¹⁵ JM Ritchie had been associated with the USSCo from its earliest days and became a director. His son George, general manager of the NMA from 1913, carried on this link, becoming chairman of directors of the USSCo for many years.¹⁶ JM Ritchie was also chairman of the National Insurance Company, whose head office was nearby so he never had to walk far from his office in Water Street to conduct his various business interests.

The *Cyclopedia* described Ritchie as 'an enterprising colonist' who, other than a stint on the Otago Harbour Board, 'has declined public life, his time being fully engaged in connection with his numerous mercantile interests.'¹⁷ The biographical dictionary *Southern People* notes that 'JF Ritchie's shrewd eye for opportunities meant the business flourished.'¹⁸ He died a very wealthy man in 1912, leaving behind a personal fortune of £112,000.¹⁹ Although the NMA was a joint stock company, Ritchie was seen as the personification of his firm. He was succeeded as general manager not only by his son, but also eventually by a grandson also. This dynasty lasted until 1972 and was typical of family firms.²⁰ In 1970, the NMA followed the example of Wright Stephenson and moved its head office north. They were both 'seeking closer proximity to financial, commercial and Government



THE UPPER TWO PHOTOGRAPHS show the Vogel Street façade of the NMA wool and grain store, between Police and Jervois Streets. The building's Cumberland Street façade appears below.



contacts in Wellington.’²¹ The two firms merged in 1971–2 to form the Challenge Corporation (later Fletcher Challenge) and the stock and station agents Wrightson NMA (now PGG Wrightson).²²

The NMA’s head office in Water Street (the street address was 11 Bond Street), was also the New Zealand office of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company Ltd. This firm, whose manager was WM Davidson and whose superintendent was Thomas Brydone, pioneered and put together the historic first shipment of frozen meat in the ship *Dunedin* from Port Chalmers to London in 1882. JF Ritchie was instrumental in setting up this large company in 1867, and held power of attorney over it. The firm had capital of £2.5 million, and took over and worked estates and runs in Otago and Canterbury totalling 550,000 acres.²³ The company’s head office was in Castle Street, Edinburgh, where it had been founded by a Scottish financier interested in opportunities in New Zealand.²⁴

The NMA’s operations illustrate how the Dunedin business community networked in order to generate business and create wealth from agriculture. The ‘NMA did [its] banking with the National Bank of New Zealand, much of its shipping was with the USSCo; its insurance was with National Insurance and it acquired its agricultural equipment from Reid and Gray Ltd ... Personal business links drew these firms together.’²⁵ Simon Ville concludes that ‘over the last 150 years, stock and station agents have played a central and guiding role in the success of the farming sector in Australia and New Zealand.’²⁶

NMA buildings and offices

THE NMA had three successive headquarters in Water Street. The first and oldest, 24 Water Street,²⁷ built in 1873, is still standing and is well painted, tenanted and in good condition. This stone and plaster-rendered brick building is located on the corner of Water and Bond Streets, opposite the back of John Wickliffe House. In the early days, it probably also acted as the warehouse for the firm.

The second head office, 38 Water Street, occupied from 1905 to 1929,²⁸ is one block further east towards the railway line, on the west side of the



THE BOND-WATER STREET CORNER of the first headquarters of the NMA, before and after its change of ownership and modernisation. RA Lawson designed the building in 1873 for George Gray Russell and Co. The façades were modernised in the 1930s. The single-storey building to the left in the upper photograph belonged to the New Zealand Shipping Co.

corner of Vogel and Water Streets. This plaster-rendered brick building — not as ornate as its predecessor — has recently been earthquake strengthened and repainted. It bears the name ‘Union Steam Ship Co. of N.Z. Ltd.’ moulded in plaster along the pediment, acquired when the firm swapped its old head office with the NMA.

The most recent NMA headquarters, 49 Water Street, occupied from 1929 until the 1970s,²⁹ has frontages to Cumberland, Water and Vogel Streets. It was built in 1883 as the Union Steam Ship Company’s head office



THE SECOND HEADQUARTERS of the NMA on the corner of Water and Vogel Streets, before (c.1903–10) and after its change of ownership and modernisation. Built in 1903, its façades were altered in 1939.

to the designs of David Ross. The City of Dunedin Block Plans for 1888–89 show the three-storey building as the Union Steam Ship Co's head office. In 1883, the USSCo building's site next to the first Harbour Board Building was considered

eminently an advantageous one, although it is not at present actually in the commercial centre of the city. Nevertheless, by the time the new railway station is opened, and when the newly-made streets shall have become thoroughly populated, the wisdom which has dictated the choice will be pretty generally recognised.³⁰

Decline set in after the NMA moved out, to the point where the large building was ominously called a 'sadly defaced hulk' in the Dunedin City Council's draft thematic study of June 2009.³¹ Since then, it has been revived by a restoration that won the Council's 2013 Heritage Re-use Award.

The NMA also had a store to the south of its main building, fronting Cumberland and Vogel Streets, between the head office and the first NMA warehouse described below.³²



THE FORMER USSCO HEAD OFFICE on the corner of Cumberland and Water Streets soon after its change to NMA ownership in 1929. The USSCo store in Cumberland Street is to the left. The first Harbour Board building stood where the tree is.



THE NMA HEAD OFFICE BUILDING was given a 'facelift' more than a decade after it was acquired in 1929. The vestiges of Victoriana, most of its architectural ornamentation, were removed from the outside walls and parapets. It appears at that time to have been plastered over and made plain, with incised geometrical decoration in a minimalist art deco style. It still carries the name 'National Mortgage & Agency Coy of NZ Ltd' and retains basement widow grilles reading 'NMACo'.

NMA warehouses

THE FIRST of the surviving NMA warehouses is a large four-storey brick and plaster building in Cumberland Street next door but one to the firm's last Water Street head office; it has a frontage to Vogel Street also. It was given a facelift in the same deco style and at the same time as the head office. Its date of construction is unclear, but early photographs suggest it dates from the late nineteenth century.



Further south, the NMA wool and grain store is a large, long and prominent two-storey brick building taking up one side of the block between Jervois and Police Streets between Vogel and Cumberland Streets. It is unclear when this building was constructed, but in the 1888 City of Dunedin block plans it shows up as the Farmers' Agency wool and grain store on the 1892 fire insurance plan. On the 1927 fire insurance plan, after the takeover of the Farmers' Agency by the NMA, the name of the building has been crossed out and changed to 'NMA's wool and grain store'.

The steel-framed Spotlight store — brick and plaster with a saw-tooth roof — was the NMA's most recent Dunedin building. It was constructed in the early part of the twentieth century, and was well known as the orange-topped Hirequip building before becoming the Spotlight shop. It sits on an irregular site bounded by Cumberland, Jervois and Vogel Streets. The building is sometimes attributed to the arts and crafts architect Basil Hooper on the basis of a comment in his memoirs: “One of the first decent jobs I did was a new store for the firm”, but it is not clear whether he was referring to this building, which is more likely to have been built after such an early date’, 1905.³³ The building shows up on the 1927 fire insurance plan as a wool and manure store, but not on the earlier 1892 fire insurance plan as an NMA building. In the 1888–89 City of Dunedin block plan, the site is



THE CURVED NORTHERN FACADE of the NMA wool and manure store on the corner of Jervois and Vogel Streets. The entrance porch is a recent addition but the first-floor metal-framed windows appear to be original.

shown as being owned by the Milburn Lime and Cement works. According to the *Cyclopedia*, JM Ritchie of the NMA was a director of this firm in 1903. Its head office was listed as Cumberland Street, Dunedin — perhaps the same site or building Ritchie later acquired for the NMA.³⁴

Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand buildings

THE HISTORY of these buildings is closely related to the history of the NMA. As has been shown, both of the USSCo's former headquarters in Water Street were also once the head offices of the NMA. The USSCo was started in 1875 by James Mills, a former shipping partner of the prominent early settler Johnny Jones.³⁵ Mills (1847–1936) learnt about the shipping trade while working for James Macandrew and Co, before joining Jones as manager of the Harbour Steam Co in 1868, aged 21.³⁶ After consolidating the Port Chalmers–Dunedin trade, Mills worked on establishing links with all other southern ports, and obtained a subsidy from the Provincial Government to do so. According to Erik Olssen, 'Dunedin thus became the southern *entrepôt*.'³⁷ Mills then sought to secure control over the inter-provincial trade, and by 1874 had become 'the uncrowned King of the Dunedin waterfront'.³⁸

In 1874 Mills went to Scotland to borrow the money needed to build two revolutionary compound-engine steamers for a new Auckland–Dunedin service. He obtained the money from Peter Denny, a prominent Scottish shipbuilder, and reluctantly accepted the need to risk his own control by making the enterprise a public company. In 1875 the Union Steam Ship Company was floated, Mills and his friends buying all the shares, and Mills became Manager and Chairman of the Board of Directors. He brought to the task high executive skills and a flair for the wheeling and dealing of commerce.³⁹

Within five years, ‘the USS was the largest shipping company in the Southern Hemisphere, and before 1940 the largest employer of labour in New Zealand outside the Government.’⁴⁰ In its first ‘three years the new company had achieved dominance in the coastal trade and the inter-colonial trade, over the next decade freight rates fell by half, and Mills had become the leading entrepreneur in Otago and one of its wealthiest citizens.’⁴¹ The USSCo, or red-funnel fleet as it became known, rapidly became a major player, the ‘premier shipping line in the Southern Hemisphere’. Its grand waterfront head office on the corner of Water and Vogel Streets ‘symbolised Dunedin’s maritime aspirations’. The building subsequently became the third NMA head office, described above.⁴²

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

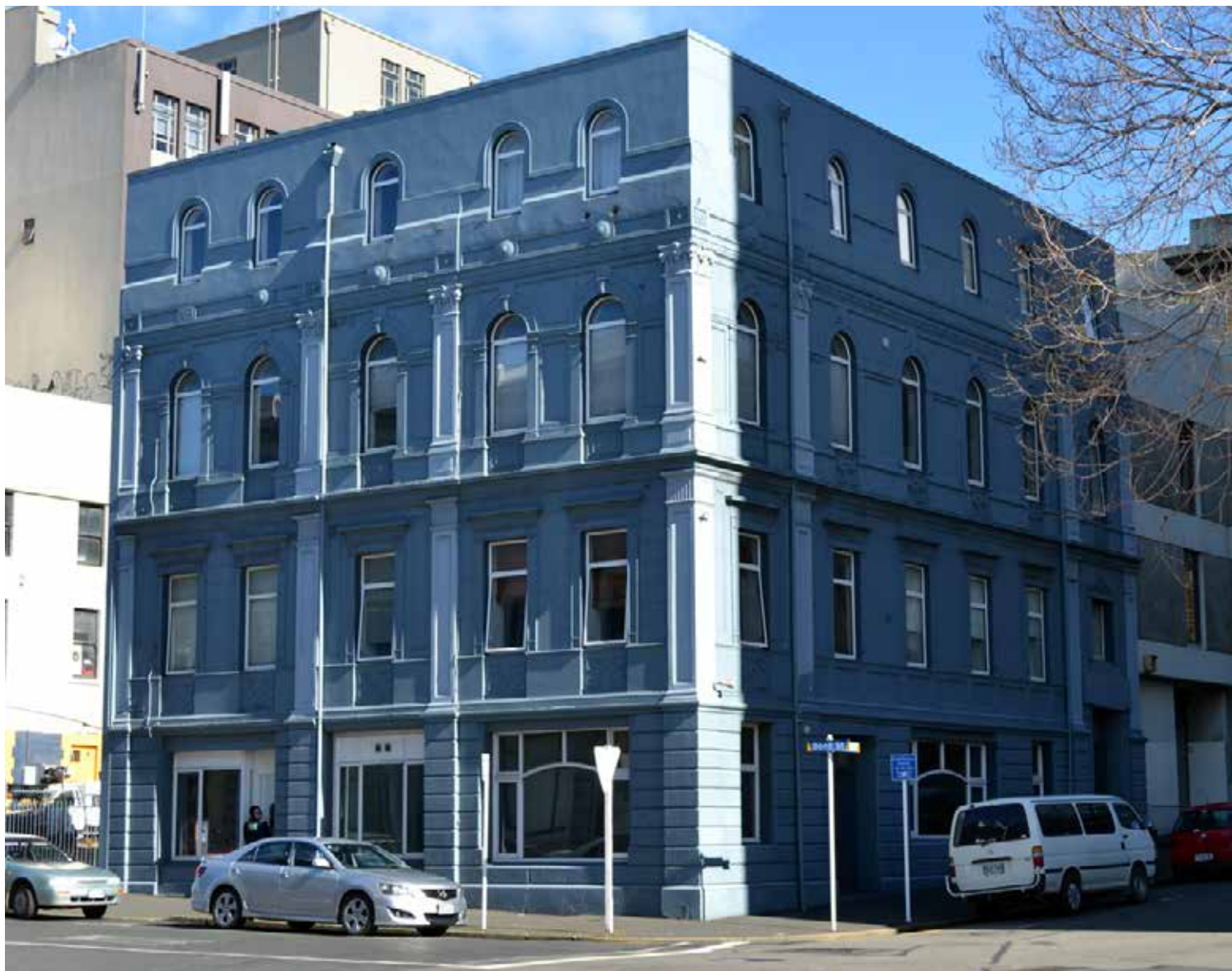
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- 3 Jim McAloon, ‘Ritchie, John Macfarlane, 1842-1912,’ Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>.
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- 5 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 13.
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- 21 Ville, 44.
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- 25 Ville, 65.
- 26 Ville, 210.
- 27 Parry, 40.
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- 30 *Otago Daily Times* 10 September 1883, 4.
- 31 Michael Findlay and Salmond Reed Architects, 'Draft thematic study', Dunedin City Council, June 2009.
- 32 The Otago Museum annexe temporary display (2013) dated the transfer of ownership to 1921 and the modernisation of the building to 1951.
- 33 Ralph Allen, *Motif and Beauty: The New Zealand Arts and Crafts Architecture of Basil Hooper* (Dunedin: Harptree, 2000), 22.
- 34 *Cyclopedia*, 364.
- 35 McLean, 90.
- 36 *Southern People*, 345.
- 37 Olssen, *A History of Otago*, 67.
- 38 Olssen, *A History of Otago*, 67.
- 39 Olssen, *A History of Otago*, 67–68.
- 40 *Southern People*, 345.
- 41 Olssen, *A History of Otago* 68.
- 42 McLean, 93.

Union Steam Ship Co head office

THIS FORMER UNION STEAM SHIP COMPANY head office is located on the corner of Bond and Liverpool Streets. The USSCo, formed in 1875, initially had its offices nearby in Harbour Chambers in Crawford Street. By August 1876 the company had moved into this building, where it remained until it moved to its purpose-built head office in Water Street in 1883. This building was then advertised for lease to lawyers, merchants and the like.

Originally of three storeys, the building had a mansard roof (including a decorative iron railing along the ridge line) and round-arched dormer windows crowned with acroteria. The Italianate façades retain their pilasters and some of their other original details. The ground floor is of rusticated stone and the walls above of plaster-rendered brickwork. The plainer fourth storey was created at some stage after 1934, and it appears to have





incorporated the original dormer windows: their shape and position remained unchanged.

In the 1890s the main tenants were the accountants and estate agents RH Leary and Co and the general agents Reeves and Co. The Otago Chess Club moved into its 'commodious' suite of rooms on the second floor in 1895. A decade later other tenants included the Theosophical Society, the lawyers William Downie Stewart

& Charles Payne, the West Coast Timber Trading Co, the timber and lime merchant Henry F Moss, the Dunedin Builders & Contractors Industrial Union of Employers, the Otago Property Syndicate, and the accountant George Blyth. Flats on the top floor housed Miss Catherine Gillingham's artist's studio and Miss Ida L Burton, shorthand typist. The lower floors with access to Bond Street were occupied by Neill & Co, merchants, shipping agents and vice-consuls for France and the United States.

From 1914 until at least 1934 John Reid & Sons were the principal tenants. The firm advertised its eclectic services: auctioneers; land salesmen; real estate, financial and insurance agents; 'valuators'; surveyors; and money, share and land brokers.

The building was converted to residential use around the turn of the twenty-first century.



THE NZMLA BUILDING's corner section was designed by RA Lawson, the architect responsible for Larnach's Castle, the Dunedin Municipal Building, and numerous other important civic commissions.



3

New Zealand Loan & Mercantile Agency

ANOTHER RELIC of the stock and station industry in Dunedin, the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency building is a substantial — and early — Dunedin waterfront landmark, built in stages between 1873 and 1885. It can be found on the corner of Fryatt and Thomas Burns Streets, formerly the corner of Castle and lower Rattray Streets. In 1905 the *Cyclopedia* noted:

The company's fine warehouse and office in Dunedin are conveniently situated with respect to both railway and shipping. The older portions of the building were erected in 1876 by the late Henry Driver, and at that time comprised the only building on the reclaimed land, the tide surrounding it at high water. The new portion was put up in 1885 and is built of Port Chalmers stone with Oamaru stone facings — the other portion being in blue stone. The whole building, which is two stories in height, covers about an acre of land, and is served by a railway siding.¹

Contrary to the *Cyclopedia*'s assertion, the original Driver Stewart and Co building appears to have been completed in 1873.² That year, the *Otago Witness* described the new building as being 164 feet long and 103 feet wide. 'The walls, which are constructed of bluestone, are of great solidity. The cellar is 7ft in the clear, the ground floor 12ft in the clear, and the upper storey 10ft from floor to tie beams.'³ The building, designed in the classical style popular in Dunedin at that time, was built to store wool, with a railway siding running through it.

The building ‘enjoyed landmark status’ due to its location on the harbour side of the commercial heart of the city. A level crossing over the railway linked both sides of lower Rattray Street. The lower Rattray Street area was ‘the commercial heart of the colony’, not just of Dunedin.⁴ Simon Ville points out that the grand premises of stock and station firms were built to ‘symbolise the power and influence of the leading firms’ such as the NZLMA.⁵ A concrete third storey with a saw-tooth roof was added to the oldest part of the building in 1929.⁶ Since the building was first constructed, ‘more land has been reclaimed, the roads are now all named and sealed and a railway fence divides the building from the old commercial precinct.’ But it still ‘remains a symbol of the wealth and power of the rural entrepreneurs who built the country’s pastoral industry’ and ‘an elegant part of Dunedin’s built heritage.’⁷



THE NZLMA BUILDINGS and the Steamer Basin, seen from the NZ Express Co building in 1925. The prominent building in the foreground, now lacking its parapets, is Queens Gardens House, with the Gresham Hotel behind. The railway crossing is now closed, and the NZR Road Services bus station and garage was built on the site to the left of this view in 1939.

WILLIAM MASON was the architect responsible for the plainer part of this complex in the early 1870s. RA Lawson designed the right-hand corner extension in 1880, with additions in 1883 and 1885.



By 2002, Stewart's Transport Ltd. owned the property, which was until recently known as the Go Kart building.⁸

At present, the building is in a dilapidated state, with crumbling masonry and some broken and boarded-up windows. It seems to be unused for any particular purpose. The windows in the wall of the Chinese Gardens across the railway tracks look out over this building now, ironically contrasting one glistening new 'heritage' development with another, tragically crumbling icon of the past that appears to have been forgotten and discarded. The building is however registered with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust as a Category II historic place.

The NZLMA was the largest of its kind operating in New Zealand, a 'product of the success of the stock and station agents.'⁹ Like other similar firms, the NZLMA was registered in London, where there was access to much-needed capital: 'as a British corporation it could borrow money more easily and obtain the capital and deposits it needed.'¹⁰ It was a subsidiary of the Bank of New Zealand, just as the NMA was a subsidiary of the National Bank.¹¹ In 1873, the NZLMA extended its operations to Australia and Fiji,¹² and from the 1880s also became involved in the refrigerated meat trade and the development of cool stores in London.¹³



THE NZLMA BUILDING'S façades have a wealth of carved details: ram's heads, ears of corn, fruit, leaves, and other evidence of nature's bounty.



Stephen Deed stresses the importance of this sort of firm: they comprised a ‘well organised group of intermediaries and business advisers’ who ‘sustained the most important sector of our economy at its developmental stage.’¹⁴ They were needed because of New Zealand’s geographical isolation from its markets, and because land transport within the country was difficult. Railways and roads were still being built, the latter often being just rough tracks.¹⁵ A stock and station agent’s premises had to be located at the ‘apex of transport systems’ so that they could manage the transportation of goods to and from the farm gate.¹⁶

By the 1960s there were too many stock and station agents and in 1962 the NZLMA merged with Dalgety, another large stock and station firm. Improvements in transport were a factor in their decline. Over the preceding century, farms had become less isolated with the development of roads and the replacement of horse-drawn transport with motor vehicles.¹⁷ Farmers also began to resent the control wielded by stock and station firms; many agents tried to do too many things, stretching their services too widely.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

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- 4 Deed, 37–8.
- 5 Ville, quoted in Deed, 38.
- 6 Deed, 45.
- 7 Deed, 51.
- 8 Deed, 35.
- 9 Deed, 19.
- 10 Deed, 25.
- 11 Deed, 26.
- 12 Deed, 25.
- 13 Deed, 31.
- 14 Deed, 21.
- 15 Deed, 21.
- 16 Deed, 21.
- 17 Deed, 34.

Dalgety & Co warehouse

THE LOWER TWO STOREYS of the right-hand three-storey section of the Dalgety and Co (formerly Mutual Agency) warehouse on the Jetty Street corner of Cumberland Street were designed by RA Lawson in 1889 as a grain store for Reid, McLean and Co. The concrete foundations were reinforced with iron railway rails, and the cement-rendered brickwork walls were designed to take the weight of a future third storey. No architectural ornamentation has been stripped off: the design was always plain. The Dalgety building now houses Carpet Court and appears to be in good repair. The 1927 fire insurance plan also shows that the rest of the block enclosed by Vogel, Cumberland, Jetty and Police Streets south of the stone abutment for the former railway over-bridge was occupied by a second Dalgety and Co wool and manure store. The arch in the railway overbridge abutment in the left foreground leads to a staircase up to the level of the former bridge approach road off Vogel Street.





4

Murray Roberts and Co

PART OF THIS ORNATE BUILDING on the corner of Liverpool, Bond and Crawford Streets was the head office and warehouse of Murray Roberts and Co, a land and stock agency. It was founded by Scotsman John Roberts (1845–1934) in Dunedin in 1868.¹ He was the son of George Roberts, who owned a woollen mill in Selkirk in the Scottish lowlands.² The firm began as a partnership between Roberts and the Sandersons and Murrays, who hailed from Galashiels, a mill town just six miles from Selkirk.³ John originally planned to emigrate to New Zealand and purchase large sheep runs on which to grow good wool to be manufactured at his father's Selkirk mill. He arrived in Dunedin in 1868 and initially acquired Lauder station, a government leasehold (with some freehold) of 45,000 acres, and then in 1872, Gladbrook Station (35,000 acres).⁴ Roberts was chairman of the Taieri County Council and pushed for the building of the Otago Central Railway through the Strath Taieri and Maniototo. By 1900, Murray Roberts and Co was the second largest exporter of wool in New Zealand.⁵ Roberts went on to purchase other large stations in Hawkes Bay, at one stage having an interest in as much as 200,000 acres of pastoral land throughout the country. However, most of the land had been sold by 1908.⁶ Legislation forcing the break-up of large runs was in prospect, and the New Zealand and Australian Land Company similarly sold its holdings about this time.

Murray Roberts and Co's first office was near the Princes Street end of Stafford Street, and on the 1892 fire insurance plan the firm still had a skin



EXCHANGE HOUSE in Liverpool Street, the neoclassical head office and warehouse of Murray Roberts and Co. The two front doors have always been here.

store at this location.⁷ In 1880 John Roberts had bought the Bond Street site at a cost of £4,500, and built what became known as the ‘Exchange Building’, completed in 1882. Half the building was acquired by the National Mutual Insurance Agency.⁸ Murray Roberts and Co operated from this address for nearly a century. It was more of a land investment company than a conventional stock and station business. Murray Roberts and Co owned and managed stations and engaged in wool broking, buying and scouring; fellmongery; merchandising; shipping and insurance, with only limited involvement in farm finance.

John Roberts was also until 1917 chairman and a director of the NZ Refrigerating Co, which started the country’s first freezing works at Burnside, Dunedin. He was closely associated with the first shipment of frozen meat from Dunedin in 1882, supplying part of the cargo of 349 sheep.⁹

A prominent member of the Fernhill Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Presbyterian Church, he had become one of the city's leading businessmen. He belonged to the Board of Directors for the Colonial Bank; Milburn Lime and Cement; the Mosgiel Woollen Company ... the Trustees, Executors & Agency; and the Union Steam Ship Company.¹⁰

On the political scene, Roberts was a member of the Otago Provincial Council from 1873 to 1875, Mayor of Dunedin in 1889, a member of the Otago Harbour Board, vice-chancellor of Otago University, and from 1885 to 1921 a member of the University Council. He was knighted in 1920 and died aged 89 in 1934 at Littlebourne House, the home he built for himself and his family near Otago Boys' High School.

Roberts 'became one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Otago' and by 1900 his firm was the country's second largest wool exporter.¹¹ Erik Olssen describes him as an entrepreneur who retained vision and energy at the turn of the century, a period when many other entrepreneurs lost their drive and gave way to the increasing dominance of the North Island's economy:

A man of few words and intense energy, Roberts believed that Dunedin's supremacy could only be regained if it became the most modern of the cities. In 1901 he chaired a Greater Dunedin Committee, dominated by wealthy men, which spelt out a vision of a unified and centralised Dunedin providing cheap electricity for industry; in this way decline could be reversed.¹²

Roberts was the richest man in Dunedin in the 1920s, and left a fortune of £435,000 on his death.¹³

Murray Roberts and Co's purpose-built premises in Liverpool Street was described in 1905 as 'a handsome, freehold, two-storey brick building, with Oamaru stone pillars and facings.' The business supplied 'customers with general merchandise, for example seeds, wool packs and fencing wire.' Goods such as wool, grain, sheep and rabbit skins, hides and frozen meat were 'received on consignment or otherwise, for shipment to London'.¹⁴

The prominent Dunedin architect FW Petre — well known for his churches, and cathedrals in Dunedin and Christchurch — designed this building. It is illustrated and discussed by photographer Gary Blackman



VIEW FROM THE ROOF of the T & G Mutual Life Assurance building, on the corner of Princes and Jetty Streets, about 1960. The neoclassical façade centre right is the Bond Street frontage of Exchange House.

and architect Ted McCoy in their book *Victorian City of New Zealand*. They argue that the building ‘makes an important contribution to the streetscape of the area.’¹⁵

A variety of tenants occupied the Exchange Building. Murray Roberts and Co’s offices took up the ground floor of the Crawford Street half of the building, below which they had a goods cellar. The upper floor of this half of the building was occupied by the Trustees, Executors and Agency Company of New Zealand, along with the New Zealand Mortgage and Investment Association. The Bond Street half of the building housed the Chamber of Commerce on the ground floor and the offices of Messrs Smith, Anderson and Co, barristers and solicitors, on the upper floor. The Historic Places Trust has registered the building as a Category I historic place.¹⁶

The New Zealand Refrigerating Company also used the Exchange Building as its offices. This is not surprising, as John Roberts was its

chairman. The company was formed in 1881 and was ‘the pioneer freezing company of New Zealand.’ The company built its, and the country’s, first freezing works at Burnside. This operated on a large scale: in one year alone, it dealt with 242,588 sheep and lambs, 4379 head of cattle and 45,135 crates of rabbits.

Thomas Brydone, of New Zealand and Australian Land Company (and NMA) fame, was one of the firm’s directors.¹⁷ He took ‘an active part in the erection of the Agricultural Hall, and [was] a director and debenture holder of the Agricultural Hall Company Ltd’ (see Chapter 6). Brydone was also an active promoter of the Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Society, which, for well over a century, has promoted farmers’ goods and produce at shows throughout New Zealand.¹⁸ From Peebles-shire in Scotland, Brydone arrived in Dunedin in 1868. ‘In 1882 he personally superintended the loading at Port Chalmers of the first chartered vessel to carry frozen mutton from New Zealand to the Old World, and supervised the killing and freezing operations.’¹⁹ As superintendent of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, he used his management position to advance his own fortune, which stood at £37,500 when he died in 1904.²⁰



TWO LONG ONE-STOREY BUILDINGS marked as grain and seed stores on the 1927 fire insurance plan can be identified at the southern end of Vogel Street, at the intersection with Gordon Street. One of these two buildings now has ‘PGG Wrightsons’ painted on its side. The other (pictured *above*), directly across the road in Vogel Street (on the Crawford Street side) has no markings to link it with its original owners.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

- 1 Roberts, 13.
- 2 Roberts, 13. In 1870, John Roberts married the daughter of Charles Kettle, distinguished early settler, land surveyor and artist.
- 3 Roberts, 9.
- 4 Roberts, 23.
- 5 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 57.
- 6 Roberts, 36.
- 7 Riemann map of Dunedin and Business Directory (1869).
- 8 Roberts, 18.
- 9 Roberts, 19–20.
- 10 Olssen, *A History of Otago*, 132.
- 11 *Southern People*, 425.
- 12 Olssen, *A History of Otago*, 132.
- 13 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 15, 57.
- 14 *Cyclopedia*, 349.
- 15 EJ McCoy and JG Blackman, *Victorian City of New Zealand* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1968), figure 20.
- 16 Greater detail about the building's architectural and decorative features can be found in 'Exchange Building', *Otago Witness* 27 May 1882, 22.
- 17 *Cyclopedia*, 335.
- 18 *Cyclopedia*, 335.
- 19 *Cyclopedia*, 335.
- 20 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 61.

Booth, Macdonald & Co

THIS PLASTER-RENDERED BRICK WAREHOUSE has retained much of its architectural detail despite several alterations over the years. Built in 1907 for J Sidey and later known as the Mosgiel Woollens building, it was converted to offices in 1959, and a range of alterations have been made over time. It has housed a wide range of businesses over the years, including the Acme Supply Co, wholesale grocers. In 2004 apartments were created on the first floor. Before Elite Fitness moved in recently, Williams Signs and Graphics owned the building.

Booth, Macdonald and Co — occupiers of the building when the right hand side photograph was taken — was a Christchurch firm that made agricultural machinery: wool presses, windmills, ploughs and harrows. The firm also acted as a distributing agency for other agricultural machinery. Founded in 1882, by 1906 Booth, Macdonald and Co had more than a hundred employees. The Dunedin office was one of ten ‘distributing branches’ throughout the country.



FIRE ESCAPES of the warehouse precinct, most of them twentieth-century additions.





5

Wright, Stephenson and Co

IRONICALLY, although Wright, Stephenson and Co had swallowed most of the other stock and station firms by the end of the twentieth century, and survives today as the national company PGG Wrightsons, few of its original warehouses survive. However, on the waterfront near the new stadium and opposite Logan Park, a substantial warehouse still exists, probably built in the 1950s. Wright, Stephenson and Co's wool and grain stores in the old warehouse area — in Vogel Street, bounding on Wolseley Street — have made way for recent retail developments such as the Briscoes and former Noel Leeming shops fronting Crawford Street. Wrightsons also had a head office in High Street, which was replaced by a modern glass-fronted building in recent years. Their wool and grain store in Cumberland Street was called the 'Railway Wool and Grain Store'.¹ This may have been one of the large buildings on railway land on the eastern side of Cumberland Street, all of which have been demolished.

However, Wright, Stephenson and Co's horse sale yard in Maclaggan Street, built in 1889, survives as part of The Warehouse. It is registered with the Historic Places Trust as a Category I historic place. Wright, Stephenson and Co also erected a two-storey rendered brick building in Manse Street in 1869.² This had a

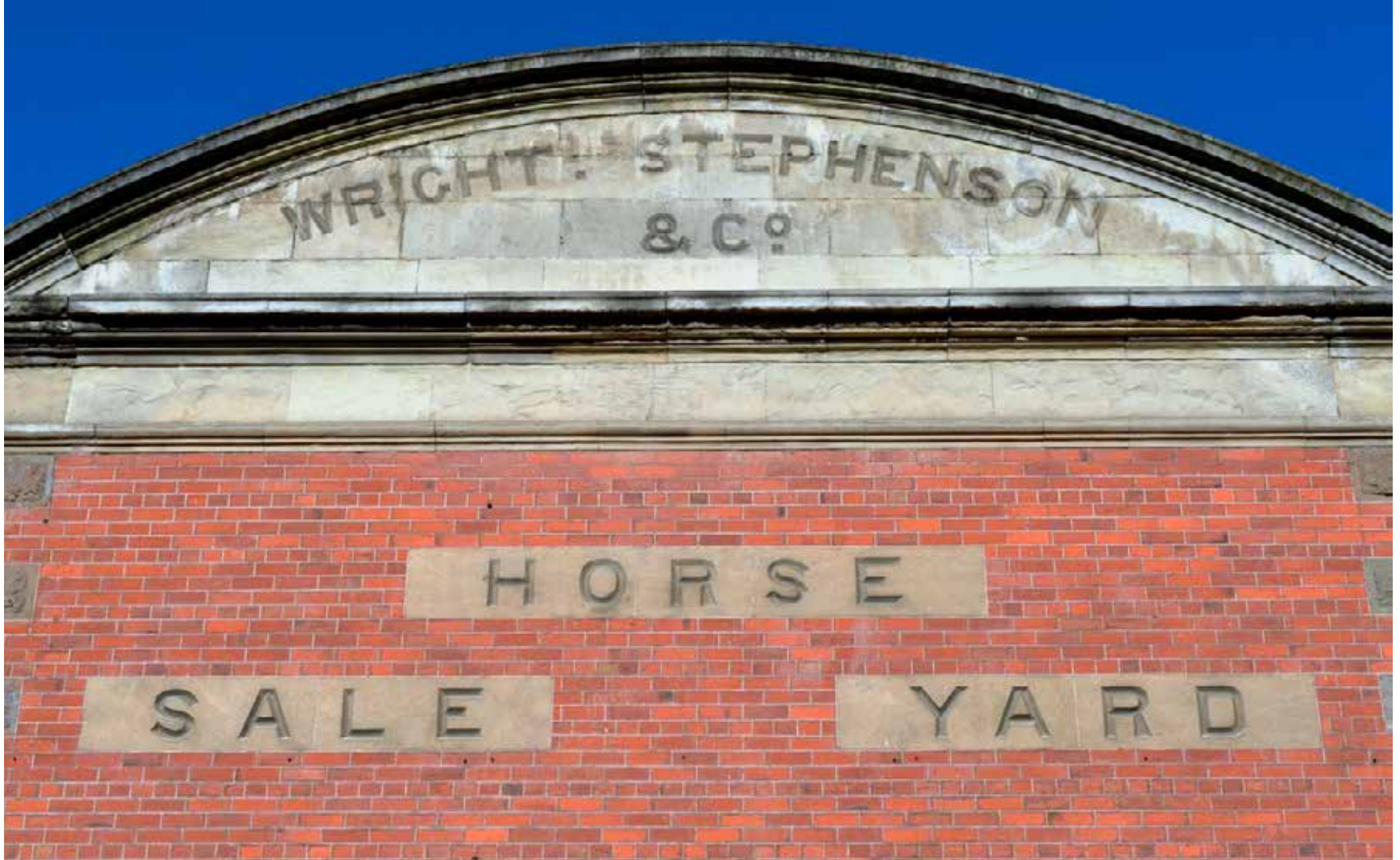
frontage of 40ft and a depth of 66ft, and is two storeys in height. Being a continuation of the present building, the front is to be carried out in the same style, but in brick and cement, viz., circular headed door and windows below,



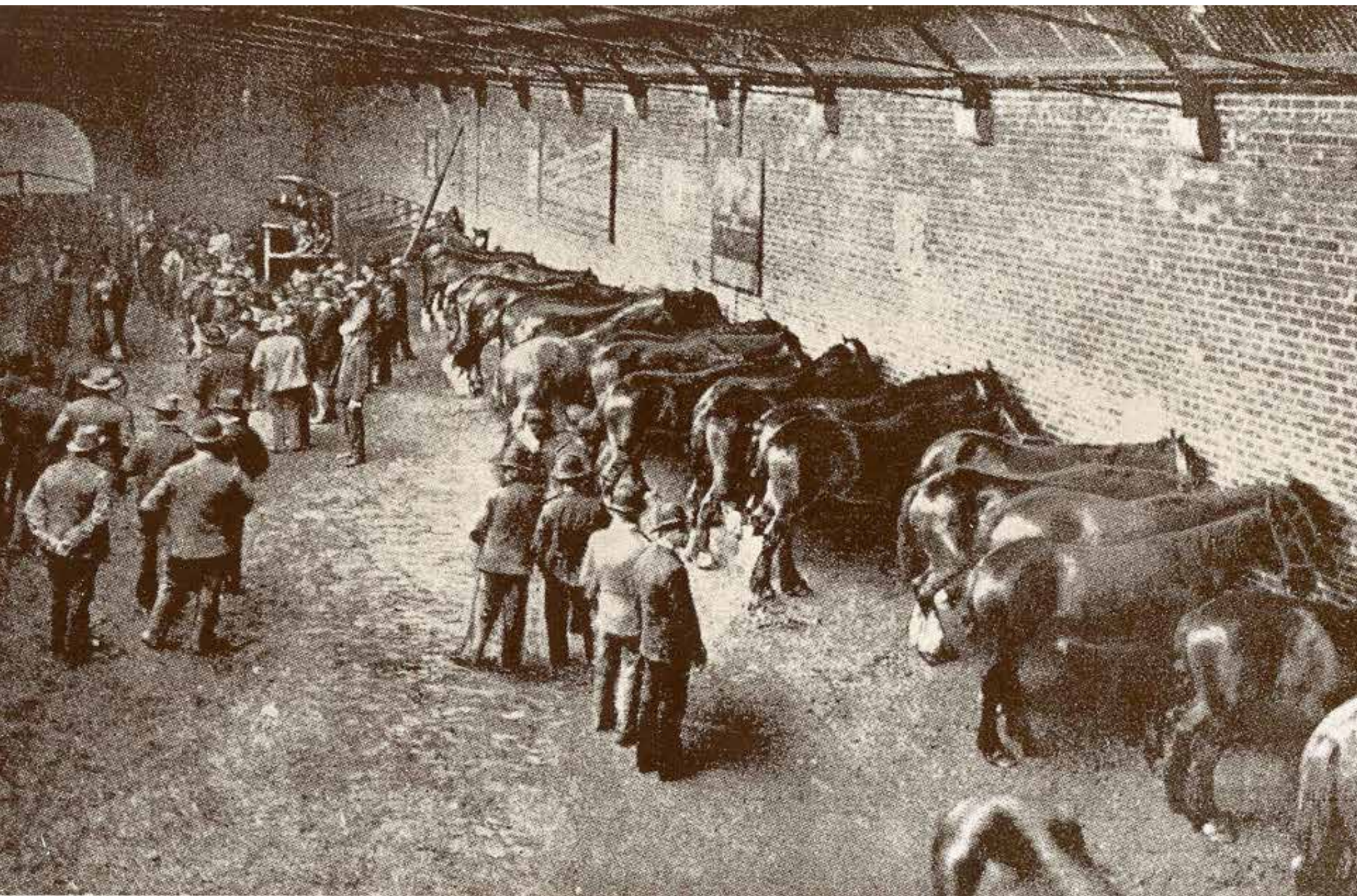
IN THIS VIEW from 1977, we can see the now-demolished Wright, Stephenson and Co wool and grain stores — with their gables and black roof — at the *upper left*, near the wedge-shaped building currently occupied by Spotlight.

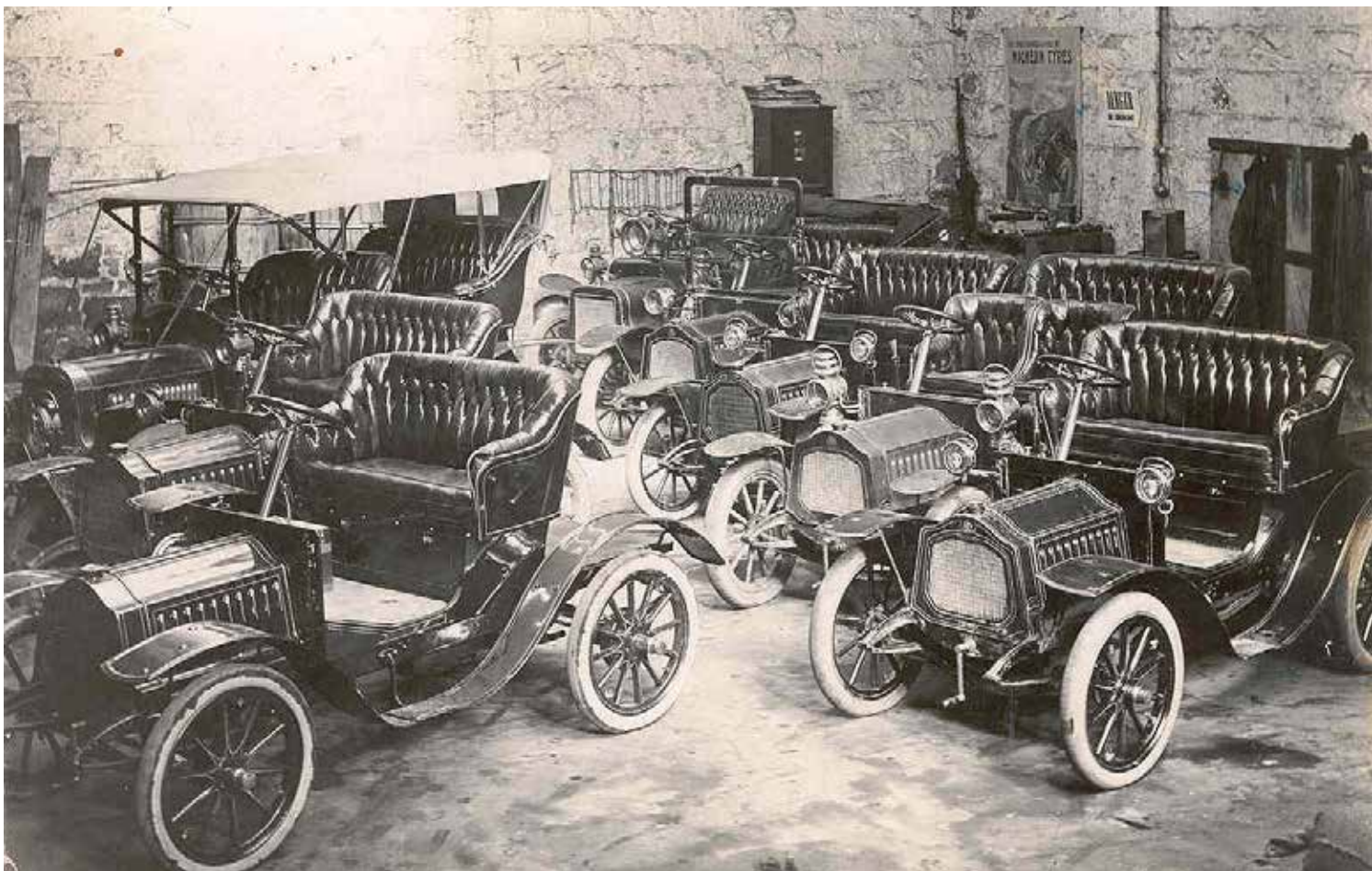
square d[itt]o above, with cornices, blocking course, &c., the whole being rusticated work. The front portion of the ground floor comprises a large hall and staircase, and three large offices, lavatory [i.e. a wash-room, not a WC], &c., and a large addition to the present store at back. It has also a fireproof room in connection with the offices built of firebrick, and having double iron doors. Between the buildings behind, a portion is left only one storey in height; this is roofed with glass, having opening sashes, &c., for ventilation ... Mr David Ross is the architect.³

The origins of this early stock and station agency are important, especially since it was to take over so many other well-established companies of the same ilk. Wright, Stephenson and Co seems to have become the winner after more than a century of competition in this increasingly tough industry.



WRIGHT, STEPHENSON'S HORSE SALE YARD. This façade graces the Maclaggan Street frontage of The Warehouse. Inside, part of the north-east side wall has been removed to link the building with The Warehouse's much larger new building on the corner with Broadway. The steel truss barrel-vaulted roof survives, and in the street-level loading area a wagon turntable remains set into the floor. *Below:* horses and their potential buyers c.1890.





WRIGHT, STEPHENSON'S fleet of De Dion cars garaged in the horse sale building, 1907.

John Wright and Robert Robertson arrived in Dunedin in 1861 and set up as general merchants and auctioneers. Wright, Robertson and Co soon moved into the stock and station agency business. John Stephenson, born in Nottinghamshire, spent nine years as a miner and livestock dealer in Victoria before moving to Dunedin. He worked for several stock firms in Dunedin, and by 1865 had become a partner Wright, Robertson. When Robertson left in 1869 the firm was renamed Wright, Stephenson and Co.⁴ By 1903 they were seed merchants, stock and station agents, auctioneers and artificial manure merchants. The firm by then had branches throughout Otago and Southland, and a head office in High Street. The firm expanded its activities nationwide under Wright and Stephenson's successors William Hunt and James Johnson, and the head office was moved to Wellington in 1918.⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

- 1 *Cyclopedia*, 278.
- 2 'City Improvements', *Otago Witness* 14 August 1869, 17.
- 3 'City Improvements', *Otago Witness* 14 August 1869, 17.
- 4 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 57; Kynaston, 33.
- 5 Kynaston, 33. For the firm's subsequent fate, see Chapter 2 on the NMA.



THEATRE EXIT, Agricultural Hall (or His Majesty's Theatre) accessed down an alleyway off Jetty Street.



6

The Agricultural and Brydone Halls

THE AGRICULTURAL HALL (also known as His Majesty's Theatre) was designed by James Hislop¹ for the Agricultural and Pastoral Society in 1896. The foundation-stone laying ceremony involved many local leaders and prominent businessmen, board members and other citizens. A time capsule — probably still there — was laid within the foundation stone.² A Scot, Hislop had emigrated as a child to Dunedin with his parents in 1860. After serving as an apprentice with the architects Mason and Wales, he designed many 'leading buildings, not only in Otago, but in the cities of New Zealand', including Wellington, Timaru and Christchurch.³ Rural entrepreneur and frozen-meat pioneer Thomas Brydone was instrumental in the Agricultural Hall project.

The hall was used to display produce at A&P Shows, but also became a popular venue for theatrical entertainments. The new 'Agricultural Buildings' were opened on 22 June 1897, followed by the first A&P show two days later.⁴ About 1903, the Agricultural Hall was renamed His Majesty's Theatre, as it had by then become better known for its excellent acoustics and large stage and auditorium.

A glimpse into the construction process is provided by an *Otago Daily Times* report:

Yesterday afternoon the roof and gallery of the new Agricultural Hall were tested with a view to seeing that they were perfectly safe. A weight of 21 tons was placed on the principal, which stood the great strain without a



THIS CONTINUOUS FACADE eventually covered three buildings, *left*: the Agricultural Hall (His Majesty's Theatre), WE Reynolds' wool, skin and grain store (*right*). The Brydone Hall was built to the right of this in 1905, adding a second storey in the same style to the buildings shown here. Over the years, as these buildings were modified, the façades were changed extensively.

movement of any kind. As the weight mentioned is much greater than either the roof or gallery will ever be required to bear, the test was considered in every way satisfactory. The Hon. T. Fergus, Messrs J. Hislop, T. Brydone, Ussher, McGavin, Mirams, McLennan and others were present when the test was made.⁵

In May, the paper reported that the 'general verdict' of those who had seen the interiors 'has been one of surprise and delight.' The style was described as 'Renaissance' and the general effect of the façade 'strikingly good.' The hall was significantly larger than the Garrison Hall, and had a proscenium arch 34 feet wide.

The height from the floor of the stage to the under side of the proscenium is 20ft, and to the top of the cornice 25ft. The stage has been built in the composite style of architecture, having fluted panel pilasters with composite capitals surmounted by a moulded and detailed cornice and freise [sic], which



THE AGRICULTURAL HALL INTERIOR showing the seating and ceiling with the ornate central dome.

is finished above, in the centre of the building, with emblems of agriculture. The wings are panelled round, and are painted with a fireproof solution. The height of the roof is such that there will be no difficulty in arranging for drop scenes on the stage, behind which, also, there is ample room for provision for dressing and retiring accommodation, while other conveniences are supplied such as exist in none of the other places of entertainment in the city.

The hall was lit by natural light, gas and electricity from the outset. Fire precautions included a 'water service on every landing.' Plumbing also enabled a working fountain to be placed in the centre of the main hall for 'a ball or a flower show'. A smaller hall was provided upstairs, as well as a large, well-lit 'implement hall'. Offices, committee rooms and premises for a caretaker were also provided. The paper tellingly pointed out 'that the erection of the future headquarters of the Agricultural and Pastoral Society has already materially enhanced the value of property in the vicinity.'⁶

At the official opening on 21 June 1897 by the Acting Premier and Minister for Lands and Agriculture, John MacKenzie, the main hall was named 'Imperial Hall' as the occasion coincided with the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.⁷ MacKenzie praised those who had taken the initiative to build the hall:

The reason for their building this hall, I believe, was that it was impossible to find any other hall for the winter show of the agricultural producers of this part of the colony; it was absolutely necessary that a larger hall should be secured for that show, and the outcome was that a number of gentlemen formed themselves into a company, and raised ... £11,000.⁸

MacKenzie pointed out that 'all the building material has been produced in the colony, with the exception of the iron girders'. A concert followed the opening, the proceeds of which went towards servicing the debt generated by the hall's construction.

What remains of this theatre is now the Sammy's nightclub building, the back façade of which survives in Vogel Street. At some stage in the mid-twentieth century, the Crawford Street frontage of this fine theatre was destroyed, leaving an open space where the foyer and entrance hall once were. Sometime in the 1970s, its owner Sammy Chin built a split-block porch as a new entranceway to the theatre.



THE ORIGINAL AGRICULTURAL HALL, later His Majesty's, now without a decorative façade, and the second Agricultural Hall next door.

The second Agricultural Hall

THE NAME 'AGRICULTURAL HALL' now appears on the front of what at first glance appears to be a 1960s-built structure immediately next door, to the south of Sammy's night club. Once inside, however, it is obvious this structure is much older. This is in fact the redeveloped WE Reynolds' wool, skin and grain store. In more recent times the ground floor was used as Brown's second-hand shop and the upper floor as a skating rink and dance hall.

WE Reynolds and Co were merchants dealing in wool, grain, seeds and produce between the 1870s and the 1890s.⁹ The firm's two-storey building in Bond Street (backing onto Crawford Street) contained more than 8000 square feet of storage space.¹⁰

The new building, completed in 1902, incorporated offices for the Otago A&P Society:

The block owned by the society covers an area that has a frontage of 150ft to Crawford street, with a depth of 150ft running back to Vogel street. The frontage to Crawford street is taken up with offices, one of which is occupied by H.V. Fulton, secretary of the society. At the rear of the secretary's office is a capital reading room, which will be fitted up with shelving and tables, on which members at any time they may visit the room will find a plentiful supply of books and papers relating to agricultural, pastoral, dairying and general matters. This ought certainly to have the effect of gaining more members for the society. Such privileges as are now enjoyed by members of the Otago Agricultural and Pastoral Society are probably not enjoyed by the members of any other similar society in New Zealand. There are four other suites of offices in the block of buildings, all of which are occupied. Behind the offices is a large space which will be used by the society for the stock and machinery exhibits of the Winter show. A considerable portion of this space has recently been let to the Southland Implement Company for a term, on the understanding that they vacate the place during the term of the winter show.¹¹

Brydone Hall

THIS IS YET ANOTHER early A&P Society development, erected next door to the second Agricultural Hall in 1905. This large two-storey building takes up most of the east side of the Crawford Street block between the old theatre and Police Street. It was rebuilt after a major fire in December 1910.¹² Although its subsequent history is hard to trace, we know from the 1927 fire insurance plans and Dunedin City Council planning documents it became widely known as the Agricultural Buildings or A&P buildings. The A&P Society had soon found the ‘annexe’ (the second Agricultural Hall next to His Majesty’s Theatre) too small to show the great variety of farmers’ produce at Winter Shows. This new building was completed in 1905, the date appearing along with the name ‘Brydone Hall’ on the pediment. It was built primarily to display the wool produced by Otago’s runholders, and later named as a memorial to Thomas Brydone.¹³ When first built, it was very similar to His Majesty’s Theatre in appearance, having a similar roof-line, agricultural symbols on the mouldings, and similar windows and ground floor arches. It was the venue for the Winter Show for most of the last century.

The back of the Brydone Hall in Vogel Street is not glamorous, having





smaller windows, a red-brick façade, a door large enough for vehicle access and a warehouse look about it. The section of Vogel Street behind the Brydone Hall used to be closed off for Ferris wheels and other fairground attractions during A&P shows. Today, the Crawford Street frontage of this plaster-rendered brick building, painted blue and black, appears to have no association with Thomas Brydone. It has been stripped of both its ornamental parapet and its memorial title.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

- 1 *Otago Witness* 11 June 1896, 36a.
- 2 *Otago Witness* 11 June 1896, 36a.
- 3 *Cyclopedia*, 283.
- 4 *Otago Daily Times* 8 June 1897, 4.
- 5 *Otago Daily Times* 3 April 1897, 4.
- 6 'The Agricultural Buildings', *Otago Daily Times* 13 May 1897, 3.
- 7 'The Agricultural Buildings: The Official Opening: A Crowded Attendance', *Otago Daily Times* 22 June 1897, 5.
- 8 'The Agricultural Buildings: The Official Opening: A Crowded Attendance', *Otago Daily Times* 22 June 1897, 5.
- 9 *Cyclopedia*, 353.
- 10 *Cyclopedia*, 353.
- 11 'City Improvements', *Otago Daily Times* 8 April 1902, 2.
- 12 John Ingram and Paul Clements, *Ready Aye Ready: 150 years of Dunedin Fire Brigades 1861–2011* (Dunedin: Dunedin Fire Brigade Restoration Society, 2010), 65–6; the gutted building is illustrated on page 66.
- 13 *Otago Witness* 27 January 1909, 21.

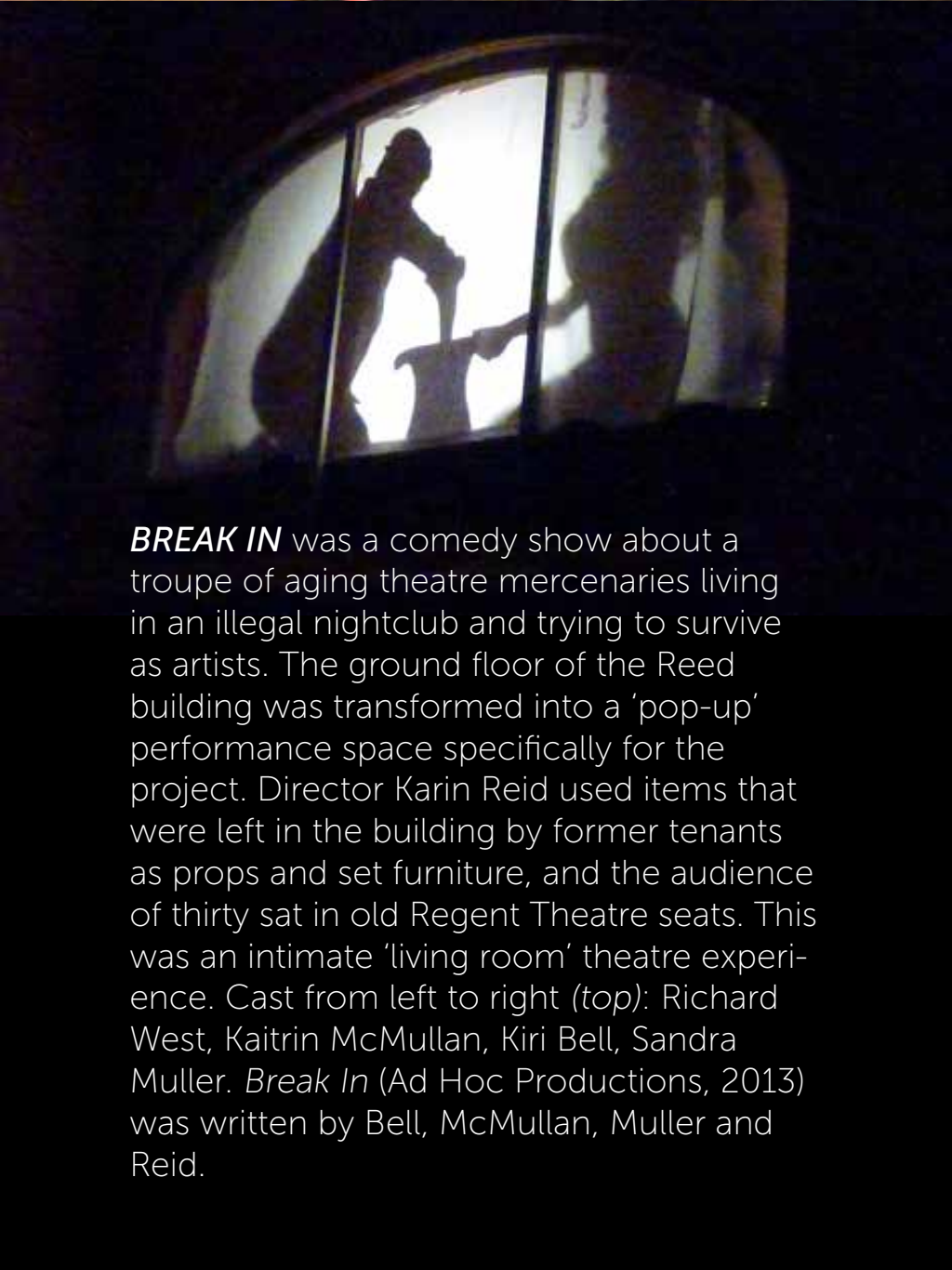
AH & AW Reed building



THIS PROMINENT BUILDING was designed as offices for the Education Board in 1897. The Board's architect was John Somerville, and the *Otago Witness* believed his design 'will complete a block of fine buildings, and add very materially to the architectural beauty of the locality ... The site, which has a frontage to both streets, is looked upon as one of the best in the city.'* The publishers AH & AW Reed had their premises here from 1925 to 1940, when the venerable AH Reed — a writer and producer of religious pamphlets — retired from the business he had established in 1907.

The building was allowed to deteriorate badly in recent years (including the subsidence of the south wall) until Lawrie Forbes bought it in 2012 and began repairs. The building is neither on the city council's Heritage Register nor listed by the Historic Places Trust. To its right is the mutilated frontage of His Majesty's Theatre.

**Otago Witness* 8 July 1897.



BREAK IN was a comedy show about a troupe of aging theatre mercenaries living in an illegal nightclub and trying to survive as artists. The ground floor of the Reed building was transformed into a 'pop-up' performance space specifically for the project. Director Karin Reid used items that were left in the building by former tenants as props and set furniture, and the audience of thirty sat in old Regent Theatre seats. This was an intimate 'living room' theatre experience. Cast from left to right (top): Richard West, Kaitrin McMullan, Kiri Bell, Sandra Muller. *Break In* (Ad Hoc Productions, 2013) was written by Bell, McMullan, Muller and Reid.



7

A collection of wool and grain stores

THREE PROMINENT three-storey former warehouses can be seen in the Vogel Street block between Queens Gardens (formerly lower Rattray Street) and Water Street, and fronting Cumberland Street. These three adjacent buildings, constructed between 1881 and 1888, remain in a mixture of tenancies, including as residential apartments. From the corner of Water and Vogel Streets northwards, they are listed on the 1888–9 City of Dunedin block plan as:

Remshardt and Co's skin and wool store, a large three-storey brick and plaster building on the corner of Water and Vogel Street (backing onto Cumberland Street).

The Mutual Agency Co of NZ, a three-storey wool and grain store. The main entry is on Vogel Street, but the back of the building has a façade to Cumberland Street. On the middle of the building are the words, in large red letters, 'Milne Bremner Ltd.'

Hogg, Howison and Nicol's wool and grain store, a three-storey brick and plaster building originally identical in style and roof-line to its neighbour, the Mutual Agency Co.¹ The two buildings no longer appear so alike, as this one remains largely unchanged while its neighbour to the south has had many architectural features and adornments removed.

By the start of the First World War, all three had changed hands or use. Remshardt's had become J Wilkie and Co Ltd, art printers and lithographers; the Mutual Agency building had become Remshardt and



MILNE BREMNER
from the Cumberland Street side. The building dates from 1887, and was home to wholesalers Milne Bremner from 1914. The façade was stripped of neoclassical detailing during the 1940s. Milne Bremner remained here until 1965 when the business was sold to F Meenan and Co and closed down. This building, which runs through to Vogel Street, has been recently earthquake strengthened and redeveloped for use as office space. Hogg, Howison and Nichol's wool and grain store is visible to its right; Remshardt's skin and wool store (now Vogel House) to its left. See also page 178.

Co's building; and Hogg, Howison and Co had become Paterson and Barr Ltd's wholesale ironmongers' warehouse.²

The *Cyclopedia* explains this seemingly confusing exchange of premises. In 1903 Remshardt and Co acquired a new building:

The large building occupied by the firm, which was erected on Harbour Board leasehold land for Messrs Hogg, Howison and Co, for the Mutual Agency Company, has been acquired by Mr Remshardt. It is a three storey brick building with roomy cellar, having large frontages to Vogel and Cumberland Streets. Messrs Remshardt and Co occupies the ground and first floor and cellar, the upper flat being let. The principal entrance is from Vogel Street, on which side the offices are located, and the store and cart entrance is in Cumberland Street.

Hogg Howison and Co had built the two identical buildings — one for itself and one for the Mutual Agency Company — and had sold the Mutual Agency one to the south of it to Remshardt around 1903. At some stage, J Wilkie and Co took over the former Remshardt's bigger building on the corner of Water and Vogel Streets, and Paterson and Barr took over the former Hogg Howison building. Confused? Hopefully not.

CE Remshardt was born in south Germany in 1848, and emigrated to New Zealand in 1875.³ His firm established the rabbit skin industry in New Zealand and was a large buyer and shipper of wool, sheepskins, hides, horse hair, flax and frozen meat.

By 1927, the fire insurance plan shows the ownership of most of these buildings had changed again. The building occupied by J Wilkie and Co (originally the Mutual Agency building) had become Milne Bremner Ltd (mentioned above), and the larger building next door, on the corner of Vogel and Water Streets, with a frontage also to Cumberland Street, had become Williamson Jeffrey, bookbinders and stationers (it had earlier been Remshardt's warehouse, then the premises of J Wilkie and Co).

Paterson and Barr

THIS BUSINESS, wholesale and retail ironmongers and hardware merchants, was founded by Adam Paterson in 1885. Two years later, he was joined by James Barr. They leased a shop in Princes Street from the Standard Insurance Company.⁴ In July 1903 Paterson and Barr acquired the former Hogg, Howison and Nicol building from Scoular Brothers and moved their offices and wholesale business there. According to the *Cyclopedia*, their premises in Richardson Street (a large one-storey brick warehouse, its precise location no longer known) and 138 Princes Street (a three-storey, double-fronted shop) had become too cramped.⁵ (This latter building, known today as the 'Clarion Building', still stands at 282–92 Princes Street, and is registered with the Historic Places Trust as a Category II historic place.) While the firm continued trading from their Princes Street premises, it is unclear whether they kept possession of their Richardson Street store. The *Cyclopedia* describes the premises at Vogel and Cumberland Streets as having

three floors, with a concrete cellar and an attic floor. The building occupied the whole of the site, which measured 80 by 40 feet. Paterson and Barr had erected an iron yard and store for heavy goods on the adjacent half-section. The building contained a hydraulic lift running from the cellar to the top level or 'flat'. The offices were located at the Vogel Street entrance.⁶ The firm was represented by two travellers who did business throughout Otago, Southland and Canterbury.⁷

In 1905 H.K. Wilkinson and JW Davys joined the business as partners and the firm opened a new branch at 243 George Street, trading as the George Street Ironmongery Co. At this point they maintained their other premises at 140 Princes Street and Vogel–Cumberland Streets.⁸ Briscoe and Co planned to acquire Paterson and Barr's business, and calculated that in addition to its owning the George Street premises, Paterson and Barr's warehouses in Vogel and Cumberland Streets, held on 21-year leases from the Harbour Board, were worth £3,500.⁹ The firm also owned a recently built warehouse in Vogel Street, also on a 21-year lease, valued at £2,250.¹⁰

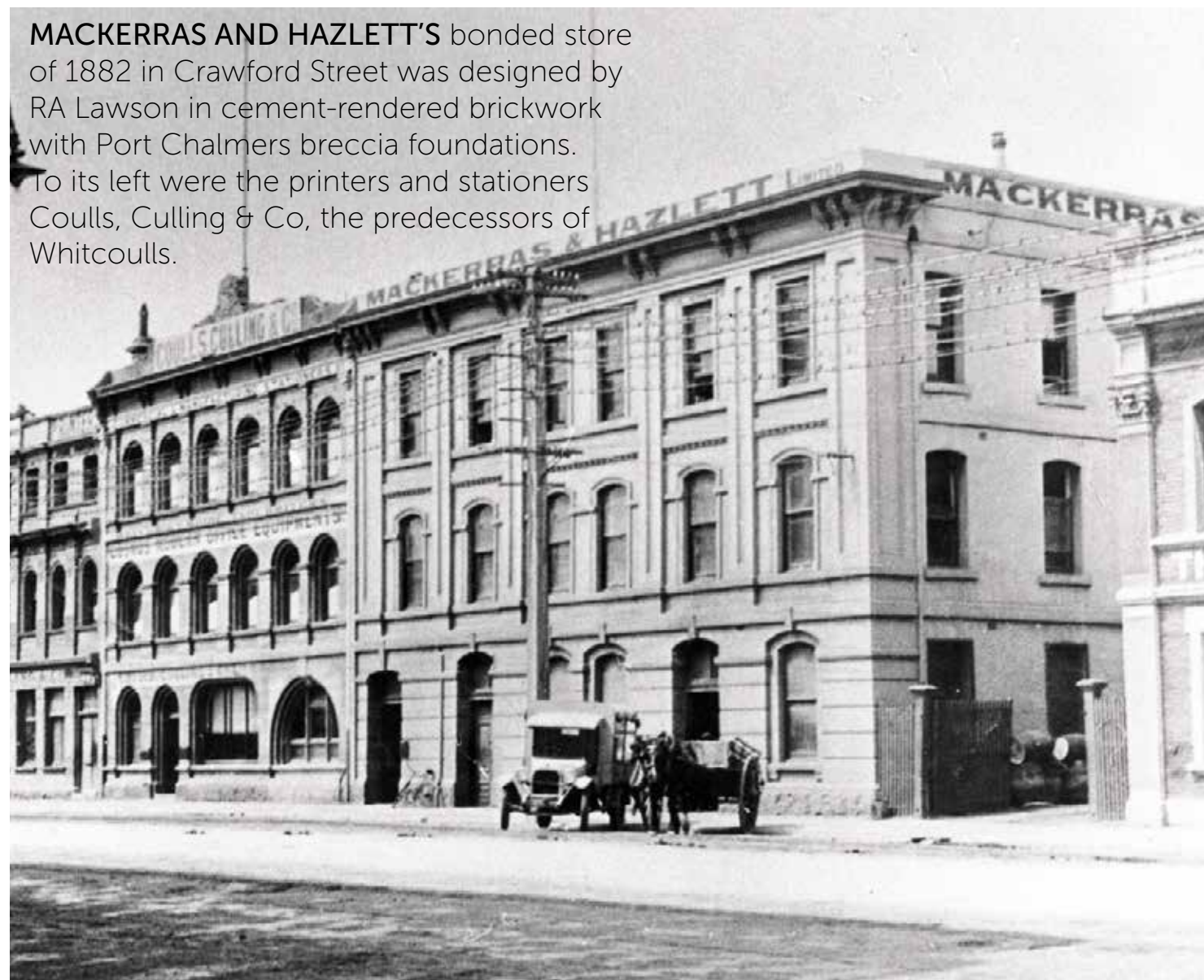


PATERSON AND BARR'S Princes Street premises occupied the right-hand half of the fourth structure from the left in this picture, now known as the Clarion Building. The highly decorated Wain's Hotel (now the Mercure), sits alongside Brown Ewing's drapery.

Mackerras and Hazlett's bonded store, Crawford Street

THIS LARGE THREE-STOREY brick and stone building in Crawford Street, stripped of its Victorian pediments, was until recently the John Colours paint shop. It was built as a bonded store, a warehouse in which dutiable goods were deposited until the duty was paid or the goods were cleared for export. Importers would store imported goods in bonded warehouses until they were able to find buyers and had funds available to pay duties.

Mackerras and Hazlett was founded in 1862 by James Taylor Mackerras.¹¹ He was joined in 1878 by James Hazlett, previously a general merchant at Clyde and other goldfield towns. In addition to this building in Crawford Street, the firm owned another in Bond Street, now demolished, next to Wilson's Bond. Mackerras and Hazlett were importers of 'all classes of goods, including general merchandise, wines, spirits, tea, sugar, tobacco, etc.'; they were also packers and blenders of tea. James Mackerras was an early member of the Otago Harbour Board.¹²





THE JUNCTION of Princes, Stafford, Manse and Jetty Streets, about 1903–7. The pastry-cooks Thomas Searle and Frederick Eberhardt occupied the shop on the far left on the corner of Stafford Street. The Provincial Hotel at the bottom of Stafford Street also still exists, but the corner site to its right, formerly also part of the hotel, was later rebuilt for Barton's Butchery. It is now home to the Pet Warehouse.

Briscoe and Co

A **PROMINENT BUILDING** in early views of the Dunedin waterfront, when it ran alongside Crawford Street, was Briscoe and Co's iron store, a three-gable single-storey building in the Bond Street block north of Police Street. Nowadays it is a case of the little building that once appeared big, having been literally dwarfed by all those around and beyond it, with the harbour-side now so much more distant. Later reclamations pushed the waterfront first to Cumberland Street, and then across the railway line to the Fryatt Street area, where it remains today.

But for the one front gable left of the original three, this early Briscoe and Company ironmongers' store is barely recognisable; the other two gables on the north side of this brick building have been levelled off. But one crucial tell-tale sign remains: the 'B' for Briscoe on the top of the remaining gable. The three rear gables all survive. This is a significant building, of importance not only to Briscoes' history, but also to the history of industrial beginnings in Dunedin as a whole. The *Cyclopedia* described this building as 'of brick roofed with iron', and as containing 'a heavy

stock of bar, sheet plate, and hoop iron, axles, anvils, gas pipes and fittings, steel of all kinds, carriage and cart woodware etc.’¹³

William Briscoe and Son, ironmongers, iron and hardware merchants, were established in Wolverhampton, England early in the nineteenth century.¹⁴ The firm’s head office moved to London, and it set up branches in Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, Wellington and Invercargill as well as Dunedin.¹⁵ The local branch was established in 1863 by Hugh McNeill as an offshoot of the Melbourne house.

Opposite this store on the east side of Bond Street, Briscoe and Co had another storage yard, part covered with an iron structure, part uncovered. Here ‘cement, fencing and barbed wire, galvanised iron, grindstones and oils’ were stored under cover, while ‘roofing tiles, fire bricks, drain pipes, pig iron, girder plates, and other non-perishable goods’ were kept in the open yard.¹⁶ This yard appears on the 1892 fire insurance plan.

Briscoe and Co had an imposing store and warehouse on the corner of Princes and Jetty Streets, designed by RA Lawson in 1872. The *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* considers the loss of this building, ‘a lavish essay in Renaissance classicism ... particularly serious’.¹⁷ When new, the building was described as ‘the most complete business warehouse at present in Dunedin.’ The *Otago Witness* however considered its contents less admirable, finding the lack of locally made goods in contrast to imported goods

THE REAR of Briscoes’ Bond Street iron store, which backs on to an access lane running off Police Street. An alley to the right, beside the former *Evening Star* building, leads to Bond Street.



in the firm's stock an embarrassment, and arguing that there were plenty of imported items that could be manufactured locally.¹⁸

The firm had another building in Princes Street, which seems to have been erected in the 1860s. At that time, the east side of Princes Street south of Jetty Street featured few permanent buildings aside from Briscoes' building.¹⁹ While this building pre-dates Briscoes' other Princes Street premises, photographs indicate that both were used concurrently.

Wilson's Bond

THIS THREE-STOREY stone, brick and plaster building on the corner of Bond and Jetty Streets, designed by RA Lawson, dates from 1872-3.²⁰ Reporting that the building's foundations were of Port Chalmers blue-stone, the *Otago Witness* expressed 'the hope that, as the railway offers every facility, Port Chalmers stone, so suitable for warehouse buildings, with a due admixture of white stone for relief, will be more frequently used in their construction.'²¹ Wilson's Bond had 'sixty-three feet of frontage to Bond Street, and sixty-two feet to Jetty Street.'²²

Robert Wilson and Co, general merchants and importers, liquor, coffee and spice merchants, was established in 1861. Their

commodious two storey brick building, which is the headquarters of the firm, was erected by Mr Wilson senior, who purchased the freehold including one of the first shops in Dunedin, known in the early days as Johnny Jones' store, which was subsequently demolished and replaced in 1872 by the present structure ... the entire premises are occupied by the firm, save for a portion of the first floor, which is let for offices. A portion of the building is used for storing Messrs Wilson and Co.'s bonded stock. The firm imports large shipments of all classes of wines, spirits and general merchandise, through its London buyers.'²³

The firm traded in wines and spirits between Bluff and Geraldine, and the 'whole of the West Coast of the South Island,' with four travellers regularly on the road.²⁴ Robert Wilson and Co was to last for over a century, merging in 1960 with Neill and Co to become Wilson Neill Ltd, publicly listed on the stock market. The new firm took over Mackerras and Hazlett in 1968.²⁵



R WILSON AND CO's warehouse of 1872–3 (*second from left* in this image) was designed by RA Lawson with the capacity to carry an additional storey, which was added in 1911. The door at the left-hand end of the Jetty Street frontage was the public entrance to the bonded department of the building, which took up about a third of the floor space on each level. The building originally had three prominent chimneys arrayed along the Bond Street roofline.

Robert Wilson was born in Ulster, emigrated to Victoria in 1853, and moved to Dunedin in 1861. He shipped over a consignment of goods as the gold rush reached full throttle and opened a warehouse in Stafford Street. Wilson was a highly active participant in the Dunedin business community, promoting several companies and serving as director of many. They included the National Insurance Co, the Colonial Bank of New Zealand (later subject to the merger that created the Bank of New Zealand), the National Fire and Marine Insurance Co, the Mutual Agency Co and the Kaitangata Railway and Coal Co, among others.²⁶

Wilson also provided the capital to establish a local freezing works in 1881, and sat on the board of the resulting New Zealand Refrigerating Co for its first year. He was a member of the Otago Harbour Board, and became chairman of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce in 1882. Wilson resigned from the Harbour Board in 1883 in frustration with what he saw



WILSON'S BOND'S façade on Bond Street, photographed in 1923. This picture shows the original arrangement of doors and — at the far right — an arch over a right-of-way that linked Wilson's to JT Mackerras and Co's since-demolished warehouse next door. This photo was taken from a construction site on the other side of Bond Street — once the location of the Pier Hotel — and shows the piles of the original jetty on which Jetty Street was laid out.

as its bad financial decisions. Nonetheless, not all his own business ventures were successful, and he lost money in farming. Wilson retired in February 1895 and passed control of his firm to his elder son Leslie Robert, in partnership with TS Culling. Wilson died in 1899.²⁷

John Edmond and Co

JOHN EDMOND AND CO occupied the second lot south from the corner of south Bond and Jetty Streets, a building that goes right through to Princes Street.²⁸ The firm were ironmongers and hardware merchants, and they remained a family-owned hardware and paint shop and building supplies firm throughout the twentieth century. After spending time on the Victorian goldfields, John Edmond moved to Dunedin in 1862, setting himself up initially as a ship's chandler and a manufacturer of sails, tents and tarpaulins.²⁹ William Edmond took over the running of the business on the death of his father in 1892, and his son in turn headed the business well into the twentieth century.³⁰ The business moved to Orari Street in South Dunedin in the 1980s, and after several mergers and takeovers the firm was bought by Carter Holt Harvey in 1995 to form part of their chain of Carter's building supply warehouses.³¹

The *Cyclopedia* described John Edmond's warehouse and offices in Bond Street in 1905:

The large and substantial premises owned by the firm in Dunedin consist of a four-storey stone building, having sixty feet frontage to Princes Street, by a depth of 165 feet, extending right through to Bond Street. This fine building was admirably designed, and contains probably the most extensive ironmongery showrooms in New Zealand. On the street level to Princes Street, and extending about 100 feet back, spacious showrooms are situated, and there are also others on the next floor.³²

The goods entrance was in Bond Street 'at the back of the premises, where all heavy and new goods are received and stored, packed and despatched.'³³ The *Cyclopedia* stated that the firm 'regularly received' large shipments of extensive stock of 'all kinds of goods ... kept on the premises.' These included bar and sheet iron, wire rope, oils, nails and cement.³⁴

The Bond Street frontage of John Edmond and Co (*below*) appears to be a 1940s–50s style façade. A fire seriously damaged the original Bond Street part of this building in November 1917; how much of the early structure on the Bond Street side is still present is unknown.³⁵ Despite large-scale alterations, the remnants of this significant early Dunedin firm should not be overlooked. The Princes Street frontage is now Chipmunks children’s indoor playground. Next door, on the corner of Princes and Jetty Streets, was the Century Theatre, controversially demolished in 1993; its site remains a car park.



THE TWO FACES OF JOHN EDMOND: Chipmunks in Princes Street (*top*) and the Bond Street façade (*bottom*), lettered 'John Edmond Ltd, Hardware Merchants'.



Rattray and Son tea store

THE FAMILY FIRM Rattray and Son was an early Dunedin business house that survived well into the twentieth century. An early one-storey ‘tea store’ of theirs is still largely intact, on the south-west corner of Police and Bond Streets (*above*). Next to it in Bond Street is part of Thomson Bridger and Co’s factory. The details of Rattray’s store match those given on the 1892 fire insurance plan, though the Dunedin City Council’s Heritage Register says it was built in 1905 for Swift and Co. The building appears in the background of photographs of Thomson’s Aerated Water Factory, now demolished but once very prominent. The factory stood alone on the corner of Police and Crawford Streets (one block east of the tea store).

The 1905 *Cyclopedia* describes Rattray and Son as general merchants and commission agents. It was established by James Rattray in 1874, and he was joined by his son Charles William in 1887. Their address was the corner of Bond and Water Streets, suggesting they leased space in the Universal Bond (detailed on p. 167).³⁶ The 1892 fire insurance plan also shows a Rattray and Son store on the east side of Crawford Street, between Water and Rattray Streets.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 7

- 1 We know these buildings were originally identically styled from a photograph in McLean's history of the Otago Harbour Board, page 111.
- 2 McLean, 111.
- 3 *Cyclopedia*, 353.
- 4 *Cyclopedia*, 331–2.
- 5 *Cyclopedia*, 331, 1103–4.
- 6 *Cyclopedia*, 1103–4.
- 7 *Cyclopedia*, 331.
- 8 Typescript information on Paterson and Barr Limited, Briscoe and Company Limited: Records, MS-3300/141, Hocken Collections.
- 9 Typescript information on Paterson and Barr Limited, Briscoe and Company Limited: Records, MS-3300/141, Hocken Collections.
- 10 Typescript information on Paterson and Barr Limited, Briscoe and Company Limited: Records, MS-3300/141, Hocken Collections.
- 11 Kynaston, 28 says the firm was founded in 1863.
- 12 *Cyclopedia*, 348.
- 13 *Cyclopedia*, 328.
- 14 'Messrs Arthur Briscoe and Co's new warehouse', *Otago Witness* 8 June 1872, 16.
- 15 *Cyclopedia*, 328.
- 16 *Cyclopedia*, 328.
- 17 Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, 'Lawson, Robert Arthur, 1833-1902', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>.
- 18 'Messrs Arthur Briscoe and Co's new warehouse', *Otago Witness* 8 June 1872, 16.
- 19 McDonald, 77.
- 20 'Messrs R Wilson and Co's new warehouse', *Otago Witness* 31 May 1873, 10.
- 21 'Messrs R Wilson and Co's new warehouse', *Otago Witness* 31 May 1873, 10.
- 22 'Messrs R Wilson and Co's new warehouse', *Otago Witness* 31 May 1873, 10.
- 23 *Cyclopedia*, 354.
- 24 *Cyclopedia*, 354.
- 25 Amy Saunders, "'Eureka': the development of Dunedin's commercial and industrial sectors in the 1860s as a result of the gold rushes'. BA Hons dissertation, University of Otago, 1996, 28; Kynaston, 28.
- 26 *Cyclopedia*, 355.
- 27 RP Hargreaves, 'Wilson, Robert, 1832-1899', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, <http://www.dnzb.co.nz/>.
- 28 Fire insurance plan, 1892.
- 29 Kynaston, 8.
- 30 *Cyclopedia*, 329–30; Kynaston, 8.
- 31 Kynaston, 8.
- 32 *Cyclopedia*, 330.
- 33 *Cyclopedia*, 330.
- 34 *Cyclopedia*, 330.
- 35 Ingram and Clements, 79. The gutted building is illustrated on page 80.
- 36 *Cyclopedia*, 353.

Queens Gardens neoclassicism



QUEENS GARDENS COURT (*right*) was built for the New Zealand Insurance Company in 1886–8 to the designs of NYA Wales. Constructed from brick and Oamaru stone, the building stands on reclaimed, leasehold Harbour Board land. Sixteen sculpted heads appear on the façade. The ground floor windows have been altered, but otherwise there have been few changes to the façades to Crawford and lower Rattray Streets. The entrance was altered in 1969. Recently, the Duke of Wellington pub took over the ground floor.

The building to the left, on the corner of Vogel Street, was built for the Equitable Insurance Association in 1885–7. FW Petre was the architect. The limestone façades disguise unreinforced mass concrete construction and suspended concrete floors. The plain panels in the parapet were once open balustrades and a higher, curve-topped centrepiece was flanked by six chimney-like features. The building has been home to a succession of insurance companies and other tenants. One of them, Ritchies Transport Holdings, renamed it Airport House as they held the charter for the airport bus route. Mostly recently, the building has been known as ‘Phoenix House’.



USE & GALLERY



8

Evening Star building

A PROMINENT RED BRICK and plaster Victorian building on the corner of Police and Bond Streets — until recently home to Forno's Auctioneers — was the premises of the *Evening Star* newspaper. This is identified in the Dunedin City Council's list of scheduled buildings as 'a colourful well-modelled building with interesting window shapes', probably built before 1900.¹ This structure is named as the *Evening Star* building on the 1892 fire insurance plan, but some time after the production of the 1927 fire insurance plan, the words 'Evening Star' were crossed out and replaced with



the words ‘Bond Street buildings.’ (Often, if a large building had multiple tenancies it appears to have been called ‘buildings’). It is quite likely this building was the *Star*’s editorial offices, since the production arm of the firm was originally based further along Bond Street, next to Exchange House (formerly Murray Roberts and Co.)



THE *EVENING STAR*'S BINDERY

Early *Star* printing offices, Bond Street

THIS ORNATELY STYLED Victorian three-storey building half-way along Bond Street is named on the Dunedin City Council’s schedule as a building of interest. The 1888–9 City of Dunedin Block Plans and the 1892 fire insurance plan both refer to the building as the *Star* printing offices. Many photographs looking south along Crawford Street from Queen’s Gardens taken around 1900 show a large ‘STAR’ sign painted on the side of the building to its rear. It may have been the newspaper’s main headquarters



A STAR SURVIVES in the pediment of Central Chambers to indicate it was once the *Evening Star* building. William Mason designed this structure in 1881.

until its new building was completed in 1928. This often-admired building in lower Stuart Street, designed by Edmund Anscombe, was bought by the *Otago Daily Times* in 1975.²

Many have clearly forgotten that the original building still exists in Bond Street. Perhaps it is easy to overlook this, as even the *Star's* second building in lower Stuart Street is itself now old, grand and significant architecturally to Dunedin's heritage townscape. The mid-Bond Street printing office is an important early Dunedin building, indicative of Dunedin's heyday of newspaper competition.

The *Cyclopedia* carries a lengthy account of the *Evening Star* — its founders, editors and history up until 1903 — and mentions that the newspaper ‘carries on business in a commodious brick building in Bond Street.’³ But which building does this refer to — as both the editorial and printing offices were then in Bond Street? The most obvious ‘brick’ building was the one until recently known as Forno’s Auctioneers, while the other in mid-Bond Street could be more correctly described as a plaster-rendered brick building.

The *Star* was founded in 1863 by GA Henningham. After landing himself in ‘serious monetary difficulties’ trying to compete with the *Otago Daily Times* with a newspaper entitled the *Sun* and edited by Julius Vogel (later Premier), he was bought out by George Bell in 1869. At that time the *Star* was published from premises in Stafford Street that later formed part of Ross and Glendining’s hat factory.⁴ The paper moved to Brown’s premises on the corner of Princes and Stafford Streets, where the *Telegraph* and the *Southern Mercury* were also published.⁵ Bell amalgamated his original newspaper the *Independent* with the *Star*, and eventually produced the *Evening Star*.⁶ Bell remained editor until 1895, and died in 1899.

On the 1927 fire insurance plan, the building in mid-Bond Street was still described as the ‘Evening Star Offices.’ The other brick building further south along Bond Street was by that time no longer under *Evening Star* ownership. The newspaper remained in the mid-Bond Street building, moving to its new purpose-built building in Stuart Street in 1928. The *Evening Star* combined with the *Otago Daily Times* to form Allied Press in 1975. The *Otago Daily Times* moved into the *Star*’s offices in 1977, and the latter ceased publication as a daily paper the following year.⁷

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 8

- 1 Mark Garden, DCC Architecture and Urban Design Department, Updated Scheduled Buildings list, 12 April 2002.
- 2 Parker Warburton Team Architects, *Architecture Dunedin*, 23.
- 3 *Cyclopedia*, 231.
- 4 *Cyclopedia*, 231.
- 5 *Cyclopedia*, 231.
- 6 *Cyclopedia*, 231.
- 7 Kynaston, 30.



SARGOOD, SON AND EWEN factory, Fairley Street.



9

Sargood, Son & Ewen • Bing, Harris & Co

PROMINENT FIRM SARGOOD, SON AND EWEN, which manufactured and imported clothing and shoes, built its first warehouse in Stafford Street in 1862. A boot and clothing factory then followed in the same street, in 1869; a new warehouse was built in lower High Street in 1875. It seems as though the firm's earliest Dunedin warehouse still stands in Stafford Street.¹

When Sargoods sold their Stafford Street warehouse to Kempthorne Prosser, they built a new, much larger and grander three- or four-storey warehouse (with tower) in lower High Street (now Queens Gardens) next to the first Donald Reid building (which is now named Cromwell Chambers). The architects were the Melbourne firm of Reid and Barnes. In December 1874 the *Otago Witness* confidently declared that the 'new warehouse will prove one of the handsomest edifices in the Southern Hemisphere.' It described the architectural features, the internal layout and stock held within, and the boot and hat manufacturing facilities on the upper floors, noting there would be 'ample room for some 200 work-people'.² This warehouse was demolished in 1969 and the site is now a car park used mostly by visitors to Les Mills' gymnasium in Dowling Street.

John Ewen started the business during the height of the gold rush in 1862, when he built his first warehouse. It was a branch of the Melbourne firm Sargood, King and Co.³ An employee, WM Tyrie, later recalled that the business had 'started in Stafford Street as soft goods, boot and shoe warehousemen and merchants.'⁴ Ewen was joined by FT Sargood in 1864,

when the two men became partners in the firm. FT Sargood's son Percy Rolfe Sargood took charge of the Dunedin and Christchurch branches of the firm in 1891 after serving an apprenticeship in the firm's Melbourne office. He became a junior partner in 1892 and in 1901 took full control of the semi-independent New Zealand operation. Sargood, Son and Ewen gained limited liability status in 1907. Percy Sargood became the governing director from then until his death in 1940.⁵ By 1936 the firm claimed to have a thousand employees throughout the country. Sargood, Son and Ewen amalgamated with Bing, Harris and Co in 1973, which in turn was bought in 1981 by Brierleys, who broke up the business, stripping it of its assets in 1984.

Sargood, Son & Ewen factory and warehouse, Willis Street

SARGOOD, SON AND EWEN built a new clothing and boot factory (*below*), with warehouse facilities, on reclaimed land on the corner of Richardson (now Cresswell) and Willis Streets in 1894. This is a fascinating and intact example of an early Dunedin factory, and still appears much as it did when first built. The factory had separate entrances for its male and female employees, who were kept segregated in the production facilities.⁶

A poster and pamphlet produced to mark the firm's 85th year says the company manufactured and imported 'Betsy Ann' 'frocks for tots' and sold 'Prooftex' blazers, 'Friendly Fit' shoes, hosiery, underwear, and air-cell wool blankets. Its Auckland mill produced clothing sold under the brand name 'Onehunga Woollens'.⁷ One of the businesses that resulted from the break-up of the firm in the 1980s was Accent Footwear, which manufactured Dr Martens shoes and boots under licence in this factory until 1997.⁸





SARGOOD'S BOOT FACTORY, decorated for Armistice Day, 11 November 1918.

Percy Rolfe Sargood (1865–1940)

‘PERCY SARGOOD had much in common with other Dunedin merchant princes’, writes Jim McAloon, but ‘he made philanthropy his life’s work ... motivated by an optimistic and liberal imperialism’:

His philanthropic activities and managerial practice reflected a highly developed paternalism. The company was an extension of the collective personality of its founding family. Sargood issued frequent motivational messages to his staff ... [and] the firm established a provident fund before these were commonplace.⁹

Sargood and his wife made considerable contributions to public art collections in New Zealand and the Dunedin Public Art Gallery in particular. They supported the Otago Museum, and patriotic associations during both world wars. On their property, Wanaka Station, they hosted boys from English towns and trained them in both farming skills and skills for life.¹⁰



Bing, Harris & Co warehouse

THIS LARGE, long, three-storey building survives in lower High Street, opposite the Southern Cross Hotel. It occupies ‘fully a third of the entire frontage between Princes and Manse Streets.’¹¹ The warehouse was built by RA Lawson in 1863, then extended by him in 1868–9 and 1875. In 1880–1 Lawson added a fourth storey; the extensions doubled the building’s original size. By this time, the warehouse had three hydraulic goods lifts.¹² In recent years, the Bing, Harris building has housed a restaurant, a café and the ‘Arc’ band venue, and it now houses a range of tenants including the Taste Nature wholefoods shop and cafe.

The firm was founded in 1857 by Wolf Harris who brought a small consignment of men’s working clothes with him from Wellington. He



MEN MILL outside Bing, Harris and Co's original shop in High Street during the 1860s.

traded in textiles and other soft goods from premises in Maclaggan Street. Also from Wellington, Adolph Bing arrived about 1860 as resident partner of Turnbull, Bing and Co, general merchants and engineers. When this firm was dissolved in 1862, Bing went into partnership with Harris. The gold rush transformed the business, and Harris took samples of the clothes on horseback through Central Otago. Other retailers imported soft goods from Australia, but it was Harris who pioneered the direct importation



THE BING, HARRIS AND CO BUILDING in lower High Street, the product of several phases of construction in 1863, 1868–9, 1875 and 1880–1. The façade was modernised in the 1930s or 1940s. Recently strengthened and refurbished, the building is home to a range of tenants. The upstairs floors are now semi-continuous with those of the Clarion Building in Princes Street.

of merchandise from Britain, establishing a permanent buying house in London.

When Bing died in 1870, Harris bought up his interest in the business.¹³ John Bathgate, writing on Dunedin in 1883, described Bing, Harris as ‘one of the fruits of the discovery of gold in Central Otago.’ Bing, Harris and Co ‘erected warehouses that were credible to their energy, forming conspicuous ornaments to the city.’¹⁴ The firm diversified into clothing and footwear manufacturing; the founder’s grandson Sir Jack Harris moved its head office to Wellington in the 1930s.¹⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

- 1 WM Tyrie, letter, in Sargood Son and Ewen records, AG-171/ 043. Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 2 ‘Messrs Sargood, Son, and Ewen’s new warehouse’, *Otago Witness* 19 December 1874, 5.
- 3 Kynaston, 34, where the firm’s foundation date is given as 1863.
- 4 WM Tyrie, letter, in Sargood Son and Ewen records, AG-171/ 043. Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 5 Jim McAloon, ‘Sargood, Percy Rolfe, 1865–1940’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>.
- 6 Scrapbook compiled by Rolfe-Sargood Mills between 1949 and 1957, in Sargood, Son and Ewen records, MS-2980/026; Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 7 Scrapbook compiled by Rolfe-Sargood Mills between 1949 and 1957, in Sargood, Son and Ewen records, MS-2980/026; Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 8 Kynaston, 34.
- 9 Jim McAloon, ‘Sargood, Percy Rolfe, 1865-1940’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>.
- 10 Jim McAloon, ‘Sargood, Percy Rolfe, 1865-1940’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>.
- 11 John Bathgate, *An Illustrated Guide to Dunedin and its Industries* (Dunedin: Ferguson and Mitchell, 1883), 132.
- 12 Bathgate, 132.
- 13 Newspaper clippings, Sargood, Son and Ewen records, AG-171/039. Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 14 Bathgate, 131.
- 15 Kynaston, 34.

RA LAWSON'S warehouse of 1874 built for GF Reid at 13 Stafford Street. TG Pascoe's clothing factory occupied the premises in 1878, and by 1889 Ross and Glendining had taken over. The foundations are of Port Chalmers breccia and the walls of cement-rendered brickwork. When built it was fitted with an hydraulic lift, and the building has recently been converted to apartments.





10

Brown, Ewing & Co • Ross & Glendining

BROWN, EWING'S DEPARTMENT STORE on the corner of Princes and Manse Streets is long gone, but for a great many years it was a big employer in the city, and occupied a prominent space. However, a large four-storey warehouse Brown, Ewing and Co owned together with McKerrow Lees, a firm of warehousemen, still exists. It is in Manse Street, between Stafford and High Streets. In the early 1870s an older wooden structure was demolished to make way for the three-storey corner shop which became 'one of the finest and most complete business premises in Dunedin.'

The volume of trade transacted by the firm had enormously increased, and the premises soon became too small: a site was secured in Manse Street where a handsome three storey brick building with basement was erected to afford increased accommodation.¹

The *Cyclopedia* described Brown, Ewing and Co as 'importers of drapery etc, tailors, clothiers, milliners and dressmakers.' It suggested that the firm originated from the first 'plucky attempt' to establish the soft goods trade in Dunedin as early as 1849, only a year after the establishment of the settlement. A widow, Mrs Bain, established the business in an old wooden building on the site of the later Manse and Princes Streets shop. John Ross and Robert Glendining bought and consolidated the firm in 1862, selling it in 1869 to Brown, Ewing and Co. Thomas Brown had been apprenticed in the soft goods trade in Berwick-upon-Tweed in England, and had arrived in New Zealand in 1863. After a stint as a shopkeeper in Invercargill he



BROWN, EWING AND CO'S BUILDING at 16 and 20 Manse Street, designed by RA Lawson. The foundations are of Port Chalmers breccia and the walls are of cement-rendered brickwork. The firm had run out of space in their shop built in 1874 on the acute corner of Princes and Manse Streets, so in 1882 it had these additional premises built nearby on the site of Maclean Brothers' two-storey building. Originally of three storeys, two more floors were added in 1902 to the designs of G Simpson. By 1927 it housed offices and sample rooms for Crust and Crust, and in more recent years it was converted to apartments. The demolition of the St James Theatre revealed the brick side wall of Ross and Glendining's factory, seen here on the left.



BROWN, EWING AND CO'S STORE of 1874 on the corner of Princes and Manse Streets, seen before the construction of Wain's Hotel to its right in 1878. Known by the end of the century as Albert Buildings, Ethel Benjamin, the country's first female lawyer, had her office here from 1897. Brown, Ewing was taken over by the Christchurch department store Hays and the building was demolished in 1959.

moved to Dunedin in 1865, and established the Brown, Ewing and Co partnership in order to buy out an older firm. By 1893, Brown had become sole proprietor. At the turn of the century, he had two hundred employees 'and was operating as a retail and manufacturing drapery, selling carpets and furniture, and importing through his London house.'²

Ross and Glendining buildings and factories in Stafford and High Streets

AT ITS HEIGHT, this firm became a giant nationally in the business of woollen yarn and clothing manufacture.³ It had warehouses in each of the four main cities, five sub-branches and fifteen factories.⁴ Its two remaining Dunedin factories are on adjacent sites between High and Stafford Streets, with frontages to both. One has recently been converted to residential apartments while the other is a backpackers' lodge.

Ross and Glendining owned the large Roslyn woollen mills in Kaikorai Valley, which survive among more recent buildings. The firm owned numerous other warehouses and factories in Dunedin, Christchurch, Invercargill, Napier, Wellington, Nelson, Auckland and Wanganui. There was even a warehouse in London. Eight of the company's buildings are pictured in the *Cyclopedia*, with the firm taking up by far the most editorial space of any in this volume. In its heyday, Ross and Glendining employed thousands. In 1903, the company also owned sheep stations, from which it could source its wool, literally straight off the sheep's back, at Lauder, Blackstone Hill and Barewood.



THE ROSS AND GLENDINING WAREHOUSE on the north side of upper High Street, just uphill from the Arcade and opposite the end of Manse Street. The left-hand half was added in 1901 to match the style of the original part, built a decade earlier.

Ross and Glendining moved to Stafford Street in 1866 and ‘entered into possession of what at that time was the finest warehouse in Dunedin.’ Another new warehouse was reported completed on 1 April 1874.⁵ The Roslyn Mill manufacturing plant was established in 1879, and the firm acquired large pastoral leaseholds in Central Otago.⁶ A new factory in Stafford Street began operation by 1887. Ross and Glendining remained in Stafford Street until 1892, when it built a new warehouse in High Street. This was a large building, not unlike the existing Bing, Harris warehouse in High Street, and has since been demolished. Details are sketchy, but it is likely that Ross and Glendining remained on its Stafford Street site but built a new factory there in the first decades of the twentieth century. The name ‘Ross and Glendining’ can still be seen on the façade of the building next to the Provincial Hotel. It is possible that the old Stafford Street warehouse was simply modernised, and the present-day façade simply masks the original structure.

When the High Street warehouse was new, the *Otago Witness* reported on its locally-made modern technology:

An important feature in Messrs Ross and Glendining’s new warehouse is the hydraulic passenger lift which has been constructed by the New Zealand Engineering and Electrical Company, of Castle street, and fitted with their special safety attachment, which should make the most nervous and apprehensive feel safe in ascending or descending in the handsome ‘cage’ as it is technically termed. The apparatus has been put to a severe test by the Government inspector, who, by way of experiment, had the rope by which the cage is suspended severed, with the result that the safety clutches instantly seized the uprights and held the cage securely suspended. A goods lift has also been erected in the warehouse by the same firm, and runs smoothly and well. For neatness of design and efficiency of construction we venture to say these lifts are equal to the highest class of English manufactures.⁷

Backing onto the building on the northern side of Stafford Street is the old clothing and shirt factory in High Street, built in the 1890s. According to the *Cyclopedia*, it had a cart entrance for taking away finished goods, three floors, and a basement, with ‘every corner bright and clean.’ Readers were assured that the workers, ‘of whom there are several hundreds, appear



THE STAFFORD STREET FRONTAGE of Ross and Glendining's factory. The address painted on the parapet is a recent addition. Moulded lettering above the left and right ground floor windows reads 'Costume & Mantle Manufacturers' and 'Felt & Straw Hat Manufacturers'.

cheerful and contented with their lot.' The building contained machines for cloth cutting and a 'new invention' for sewing on buttons.⁸ In Dunedin the company manufactured men's and women's clothing and footwear — hats, suits, underwear, socks, waterproof clothing — as well as other woollen products such as blankets and knitting wool.⁹

John Ross (1834–1927) was apprenticed to a draper in Scotland, emigrating to Dunedin in 1861. He became a partner in Begg, Christie and Co, a firm of retail drapers. He bought out his partners in 1862 and went into partnership with Robert Glendining (1840–1917), who had arrived in Dunedin in 1860.¹⁰ They established a London office in 1865, where Ross was based for most of the period 1870–1902.¹¹ In 1866 they sold their retail business to three former employees, who renamed it Brown, Ewing



YOUNG WOMEN AT WORK in the Stafford Street factory, 1943.

and Co.¹² Ross and Glendining specialised in the wholesale business, and went on to make massive fortunes: Ross left £280,000 on his death and Glendining left £360,000. Jim McAloon writes that manufacturers usually did not make large fortunes because the domestic market was small and export opportunities were usually limited. However, importing contributed at least as much to Ross and Glendining's business as did manufacturing.¹³ Although still effectively a family firm, the partnership was incorporated as a limited liability company in 1900.¹⁴ The firm's fortunes began to falter after the Second World War as it was unable to keep up with changes in fashion due to lack of investment in new machinery and its failure to rationalise production methods: 'the wholesale warehousing system which it used to sell its goods had become an anachronism'.¹⁵ The growth of retail clothing chains meant that traditional-style warehousing was on its last legs in the 1960s even before deregulation led to the closure of many clothing factories in the 1980s.¹⁶ Ross and Glendining was taken over by the Auckland firm UEB Industries in 1966, which promptly

closed the warehouses and most of the clothing factories. The Roslyn Mill was sold to Mosgiel Woollens in 1969, which continued to operate the factory until 1982.¹⁷

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

- 1 *Cyclopedia*, 301.
- 2 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 57.
- 3 Stephen RH Jones, *Doing Well and Doing Good: Ross & Glendining, Scottish Enterprise in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2010).
- 4 Kynaston, 37.
- 5 *Otago Witness* 31 March 1899, 31.
- 6 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 59.
- 7 *Otago Witness* 27 April 1893, 19.
- 8 *Cyclopedia*, 339.
- 9 Kynaston, 37.
- 10 Kynaston, 36.
- 11 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 59.
- 12 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 59; Kynaston, 37.
- 13 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 59.
- 14 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 59.
- 15 Kynaston, 37.
- 16 Kynaston, 34.
- 17 Kynaston, 37.

The clothing industry

SMALL WORKSHOPS dominated the clothing industry during the late nineteenth century, even though the sector is usually associated with the names of big firms like Hallenstein's (NZ Clothing Factory Ltd) and Ross and Glendining.

Hallensteins' factory opened in Dowling Street (a few minutes' walk from the Exchange) in 1883. Ross and Glendining also had three factories near the Exchange which employed a total of about a thousand workers. Many of these were young women. Smith explains the situation:

By 1900 small-scale dressmaking and millinery coexisted with large-scale factory production. Until the 'sweating' crisis of 1888-90 many of the larger firms subcontracted out various jobs, but the outcry and the formation of the Dunedin Tailoresses' Union ended the practice. No source allows us to estimate the proportion of women who worked in the large clothing factories as against the number in the bespoke sector. Overall, however, in 1901 the clothing industry employed 27 per cent of the city's workforce, 80 per cent of whom were women. The New Zealand Clothing Factory employed about 300 women, and Ross and Glendining's various factories employed several hundred women in their workforce of about 1,000. In 1901, nationally, 9,365 were younger than twenty-five while only 4,546 were older than that. The proportion of older women grew over the next twenty years. By 1921, 6,898 were under twenty-five while 5,861 were older than that.*



LEFT and ABOVE: Young women work at Ross and Glendining's Stafford Street factory during the 1940s. The group on the left toils in the hat division, while the woman above is a sprayer in the handkerchief division.

* Nigel Smith, *Heritage of Industry* (Auckland: Reed, 2001).

THE SAVEMART building was built for drug manufacturers Kempthorne, Prosser and Co. One doorframe was highly ornate, but its counterpart, at the opposite end of the frontage, was always much plainer.



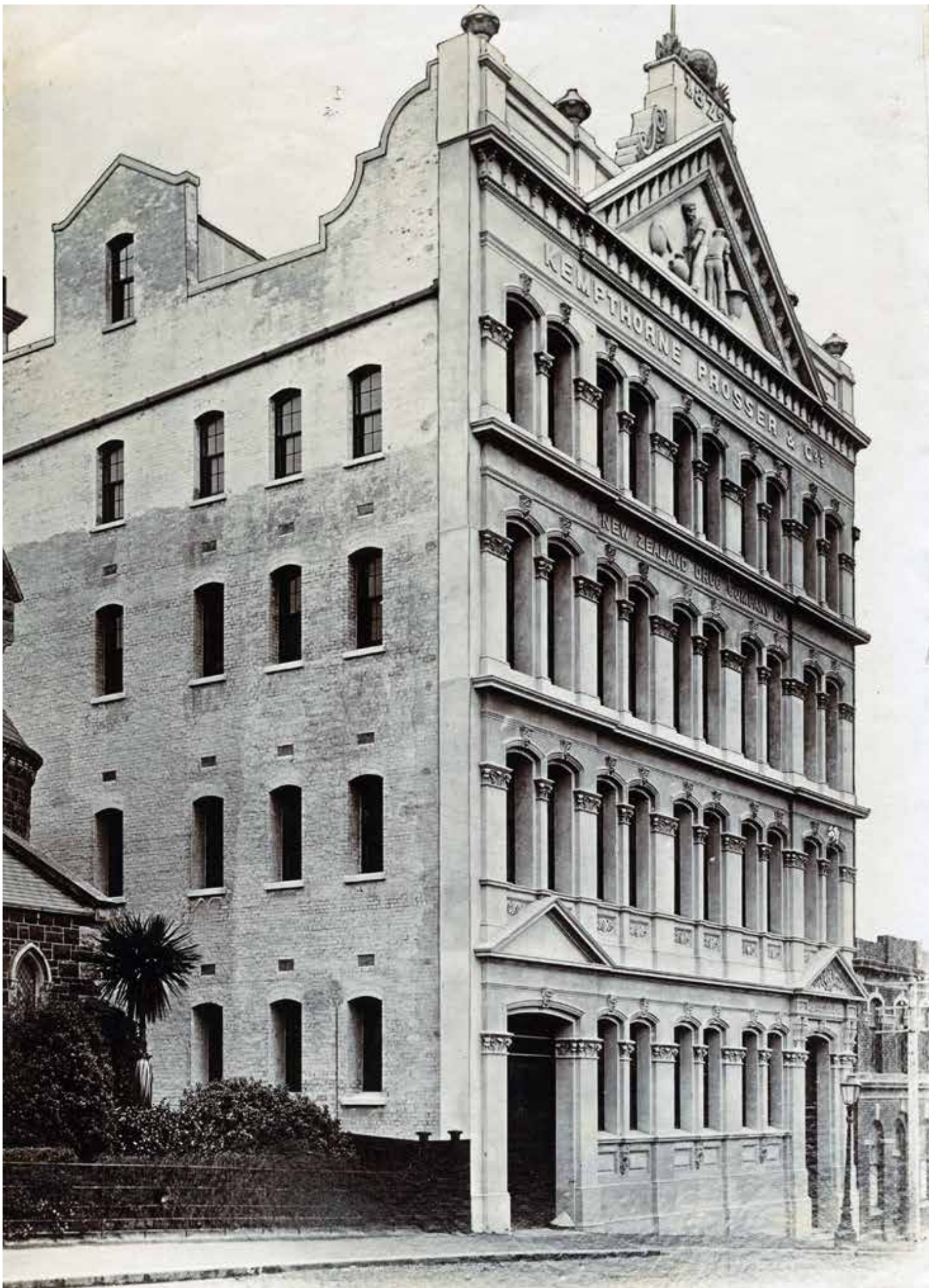


11

Kempthorne, Prosser & Co

KEMPTHORNE, PROSSER AND CO ('KP') were in their day the largest New Zealand company in the drug manufacturing and importing trade. Thomas Kempthorne started the business in 1863 in partnership with Evan Prosser, and it was floated as a public company in 1879.¹ KP opened branches in Auckland and Christchurch, and bought a Wellington business in order to import drugs, chemicals, surgical instruments, dental equipment and hospital supplies. The company also manufactured household cleaning agents. Acid was expensive to import, so the firm took advantage of the niche market by establishing its own acid works at Burnside in 1881. It came to specialise in producing sulphuric acid for the manufacture of superphosphate fertiliser. Eventually, KP owned four fertiliser works in New Zealand. The firm survived into the 1980s, when it was bought by Brierleys and broken up, its assets stripped.

KP's warehouse in Stafford Street was the original Sargood warehouse (built in 1862, and discussed in Chapter 9). The large, multi-storey building on the same side further up Stafford Street, next to St Matthew's Church, and latterly Sew Hoy's warehouse, housed KP's pharmaceutical laboratories. The company's 75th anniversary commemorative booklet commented tantalisingly: 'The solid architecture of the buildings in which the company's various activities are carried out conceals much that is arresting, exciting even, to those with the knowledge to appreciate progress in the water tight world of science.'² The building was probably erected in 1901,



THE STAFFORD STREET FACADE of the KP building, built in 1901 in plaster-rendered triple brick. The architect is unknown, though the design resembles that of the firm's Auckland branch. The figures in the pediment depicting drug manufacturing were removed at some point after 1968. The Sew Hoy family, which had long owned the land, acquired the building in 1956. The interior of the chemical laboratory and warehouse remains little altered. To its left is St Matthew's Church of 1873–74, designed by William Mason.

and is registered with the Historic Places Trust as a Category I historic place. The original head office further down the street was designed by FW Petre.³ Ted McCoy and Gary Blackman however claim the KP building was built as early as 1879, the date above the pediment, which relates to the foundation of the public company. They also point out that the manufacture of pharmaceuticals is ‘indicated by the sculpture within the pediment’ which has since been removed.⁴ The Stafford Street operation was replaced by a new pharmaceutical manufacturing plant in the Kaiko-rai Valley Road in 1965, and Sew Hoy’s clothing business took over the premises until 1989.⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

- 1 Simon S. Wilson, ‘From Eau de Cologne to rat poison: Kempthorne Prosser and Co’s New Zealand Drug Company Limited 1869–1918’, MA thesis, History, University of Otago, 2010; *75 Years of Life: A Brief History of Kempthorne and Prosser’s NZ Drug Company, 1879–1954* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times, 1954), in Fernz Corporation Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin, AS-120/046; Kynaston, 6.
- 2 *75 Years of Life*, 17.
- 3 Gordon Parry, “Kempthorne, Thomas Whitelock, 1834?-1915,” Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>.
- 4 McCoy and Blackman, figure 23.
- 5 Kynaston, 6.



THE WAREHOUSE PRECINCT is home to doorways of varying styles.



12

Reid & Gray • Cossens & Black • Shacklock

REID AND GRAY made agricultural implements: twine binders, reapers, mowers, corn drills, broadcast seed sowers, single-, double- and treble-furrow ploughs, grubbers and disc harrows, as well as moulding machines for metal castings. Their Dunedin enterprise, in Princes Street, close to the Oval, and near the old Shacklock's factory, comprised a blacksmith's shop and a plough manufactory. This large business was originally founded in Oamaru in 1868, and moved five years later to Dunedin. James Gray (1844–1922) was from a family of British plough-makers, and the firm became famous for its double-furrow plough.¹ Their products were sold throughout Australasia, and as far afield as Scotland and Argentina. By 1879 Reid and Gray employed 125 men in Dunedin, 26 in Oamaru, 22 in Timaru and three in Invercargill.² The number of Dunedin employees had risen to 160 by 1883.³ The factory consumed 1200 tons of Kaitangata coal every year.⁴ The firm is also mentioned in connection with Donald Reid and Co, who were agents to sell Reid and Gray machinery to farmers. James Gray's youngest son George bought the firm in 1927 and moved production to Burnside. The NMA bought a half-share in the business in 1935, taking full control in 1963. The Burnside factory closed in the mid-1970s.⁵

The building in Princes Street, immediately south of the Shacklock complex (that is, Larnach's old stone wool and grain store), was the carpenters' shop, a 'two storey building with a loft supported from the roof [that] measures 180 feet by fifty six feet.' All the woodwork required 'in

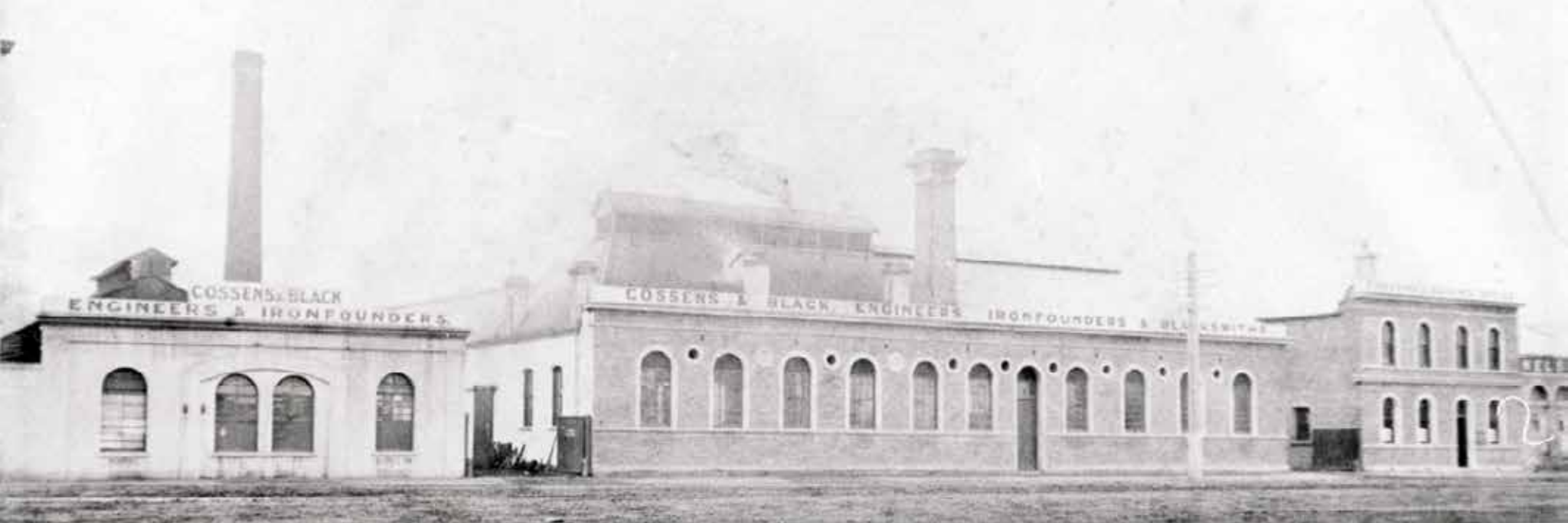


THE PRINCES STREET FRONTAGE of the Reid and Gray complex, of which only a fragment survives.

connection with the various machines turned out from the factory [was] made in this building.’⁶ A single-storey structure, next to the car park on the site of this building, remains. It was probably part of Reid and Gray’s showrooms and factory and could be the firm’s last surviving structure.

Cossens and Black, Crawford Street

COSENS AND BLACK’S main building survives at the southern end of Crawford Street, though no longer with its chimneys. It is a single-storey, cream plastered brick structure with a red iron roof. It is now tenanted as an employment agency, part of the Salvation Army’s complex of buildings. This distinctive building has eleven window openings, originally round-headed. The seventh window was originally a door, and further alterations to the fenestration were made recently when the building was adapted for its current tenant from its previous use as a car body repair workshop. This former foundry, known as the Britannia Iron Works, appears to be in good condition. The *Cyclopedia* states there was also a ‘moulding shop at the



AT FIRST GLANCE, Cossens and Black's building (top) looks quite different from the structure in the photograph beneath it. But look again: the original roof pitch remains, and so too do the eleven windows – even though their arches have been squared off and the brickwork plastered over. Original buildings to the north and south have been demolished. This building is opposite the latest incarnation of Briscoes.

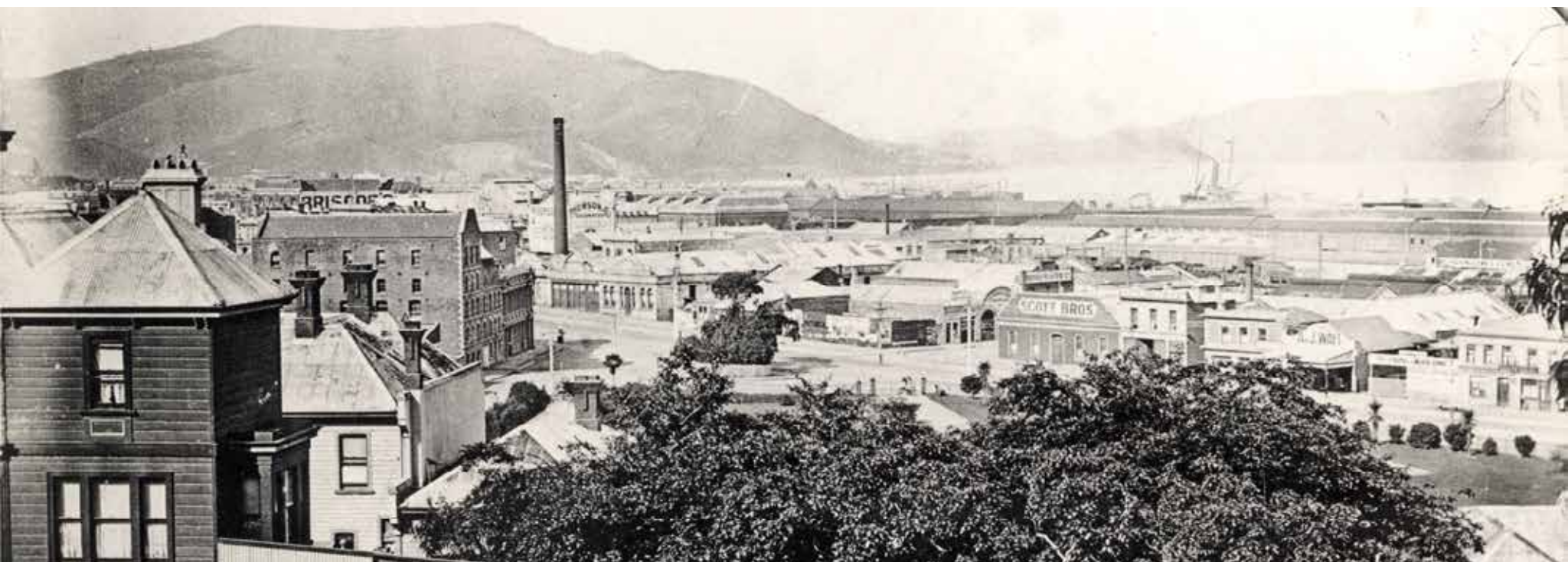
back of the section' in 1903 — this survives, painted as if it is part of the original complex fronting Crawford Street.

The Britannia Iron Works was founded when Thomas Cossens and Alexander Black bought an existing small engineering works in 1874. Black was born in Kincardineshire, Scotland, son of a farm labourer. He trained as a blacksmith at a shipbuilding yard before emigrating to Otago in 1870.⁷ In 1903 Cossens and Black employed 50–70 hands 'in their extensive works, which are up to date in every respect.' The firm won many awards for displays of its machinery at exhibitions. Cossens and Black were well known for agricultural machinery, mining equipment and gold

dredges. In the early years of the twentieth century the firm added motor vehicle sales and repairs to their business interests, and this operation was eventually sold off when the firm was broken up in 1969. At the same time, the engineering division was sold to Fulton Hogan, who moved it to Fairfield. What remained of the former family firm became ship's chandlers and later specialised in fitting out camper vans until it was wound up on the retirement of Alexander Black, grandson of the co-founder, in 2002.⁸

Shacklock and Co, Princes Street

HE SHACKLOCK was best known for his Number 1 Orion cast-iron coal-fired kitchen range, a best-seller. His factory also made a wide range of other cast-iron products, such as grates, bakers' ovens, truck wheels, window sash counterweights, tomb and ornamental railings, barrow wheels and rollers.⁹ The foundry was next to Reid and Gray's premises, and in 1892 the firm acquired merchant (and castle-builder) William Larnach's old grain and wool store in Princes Street: 'its handsome store frontage on Princes Street has been retained despite extensive alterations to the building itself.'¹⁰ The building is registered as a Category II historic place by the Historic Places Trust.



THE INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS in Princes Street opposite the Market Reserve, about 1900. The tall building to the left of Guthrie and Larnach's prominent chimney is the Crown Roller Mills, and just visible above its roof is the upper part of Briscoe and Co's warehouse. The chimney was demolished in 1927.



THE FORMER SHACKLOCKS PREMISES, built between 1870 and 1910. Newton House at 595 Princes Street is now the offices of Allied Customs Agents Ltd.

In 1927, Shacklock bought Reid and Gray's 'land and buildings on the section adjacent to the south wall of the main factory for £10,000 and a new foundry was erected on the back of the new extension. It had two large cupolas and was among the largest foundries in New Zealand.'¹¹ The buildings that had been Reid and Gray's were developed in the late 1920s for electric cooker production, enamelling and nickel plating.¹² In 1948 Cossens and Black's land and buildings, described above, were bought and used for coal range assembly.¹³ Shacklocks continued to manufacture coal ranges until 1971.¹⁴

Despite manufacturing electric ranges, Shacklocks struggled to remain competitive once electricity became more widely used. Their ranges were cast iron rather than the more successful pressed steel. The firm had to transform its production methods in order to produce the more modern stoves, which first appeared in 1950. 'Shacklock had exhausted itself financially making the transition' to pressed steel, but was rescued by the Auckland firm Fisher and Paykell which provided technical assistance and access to a nationwide network of dealers. The relationship subsequently strengthened, Fisher and Paykell eventually taking over completely in 1981. Manufacturing moved to a new factory at Mosgiel in 1977 and finally abroad in 2008–9.¹⁵

Henry Ely Shacklock

HENRY SHACKLOCK arrived in Dunedin in 1862, aged 23, as a trained iron moulder but could not find work in his trade.¹⁶ He moved to Oamaru for work, but returned to Dunedin in 1865, establishing the South End Foundry in late 1871.

The timing was fortunate, as a period of economic expansion had created demand for agricultural and mining machinery, boilers and steam engines.¹⁷ Shacklock designed the 'Orion' kitchen range specifically to suit local coal; it was made from 1873 but patented only in 1882. It was initially intended only as a sideline to keep the workers employed when jobbing work was scarce, but it proved very popular and became the mainstay of the business.¹⁸ Shacklock designed a variety of speciality stoves, as well as his own manufacturing machinery.¹⁹ By 1900 the firm employed about 40 workers.²⁰

Henry Shacklock was a founding member of the New Zealand Manufacturers' Association, formed in Dunedin in 1884. He also helped found the School of Art, and supported technical education. Shacklock remained fundamentally a craftsman ironmaster rather than a businessman. 'Profits interested him less than challenges to his craft skill. He became depressed after retiring from work and in December 1902 took his own life.'²¹ Shacklock's firm was continued by his four sons.²²



NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

- 1 Kynaston, 16.
- 2 *Otago Witness* 10 May 1879, 16.
- 3 Bathgate, 108–11.
- 4 *Cyclopedia*, 325.
- 5 Kynaston, 16.
- 6 *Cyclopedia*, 325. There is an extensive array of photographs pertaining to conditions within the factory, and photographs of men at work, in the Hocken photographic collection. The building has since been demolished.
- 7 *Cyclopedia*, 323.

- 8 Kynaston, 10.
- 9 Bathgate, 111.
- 10 John H Angus, *The Ironmasters: The First Hundred Years of HE Shacklock Ltd.* (Dunedin: HE Shacklock Ltd., 1973), 27.
- 11 Angus, *The Ironmasters*, 53.
- 12 Angus, *The Ironmasters*, 54.
- 13 Angus, *The Ironmasters*, 62.
- 14 Kynaston, 15.
- 15 Kynaston, 15.
- 16 Olssen, *Building the New World*, 2, 55, 62–3.
- 17 Olssen, *Building the New World*, 63.
- 18 Olssen, *Building the New World*, 63–4; Kynaston, 15.
- 19 Olssen, *Building the New World*, 63–4.
- 20 Olssen, *Building the New World*, 64.
- 21 Olssen, *Building the New World*, 65.
- 22 Olssen, *Building the New World*, 65.



THE DIRECTORS AND OFFICE STAFF of Reid and Gray about 1900–10. Front row: DC Cameron, George Gray, W Dawe, James D Gray. Back row: W Johnston, Mr Livingstone, Mr McGregor, W Cameron, A Block, D Reid.



HALLENSTEIN BROS (centre) and Ahlfeld Bros buildings framed by the taller buildings of Bond Street and the hills behind.



13

Hallenstein Bros • Ahlfeld Bros

HALLENSTEIN BROTHERS' Dowling Street warehouse and factory of 1883, designed by David Ross, has been called Dunedin's 'best early warehouse'.¹ The firm was founded as the New Zealand Clothing Factory Co in Dunedin in 1873 by Bendix Hallenstein with the support of his brothers in Australia. The business expanded rapidly into clothing retailing in the late 1870s, and by 1903 'HB' had 36 branches throughout the country.² Hallenstein had 'a keen instinct for good shop sites', and went on to found the Direct Importing Company (DIC) chain in 1884.³ The *Cyclopedia* claimed that Bendix Hallenstein himself had supplied the ideas for Ross' plans for 'this magnificent building'. The builders were Meikle and Campbell.⁴ Now called Milford House, 'the façade is remarkably intact for such an early date';⁵ the building is registered as a Category I historic place.

The *Cyclopedia* boasted:

Long before the Factory Acts were brought into force the New Zealand Clothing Factory, as at present conducted, was in full working order and no change was made when the first Inspector of the Department visited the establishment. All needful precautions for the prevention of accidents had been anticipated, and every convenience required for the health and comfort of the large body of employees — mostly women and girls — had been supplied. In fact, the arrangement of every department of this huge concern reached the highest standard of perfection, and so much is this still the case that, should the building ever suffer the ravages of fire, the proprietary would not know how they could improve any portion of the premises, and would at once rebuild on the present model.

The garments were made on the upper two floors of the building, while the ground floor was used as a bulk store and for packing and receiving goods; a hydraulic lift connected each floor.⁶ All 36 of Hallensteins branches were supplied from this factory and warehouse: ‘at one time all branch managers visited the warehouse twice a year to select their own stock, which was then shipped to them. That system was given up towards the end of the 1920s.’⁷

The four-storey brick building (below) contained a grand staircase to the first floor with ‘the back portion of this floor used as the warehouse.’ The factory floors, where 250 to 300 people worked in what would now be considered crowded conditions,⁸ were lit by ‘immense’ skylights. About 80 sewing machines were lined up along ‘the centre of the main floor of



THE DOWLING STREET FACADE of the Hallensteins warehouse and factory survives virtually unaltered. The latest tenant, a secondhand bookshop, began trading in 2013.

THE FIRST HALLENSTEINS BUILDING of 1874 is now known as the Taimex Building after its present owners, an import-export business.

the factory, on a raised platform’.⁹ Power was provided by a gas engine installed at the back of the factory and warehouse. ‘A separate business, Michaelis, Hallenstein and Farquhar, had their offices and a warehouse in the lower part of the building from 1883 to 1957. Renamed Glendermid Ltd in 1918, they were leather merchants and established the large tannery at Sawyers Bay.’¹⁰

Bendix Hallenstein was born in Germany in 1835, and had lived in England and Victoria before settling in Queenstown in 1864.¹¹ There he was active in local politics, and later his firm pioneered a Factory Relief Fund — a health scheme paying for workers’ medicines — decades before the state introduced free medicine under the social security scheme of 1938.¹² Hallenstein also spoke out against the use of sweated female labour in the clothing industry at a public meeting called to discuss the problem in 1888, responding to the Revd Rutherford Waddell’s famous sermon, ‘The Sin of Cheapness’.¹³ The family retained a dominant interest in the firm until 1988. Deregulation in the clothing industry led to the closure of the factory and the firm’s head office was moved to Auckland. Hallensteins had merged with Glassons in 1985, and in the early 1990s Tim Glasson took over the direction of the combined business.¹⁴

Hallenstein’s first building was in lower Rattray Street next to the head office of the Bank of New Zealand; its ground floor until recently was the Duke of Wellington pub. This three-storey building was designed by David Ross and completed in 1874. Encountering financial difficulties, Hallenstein sold this building to the National Insurance Company, but his fortunes rapidly recovered and he went on to build the larger Dowling Street factory.¹⁵ The 1874 building is registered with the Historic Places Trust as a Category II historic place.



Ahlfeld Brothers' warehouse, Dowling Street

THIS WAREHOUSE SURVIVES in its original form in Dowling Street, next to the Hallensteins factory. The theory that the building may have been built for Kempthorne Prosser in 1876 is disproved by the Hallenstein Brothers' letter books and lease records at the Hocken Library. They show that it was built in 1884 when, having completed his factory, Bendix Hallenstein engaged architect James Hislop to design this three-storey building and the adjacent two-storey building that is now part of Les Mills gym. As numbers 14 and 16 Dowling Street share a firewall, 'they might be thought of as separate buildings behind a single façade. The first tenants at no.14 were Philip and John Isaacs (wholesale agents), while at no.16 were Dodgshun and Co (woollen importers). Neither remained long and the tenant that became most associated with these addresses was Ahlfeld Bros and Co. They took over the lease of no.14 in 1889, and a few years later took on no.16 as well. They were fancy goods merchants and importers, whose stock included Wiesner pianos, Anchor sewing machines and



bicycles, Gaedke's cocoa, and "Silver and Brilliant Packet" starch. They claimed to have branches in London, Hamburg, and Paris.'¹⁶

THE AHLFELD BUILDING at 10–12 Dowling Street in the mid-1960s when the Boy Scout shop occupied the right-hand half. It was then known as Magnet House. The ghost of the name 'Ahlfeld' is still visible below the right-hand pediment.

Ahlfeld Brothers remained tenants until about 1916.

Later tenants at no.14 included Gordon and Gotch (wholesale booksellers and stationers), Partridge and Co (tobacco merchants), the British General Electric Co, AR Dickson and Sons (plumbing, heating, and sanitary engineers), and Ambler and Co. At no.16 tenants included the Bristol Piano Co and RE Stevens and Co (stationers). The flats above were leased by various people and groups, including lawyers, the Scouts' Association, and the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force Association. The clothing factory and Glendermid businesses next door also expanded into the buildings for periods. The architect, James Hislop, had his own professional rooms upstairs in the smaller building at no.12, above the jewellers Berens and Silverston. Hallenstein's tenants were often other members of the Jewish community.¹⁷

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

- 1 McCoy and Blackman, *Victorian City of New Zealand*; Charles Brasch and CR Nicolson, *Hallensteins: The First Century 1873-1973* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1973), 25.
- 2 *Cyclopedia*, 306.
- 3 Kynaston, 35.
- 4 Brasch and Nicolson, 25.
- 5 Parker Warburton Team Architects, *Architecture Dunedin*, 19.
- 6 *Cyclopedia*, 306.
- 7 Brasch and Nicolson, 26.
- 8 Brasch and Nicolson, 29.
- 9 *Cyclopedia*, 307.
- 10 David Murrar, 'Hallenstein's New Zealand Clothing Factory', in *Built in Dunedin: Historic Buildings and Their Stories* (2012) <http://builtindunedin.com>
- 11 Kynaston, 35.
- 12 Brasch and Nicolson, 29.
- 13 Brasch and Nicolson, 30.
- 14 Kynaston, 35.
- 15 Parker Warburton Team Architects, *Architecture Dunedin*, 17.
- 16 Murray, 'Hallenstein Bros' (leased out) warehouse', in *Built in Dunedin: Historic Buildings and their Stories* (2012) <http://builtindunedin.com>
- 17 Murrar, 'Hallenstein Bros'.

Imperial Buildings

Designed by Mason and Wales in 1907 for the tailors Stokes and Sons, the distinctively wedge-shaped Imperial Buildings had shops on the ground floor and offices upstairs. The building incorporated an electric lift and a spectacular concrete staircase. A verandah was added in 1911, a fifth storey in 1927, and fire escapes in 1951. The structural beams are of reinforced concrete, as was the original flat roof. The external walls were of Hoffman pressed (or 'faced') bricks. The *Otago Daily Times* described the style variously as 'mollified [sic] early English' and 'Elizabethan'.* Until recently, The Palms restaurant occupied the ground floor. To the building's right can be seen the Dowling Street façade of Cromwell Chambers, Donald Reid's first warehouse of 1879.

**Otago Daily Times*, 11 May 1907.

HISTORICAL and contemporary views; note the later addition of the top floor.



STAVELY'S BOND in 2013, part-way through its restoration.





14

Stavely's Bond

STAVELY'S BOND, an ornate three-storey structure on the corner of Jetty and Bond Streets, is an important link in a chain of buildings in Bond Street as well as a significant building in its own right. Though dates on pediments or doorcases often refer to the foundation of the business rather than the date of construction, in this case the date 1879 that appears above both the Jetty and Bond Street entrances probably refers to the year the building was completed. The first documented occupants of the building were the wine merchants William Stavely and Co in 1880.¹ This 'well-known and handsome pile' that became known as 'Stavely's Bond' had frontages of 74 feet to Bond Street and 78 feet to Jetty Street, and cost £9000 to build.² The name 'Stavely' can still be made out in the decoration of the large shell-like pediment on the Jetty Street façade.

In 1888 Neill and Co moved in to Stavely's Bond (the firm was not connected with PC Neill and Co of the Universal Bond). William Godfrey Neill was a merchant and agent for the Phoenix Fire Office and the Globe Marine Insurance Co. By the early 1890s the building housed the Rittenberg waterproof clothing factory and Fotheringham's offices.

From 1895 into the early twentieth century this building was the home of the office and warehouse facilities of A Moritzson and Co (originally Moritzson and Hopkin).³ They were importers and shippers; grain, produce, seed, general commission and millers' agents, and insurance arbitrators and auctioneers. They had branches in the port towns



JETTY STREET looking east from Princes Street, c.1906, with the railway closing the vista. Staveland's Bond can be seen to the right of the street, while a tram is about to pass by from the south. Briscoe's building is the one on the left.

of Lyttelton and Oamaru. Moritzson and Hopkin's business serves as an example of the global aspirations entertained by Dunedin entrepreneurs in the late nineteenth century. The firm boasted in 1890 of its extensive business around New Zealand and Australia, with orders for potatoes even coming in from the Cape Colony (South Africa). Adolph Moritzson made an eighteen-month world trip to seek out new export markets in Japan, China, India, Africa, England, Scotland, Continental Europe, and North and South America.⁴

Grain storage was a mainstay of Moritzson and Hopkin's business and their new warehouse had a capacity of 25,000 sacks. The new building allowed the firm to add seed cleaning to their grain business in 1895.⁵ The firm had spent £1000 on machinery and alterations to the interior, designed and overseen by the architect James Hislop.⁶ A grain elevator was installed (built by Cossens and Black) to connect the basement with the third floor

(a distance of 64 feet). The owners vermin-proofed the warehouse for the safety of the grain, replaced the foundation posts with deep concrete foundations, and formed a cart dock in the cellar with an entrance in Bond Street. This enabled lorries and drays to discharge their contents straight onto the elevator and receive produce from a chute. The chute system meant only one man was needed to load a dray from the flat. Electric bells were installed to alert the dray loader that sacks were coming down the chutes.

The first floor (at street level, 16ft 6in in height) was divided into three portions: first, offices and the saleroom; second, the dairy produce and fruit department; and third, a storage area for heavy goods such as corn sacks, woolpacks, wheat and barley. The strong ironbark wooden pillars were numbered so the clerks could immediately identify where particular orders were stacked. The second floor was used to store oats, while the third floor housed oats and agricultural seeds as well as the seed-cleaning machine.



This machine, powered by the same gas engine as the grain elevator, could efficiently clean 40 to 50 sacksful in twelve hours. The cellar had a concrete floor and was used to store dairy produce and potatoes.

The trade in cocksfoot grass seed was a major arm of Moritzson and Hopkin's enterprise. The seed was grown on Banks Peninsula and the Lyttelton branch handled the business. Moritzson and Hopkin contracted out seed cleaning to a Christchurch firm. The seed was stored in Lyttelton and sold from Dunedin based on samples.⁷ The firm's scrapbooks reveal that Adolph Moritzson was considered a valuable commentator on the cocksfoot trade, as they include a number of newspaper clippings citing his expert advice and commentary. In the second decade of the twentieth century this extended to agricultural business issues more widely and to fruit-growing in Central Otago. A Moritzson and Co (Hopkin having retired from the business in 1899) became the agents for the Cromwell Development Company, which developed fruit growing at Ripponvale. The managing director and secretary was AF Rattray, whose offices were in Joel's Building on the



THE NAME of printer SN Brown dates from after 1906, when the firm moved in to the building next door.

corner of Crawford and Water Streets. Rattray's role demonstrates the wide range of business interests and interconnections among Dunedin businesses at the turn of the century.

By 1921 A Moritzson and Co had quit the building and Steel and Co, clothing manufacturers, and the Co-operative Fruit Growers of Otago Ltd (managed by JH Waight) took over. In more recent years the building has housed a ballet and dance school and various retail outlets. It was recently damaged by fire and is currently being refurbished as an apartment complex. The building is registered with the Historic Places Trust as a Category II historic place.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

- 1 *Wise & Co's New Zealand Directory* 1880–1.
- 2 *Otago Witness* 7 February 1895, 11.
- 3 A Moritzson & Co: Scrapbook. MS-0659, Hocken Collections, Dunedin; A Moritzson & Co: Clippings Book. AG-214, Hocken Collections, Dunedin. These include, for the most part, newspaper clippings of wool, grain and produce sale reports, and company circulars. Two scrapbooks held in the Hocken Collections provide a glimpse of the workings and activities of this company, and, fortunately, some clues about the uses and features of the building.
- 4 A Moritzson & Co: Scrapbook, MS-0659, Hocken Collections, Dunedin.
- 5 A Moritzson & Co: Scrapbook, MS-0659, Hocken Collections, Dunedin.
- 6 *Otago Witness* 7 February 1895, 11. Hislop also designed the nearby Crown Roller Mills in Manor Place c.1880, though he is best known for his buildings for the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition of 1889–90.
- 7 'City Improvements: Moritzson and Hopkins' New Premises', in A Moritzson & Co: Scrapbook. MS-0659, Hocken Collections, Dunedin.



LETTERING DETAIL on the side of the Sew Hoy building in Stafford Street.



15

Sew Hoy

CHOIE SEW HOY (1838–1901) left Canton for the goldfields, first California, then Victoria, and finally Central Otago in 1869. He was a gold-buyer and miners' agent, and set up a business supplying the needs of Chinese miners. Sew Hoy established the first dredge on the Shotover River, later acquiring two more.¹ He moved to Dunedin and is listed in Wise's *Directory* for 1871–2 as an 'importer' in Stafford Street.² Sew Hoy's building was on the northern side of Stafford Street, about half-way between Princes and Hope Streets. Today there are two buildings named 'Sew Hoy' in Stafford Street. One is the large former Kempthorne Prosser warehouse next to St Matthew's Church, which now houses the second-hand clothing store 'SaveMart'. The other building is roughly opposite the site of Sew Hoy's first store, and houses the Sew Hoy Asian grocery shop. This building was built in 1895 and bears the date of the foundation of the business, 1869, on its façade. The ground floor was used for merchandise sales, the first floor for accommodation and meetings, and the basement for storage and manufacture.³ The façade was stripped of some of its detail at some point before 1968.

The Chinese population in Dunedin in the late 1860s and early 1870s was small and concentrated around Stafford Street. Some wealthy Chinese families relocated to Dunedin from Lawrence in 1869.⁴ A large number of Cantonese from Sew Hoy's native Panyu district migrated to Otago in search of gold around 1871, possibly at his encouragement. Sew Hoy did



CHOIE (BILL) SEW HOY, photographed by Burton Bros, a well-known Dunedin studio.

not open branches of his business at the goldfields themselves, but rather supplied Chinese stores there and made it his business to ‘advise, outfit, provision, and otherwise help’ the Chinese gold miners setting out from Dunedin.⁵ Sew Hoy was also an exporter: scrap iron and jew’s ear fungus or *muk yee* (*Hirneola polytricha*) were two of the commodities Sew Hoy exported to Hong Kong and China.⁶

Aside from his merchant business, Sew Hoy was an important public figure for several other reasons. He pioneered gold dredging (the private Big Beach Shotover Gold Mining Co was formed in 1888, and taken over by the public Sew Hoy Big Beach Mining Co in 1889) and later sluicing companies (the Nokomai Hydraulic Sluicing Co was floated in 1898). He was also an active participant in Chinese life in Dunedin, and helped to organize the two mass exhumations of Chinese bodies from Otago cemeteries for reburial in China.⁷

Choie Sew Hoy’s son Kum Poy took over the business in 1901; on the latter’s death in 1942 his nephew Hugh Sew Hoy bought the firm. He expanded into clothing manufacturing from 1956 onwards, eventually employing more than 400 workers in six factories. The clothing industry was badly hit by changes to import regulations in the 1980s, and Sew Hoy & Sons went under in 1989. The original family-owned merchant business survived, being sold only in recent years.⁸ James Ng suggests that only a few of the nineteenth century Chinese merchants are remembered today, and the Otago directories only mentioned them erratically.⁹

Sew Hoy was one of the three firms in Stafford Street by the mid-1870s that became the chief Chinese businesses of Otago for the remainder of the nineteenth century. The other two were Hip Fung Taai (owned by Forsigh Wong Tape) and Kwong Shing Wing. They outfitted prospective miners with clothing, blankets, shovels, buckets and rice. The businesses were



THE SEW HOY BUILDING, 1970s. The office block to the right at 31 Stafford Street was the head office of Kempthorne Prosser, designed by Mason and Wales in 1970.

ideally located, since would-be miners arrived nearby at the Rattray Street wharf and coaches left for the goldfields from the bottom of Stafford Street. Both Choie Sew Hoy and Kwong Shing Wing especially catered for the Panyu-Hua Cantonese, while Hip Fung Taai aimed at the Seyip Cantonese. Other businesses catered for miners from specific regions. Kum Yoon Lee and his three partners catered for Cantonese miners from their native Zengcheng region, while 'Lau Oi Ming's store in Stuart Street may have catered for the Heungshan Cantonese.'¹⁰ Other firms included Kwong Sing Wing, Me Wah, Kwong Tye Lee, Kwan Lee, and On Lee.

Forsigh Wong Tape, from Taishan county, came to New Zealand via Victoria at some point in the 1860s. Nothing is known of his activities here until he founded the Hip Fung (or Fong) Taai company in 1877–8. James Ng suggests he may have been a partner in the earlier Sun War On firm, a Seyip merchant business. Forsigh went to Hong Kong in 1887 to visit a business house he had established for exporting goods to New Zealand, but

SEW HOY Asian Supermarket in
Stafford Street, 2013.

he seems to have died during this trip. One of Forsigh's sons, Wong King Yip, took over the business, and was joined by his younger half-brother Benjamin in 1898. However, by this time the Dunedin Chinese population was shrinking and the firm's business declined with it. Hip Fung Taai was sold to another Chinese businessman in 1912, and closed soon after. According to Ng, the difficulty of obtaining imports from China at this time was probably a contributing factor.¹¹

NOTES TO CHAPTER 15

- 1 McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 61.
- 2 James Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, 4 vols. (Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books, 1998), III, 269.
- 3 Ng, III, 287.
- 4 Ng, I, 193.
- 5 Ng, III, 269–70.
- 6 Ng, III, 269.
- 7 Ng, III, 269–303.
- 8 Kynaston, 27.
- 9 Ng, I, 193.
- 10 Ng, I, 194–5.
- 11 Ng, III, 320.



DONALD STUART was a tea merchant, and this building at 82 Bond Street was his premises. As the creative re-use of Stuart's original sign suggests, the building housed artists' studios in more recent times.





16

D Benjamin and Co

D BENJAMIN AND CO were general merchants, importers and wholesale jewellers, and occupied an extensive two-storey building in Dowling Street, next door on the upper side to the Garrison Hall. The business was owned by David Edward Theomin and Philip Isaacs. Theomin founded D Benjamin and Co in 1878 and the following year Isaacs founded P and J Isaacs. In 1888 these two firms united and purchased Matheson Brothers, taking over its Dowling Street premises. The firm also had Christchurch and Wellington branches, and agents in London.

According to the *Cyclopedia*, '[t]his firm occupies a prominent place in the front rank of the general merchants and jewellery firms of New Zealand.'¹ The *Cyclopedia* also notes that D Benjamin and Co extended Matheson Brothers' premises to almost double the original dimensions. It described the building as

a two storey brick structure, with a striking front; the total floorage space available is over 12,000 square feet, exclusive of two extensive bulk sheds, which have been added at the back, and two additional stores in another part of the city, increasing the total accommodation to about 20,000 square feet.²

The premises were altered in 1901:

Messrs D. Benjamin and Co have just had completed a very large and commodious warehouse, stores and offices adjoining their premises in Dowling Street. Entering from Dowling Street and turning to the left, one enters a new counting house, 44ft by 17ft. This is subdivided into different branches



and fitted with lavatories. Immediately above this is the tobacco department, with neat counters and shelving, and is lit from the roof with lantern lights. In the same portion of the building the firm have a tobacco show room, 18ft by 10ft, fitted up with counters, glazed partitions, and stained fittings, presenting a very handsome appearance. The packing and forwarding store, which is on the ground floor, is 84ft long and 42ft wide. Above it is the main showroom, 100ft long and 42ft wide, the walls being lined and the ceilings neatly broken up with panels and cut cornices. The second floor is the crate floor, which is the same dimensions as the main showroom. The top floor is for bulk. The whole of the floors are complete with all necessary fittings, hydraulic lifts, and hoist, and are well lit from three sides. The building has just left the hands of the contractors, Messrs Foster and George.³

D Benjamin and Co's Dowling Street warehouse (*above*) is in use today as the Les Mills gymnasium. 'D Benjamin & Co' originally appeared in the curved parapet, with 'General Merchants' either side along the frieze. A few older features remain: the four pilasters, the curved parapet, the chimney and the four upstairs window openings.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 16

1 *Cyclopedia*, 344.

2 *Cyclopedia*, 344.

3 'New Buildings: The Progress of the City', *Otago Daily Times* 7 May 1901, 8.

Otago Daily Times building

THE *OTAGO DAILY TIMES* was originally published from premises in Princes Street. The newspaper moved its offices in 1879 to these purpose-built premises designed by HF Hardy, on the corner of Dowling and Burlington Streets at the foot of Bell Hill. The building was extended in 1910, and the machine and publishing rooms were altered in 1923; fire escapes were added in 1958. The *Otago Witness* was a weekly illustrated paper published by the *Otago Daily Times* until 1932. The firm expanded into the building on the right in 1928, Neill and Co's warehouse (formerly Scoular Brothers, see p.169) on the opposite side of Burlington Street, facing Queens Gardens. The Garrison Hall is on the far left of this photograph. Designed by NYA Wales in 1877 for the Volunteers, the hall was much used for public meetings and concerts.





17

Some ghost stories

MANY NOTABLE Dunedin businesses have left no visible trace, in many cases due to the demolition of their premises in recent decades. Here are a few:

Universal Bond

THIS IMPORTANT early building, one of the first to be built in Bond Street and to which it gave its name, was built in 1864–5. It took up the entire quarter-acre block bounded by Water, Liverpool, Bond and Crawford Streets. A prominent feature of the warehouse precinct in many early photographs, it was demolished in 1983 and its site became a car park. The two-storey Universal Bond provided 35,000 square feet of storage space and offices for many businesses for more than a century.¹ Its four brickwork façades featured round-arched ground-floor windows and heavily rusticated pilasters. The building was designed by WH Clayton, partner in the architectural firm of Mason and Clayton (later Mason and Wales).² Prominent tenants included Rattray and Co, Neill and Co (general importers and agents)³ and the New Zealand Shipping Co.

Other businesses with premises in the Universal Bond in the 1880s included Proctor Farquhar, merchant; Francis Fulton, land broker, commission and estate agent; John Hooper, custom-house and forwarding agent; and the shipping agents Fenwick & Kennedy, Kennedy & Co and James Fox.⁴ By 1927 the building had become known as ‘Edinburgh House’ and

was occupied by the Alliance Assurance Co. At some stage before 1951 the building was bought by the Ministry of Works.⁵



THE UNIVERSAL BOND at two different moments in its history. At top, the building as it appeared just after construction in 1865, when it dominated the landscape around it. The lower image shows the building during the 1960s, having been shorn of its chimneys. By then it was dwarfed by the large Central Post Office fronting onto Princes Street.



W Scoular and Co

THIS FIRM, general importers and merchants, originally occupied two buildings at the north end of the block bounded by Jetty, Bond, Crawford and Police Streets. The site is currently occupied by 'The Clean' vehicle (and dog) cleaning yard. Along with warehousemen MacPherson Kemp and Co, W Scoular occupied the two four-storey buildings on that site, built in 1869.⁶ By 1927 W Scoular and Co had taken over both buildings which were demolished during the early twenty-first century.

W Scoular, a firm of general importers and merchants, was founded by Andrew, James and William Scoular in 1861. William was killed in 1894 and the business was continued by John Maloney, his executor.⁷ For a time, the firm occupied the building shown in the centre of the photograph below. This warehouse had been designed by RA Lawson for David Proudfoot in 1875. It was demolished in 1986 and the site remains empty.

W. SCOULAR'S RA LAWSON-DESIGNED BUILDING can be seen here in the centre of the shot, as if at the base of the spire of First Church, also designed by Lawson. The Wolf Harris Fountain is now in the Dunedin Botanic Gardens.



Bates Sise and Co

BATES SISE AND CO were general merchants, importers and commission agents. They occupied a two-storey building at 7 Bond Street, between Water and Rattray Streets, which backed onto Crawford Street. This building is first documented in 1880. George Lyman Sise settled in Dunedin in 1863 and was also a director of Donaghy's Rope and Twine Company and a member of the Otago and Southland Industrial Conciliation Board. Bates Sise and Co, founded in 1865, were agents for the North China Insurance Company, the Eastern and Australian Steamship Company (trading between Sydney, China and Japan) and for Peabody and Co's shipping line (trading between New Zealand and New York). The firm traded in British, American and Oriental goods, including tobacco, bicycles and cornflour, among other products. Their business was New Zealand-wide, but focused on the South Island.⁸



BATES SISE AND CO at 7 Bond Street is the small building with the gable beside the wagon. From *left to right* are the edge of the Bank of Australasia; Dalgety's wool and grain stores (later the site of the NZ Express Co tower); Bates, Sise and Co; the NZ Shipping Co; and the first head office of the NMA.

Butterworth Brothers Ltd

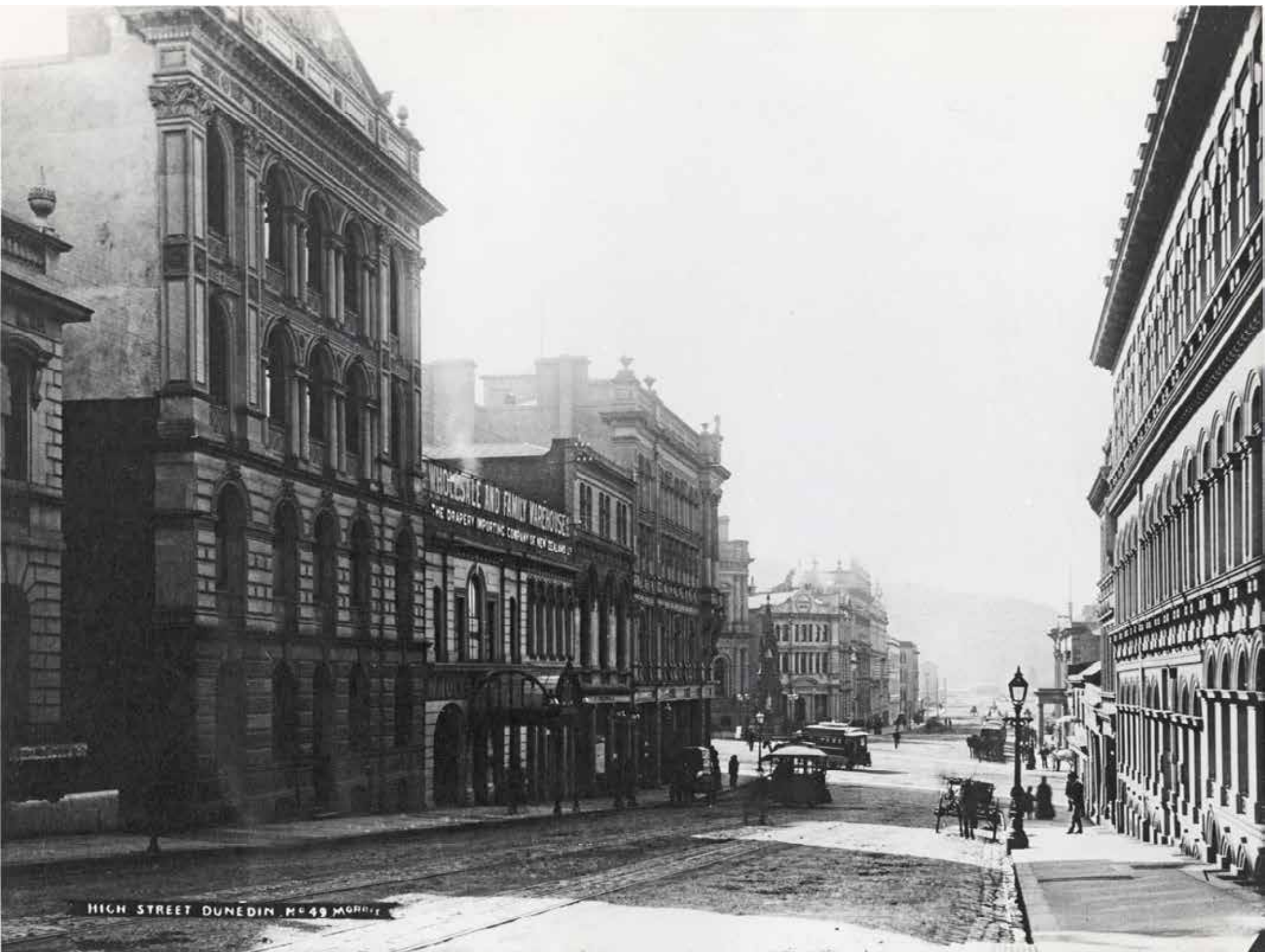
JOHN LEACH BUTTERWORTH established Butterworth Brothers in 1862. On his death in 1891, his son Charles Percy M. Butterworth became managing director of the firm. Butterworth operated the business in lower High Street, roughly opposite the Bing, Harris warehouse, from before 1874. The firm also had a London house.¹³ A large, four-storey brick warehouse replaced the firm's original building in 1883.¹⁴ It was designed by Louis Boldoni, architect of the Moray Place synagogue and the AMP building in Princes Street (both now demolished) and the surviving Grand Hotel on the corner of Princes and High Streets. The *Otago Witness* described Butterworth's planned new building:

It will cover an area of 4343 square feet, and will comprise four floors above the street level, and a basement, the height from the street to the top of the centre parapet being 70 feet ... The front is treated in Italian style, and is light in design, although at the same time conveying the idea of solidity. A special feature in the front elevation will be the construction of the front wall, from the street level to that of the first floor, of Port Chalmers stone, in large-sized blocks, forming the entire width of the wall. From the first floor to the summit of the parapet will be of Oamaru stone, decorated with columns, pilasters, string courses, and lop cornice. The parapet will be ornamented with figures symbolical of industry, commerce, &c.

The building was designed to be fireproof, each floor constructed with iron beams and concrete, supported by ten iron columns. The concrete of the roof was covered with fireproof asphalt. Two goods lifts were installed, and tramways for moving goods in the basement.¹⁵ By 1927, the building (and the eight-storey building at the back, demolished by the Scenic Circle Hotel in 1984) was occupied by Paterson and Barr.¹⁶

The September 2009 demolition of the Butterworths building received media attention due to a dispute between the owners of the building, the Scenic Circle Hotel Group, and the Historic Places Trust. The building had been vacant for more than twenty years and was considered unsafe, and the hotel wanted the site for parking cars. The Trust demanded that the bluestone foundation wall be left intact as a condition of its agreeing to

the demolition, but it was damaged during the demolition and it too was removed. Scenic Circle's executive chairman Earl Hagaman criticised the Historic Places Trust for standing in the way of 'progress'. The remains of a bluestone wall sit in the new carpark, surrounded by weeds.



BUTTERWORTHS IS THE TALL BUILDING on the left, shown soon after its completion. Bing, Harris and Co faces it across High Street. The first Hallensteins building is visible in the distance across Princes Street behind the tram, and beyond it is the tall parapet of the Royal Exchange Hotel. The High Street cable car waits at its terminus outside the Grand Hotel of 1883 (now the Southern Cross).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 17

- 1 *Cyclopedia*.
- 2 Hardwicke Knight and Niel Wales, *Buildings of Dunedin: An Illustrated Architectural Guide to New Zealand's Victorian City* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1988), 101.
- 3 *Cyclopedia*, 350–1.
- 4 *Otago Witness* 18 February 1865, 13; 2 September 1865, 16; McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, 70.
- 5 *Otago Daily Times* 30 March 1951, 6.
- 6 ‘City Improvements’, *Otago Witness* 14 August 1869, 17. This article includes a discussion of the process of laying foundations in the recently reclaimed land.
- 7 *Cyclopedia*, 353.
- 8 *Cyclopedia*, 344.
- 9 McDonald, 53.
- 10 *Otago Witness* 27 April 1872, 15.
- 11 *Otago Witness* 27 April 1872, 15.
- 12 *Cyclopedia*, 347.
- 13 *Cyclopedia*, 345.
- 14 Mark Price, ‘Historic Places Trust Condemned,’ *Otago Daily Times* 2 December 2009, 4; *Otago Witness* 21 March 1874, 16, reporting that Butterworth Bros. had bought the Club Hotel site in High Street in order to extend their premises; *Otago Witness* 24 March 1883, 9.
- 15 *Otago Witness* 24 March 1883, 9.
- 16 Knight and Wales, *Buildings of Dunedin*, 85.



THE CHIEF POST OFFICE in Princes Street was erected in 1933–37 to the designs of John Mair, Government Architect. Built of stone-faced concrete on a structural steel frame, the building was designed to be fire- and earthquake-resistant. It accommodated a range of government departments and radio station 4ZB. The Post Office left in 1997 and, after a period sitting empty, the building is now being redeveloped as offices, a gym and an apartment hotel.



18

Conclusion

Dunedin's historic warehouse precinct of inter-related commercial and industrial premises is significant for what it reveals about the interconnectedness of commercial enterprises for at least a century from the 1870s, and how they developed over time. It serves as a physical reminder that nineteenth-century Dunedin was not merely a boom town based on the profits of gold mining, but that an enduring manufacturing and financial base developed from the 1860s and 1870s. Stock and station agents played a central role in linking the urban and rural economies and connecting New Zealand with wider imperial and world trading networks.

The surviving buildings provide a good illustration of this urban–rural interdependency. Embedded within the histories of these buildings — who used them, and how — is not just a local history, but also a national story of how colonial New Zealand found its industrial and commercial feet. Dunedin was at this time at the cutting edge of industrial growth in New Zealand, and the most industrialised city ahead of Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland. This makes the surviving buildings especially important to our national heritage: they provide a sense of where we came from and how we worked when we got here. Locally, the close connections between manufacturing, finance and shipping are still evident in the physical layout of the historic warehouse precinct. A joinery factory, book binder, automotive repair shops and a carpet warehouse sit alongside computer firms, a farm supplies depot and a growing number of apartments.



THIS ATMOSPHERIC STREET SCENE shows Queens Gardens some time before 1907. It gestures to the range of land uses in this part of Dunedin. Two figures, possibly a mother and daughter, are about to pass the first Donald Reid warehouse (a sign painted on the corner reads 'rabbit skins bought') and a large telegraph pole. In the distance, they can see the classical portico of the Telegraph Office (1876) at the junction of Bond, High and Rattray Streets. The clock tower behind the Telegraph Office belonged to the Stock Exchange building constructed in 1864–8 and demolished in 1969.

The warehouse precinct is a clear example of an historic cultural landscape that has evolved over time and continues to reflect the activities and occupancy of those people who have shaped the landscape. It reinforces Laurajane Smith's argument that heritage is a dynamic cultural process, one that is inherently political as it is determined by power relations.¹ The Dunedin warehouse precinct is a rich cultural landscape that on closer examination clearly reflects social relations and institutions. Its streets, buildings and intermediate spaces have helped shape social relationships over the past century and a half. The importance of face-to-face contact in the commercial world, not merely in the nineteenth century but well into the twentieth, is conveyed by the relatively intimate compactness of the precinct.



THE WAREHOUSE AREA from the northern side of Queens Gardens, photographed soon after the Cenotaph was unveiled in 1927. The railway defines the left of this shot, across the road from the Terminus Hotel, built in 1880-2. This building was most recently the Gresham Hotel, built in plaster-rendered brickwork to the design of John Burnside, who had his office in the building. Pigeons are now its only occupants. Consultancy House (originally the New Zealand Express Company building) marks the right hand edge of this photograph. Beyond these edifices lie many of the buildings that fill the pages of *Dunedin's Warehouse Precinct*.



IN VOGEL STREET, the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Vogel House was designed by RA Lawson in 1886 for James McDonald of the Hydraulic Lime and Cement Works, and soon taken over by Remshardt as a skin and wool store. Of cement-rendered brick, it subsequently became the offices of the wholesale stationers Williamson Jeffery. It was converted to three apartments in 2002. To its left is the Milne Bremner building (1887-8). Next is Hogg, Howlison, Nicol and Co's building, designed by Robert Forrest (1881-2). Immediately to its left, with a verandah, is the warehouse extension designed in 1929 by WH Dunning for the ironmongers Paterson & Barr. Next is the rebuilt façade of the small building that housed the coal merchants Ogilvie & Co. At the end of Vogel Street is Queens Gardens House. Across Queens Gardens can be seen the ten-storey Radio Otago House.

The awareness of the physical dimension to business history forms an important part of the holistic framework provided by a landscapes approach to the historic warehouse precinct, and helps shift the focus away from the traditional emphasis on churches, great houses and public buildings and onto comparatively mundane places. As the Nizhny Tagil Charter says, such early examples of surviving heritage landscape as the Dunedin warehouse precinct are of special value. A cultural landscapes approach therefore is a particularly important one, as it provides an holistic view of heritage, both tangible and intangible.

NOTE TO CONCLUSION

- 1 Laurajane Smith, *The Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Dunedin's warehouse precinct

Key to map (continues on following page)

1. Donald Reid: first warehouse
2. Donald Reid wool and grain store
3. Donald Reid & Co offices
4. Donald Reid machinery showrooms
5. NMA first head office and early warehouse
6. NMA second head office
7. NMA third head office
8. NMA first warehouse
9. NMA wool and grain store
10. NMA wool and manure store
11. NZLMA building
12. Dalgety / Mutual Agency / Reid McLean
13. Murray Roberts & Co ('Exchange Building')
14. Murray Roberts & Co stores
15. Murray Roberts & Co stores
16. Wright Stephenson & Co stores (*demolished*)
17. Agricultural Hall / His Majesty's Theatre
18. Second Agricultural Hall
19. Brydone Hall
20. Vogel House
21. Mutual Agency Co wool and grain store
22. Hogg, Howison & Nicol store
23. Mackerras & Hazlett bonded store
24. Briscoe's iron store
25. Briscoe's warehouse (*demolished*)
26. Wilson's Bond

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 27. John Edmond & Co | 74. Booth, Macdonald and Co |
| 28. <i>Evening Star</i> building | 75. AH & AW Reed |
| 29. Early <i>Evening Star</i> printing offices | 76. Equitable Insurance |
| 30. Rattray & Son tea store | 77. Queens Gardens Court |
| 31. Thomson & Co aerated water factory (<i>demolished</i>) | 78. Brown, Ewing and Co |
| 32. Sargood, Son & Ewen / Kempthorne Prosser | 79. Imperial Buildings |
| 33. Sargood, Son & Ewen (<i>demolished</i>) | 80. Donald Stuart Ltd |
| 34. Sargood, Son & Ewen factory | 81. <i>Otago Daily Times</i> building |
| 35. Bing Harris & Co. warehouse | 82. Scoular Bros / Neill and Co |
| 36. Brown Ewing & Co | 83. Chief Post Office |
| 37. Ross & Glendining buildings | 84. Gresham Hotel |
| 38. Kempthorne Prosser warehouse | |
| 39. Reid & Gray (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 40. Cossens & Black foundry | |
| 41. Shacklock & Co | |
| 42. Hallenstein Bros | |
| 43. Ahlfeld Bros warehouse | |
| 44. Paterson & Barr shop (Clarion Building) | |
| 45. Universal Bond (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 46. Neill and Co free stores | |
| 47. Stavely's Bond | |
| 48. Moritzson & Hopkin produce offices | |
| 49. Rattray & Son store | |
| 50. Sew Hoy second store and warehouse | |
| 51. Briscoe's iron yard | |
| 52. Mackerras and Hazlett warehouse and offices (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 53. Bates Sise and Co warehouse (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 54. P Hayman and Co bond and free store | |
| 55. JH Kirk and Co wool and hide store (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 56. Scoular and Co warehouse (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 57. MacPherson Kemp and Co warehouse (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 58. Scoular and Co store (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 59. Wright Stephenson horse sale yards and wool and grain store | |
| 60. Butterworth Bros warehouse (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 61. D Benjamin and Co warehouse | |
| 62. New Zealand Clothing Factory | |
| 63. Ross and Glendining clothing factory | |
| 64. Murray Roberts and Co skin store | |
| 65. Wong Tape importer | |
| 66. Briscoe's building | |
| 67. Union Steamship Co store | |
| 68. Moritzson & Co grain store | |
| 69. Thomson & Co office building (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 70. Ross and Glendining (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 71. Stock Exchange (<i>demolished</i>) | |
| 72. New Zealand Express Co (Consultancy House) | |
| 73. First USSCo head office | |



THE ART DECO Dunedin bus station, designed in 1939 by James Hodge White, is now incorporated into Toitu Otago Settlers Museum. Its presence marks the northern end of the warehouse precinct.

Image credits

ATL: Alexander Turnbull Library

CB: Chris Brickell (2013)

GO: Gerard O'Brien (2013)

HC: Hocken Collections

OSM: Toitu Otago Settlers Museum

p. 1: GO; p. 2: CB; p. 3: CB; p. 5: GO; p. 7: GO; p. 8: GO; p. 9: GO; p. 10: GO; p. 12: GO; p. 13: OSM Box 80 No 16; p. 14: CB; p. 15: HC 1103_01_005A.jpg; p. 16: OSM Box 68 No 4; p. 17: OSM Box 68 no 38; p. 18: HC: Proposed Reclamation [...] in the Provincial Engineer's report of 1 September 1863; p. 19: ATL Acc 228; p. 20: OSM Box 65 No 125; p. 21: OSM Box 80 No 21; p. 22: HC MS-2171/004; p. 23: GO; p. 24: HC 0806_01_001A.jpg; p. 25: HC 2407_01_003A.jpg; p. 26: OSM Box 49 No 45; p. 27: OSM Box 32 No 52; p. 28: GO; p. 29: HC 0630_01_001A.jpg; p. 30: HC 0548_01_016A.jpg; p. 31: OSM Box 52 No 32; p. 33: HC 885 [1927-1930] Fire Insurance Plans (1927); p. 34: HC 1218_01_017A.jpg; p. 36: GO; p. 41: OSM Box 57 No 119; p. 42: GO; p. 43: OSM Box 80 No 20; p. 42: GO; p. 44: OSM Box 80 No 30; OSM Box 80 No 27; p. 45: CB; p. 46: CB; p. 47 (top): GO, (bottom): CB; p. 50: GO; p. 54: GO; p. 56 (top): HC MS-3412 (six NMA photos) '1877-1905', (bottom): HC MS-3412 (six NMA photos) '1877-1905'; p. 57 (top): HC MS-3412 (six NMA photos) '1905-1929', (bottom): HC MS-3412 (six NMA photos) '1905-1929'; p. 58: HC MS-3412 (six NMA photos) '1929'; p. 59: GO; p. 60: GO; p. 61: GO; p. 64: CB; p. 65: HC 0872_01_001A.jpg; p. 66: GO; p. 68: HC 1218_01_007A.jpg; p. 69: GO; p. 70: GO; p. 72: GO; p. 74: GO; p. 76: HC 1008_01_006A.jpg; p. 77: GO; p. 79 (left): CB, (right): OSM Box 57 No 67; p. 80: CB; p. 82: HC 0654_01_010A.jpg; p. 83 (top): GO, (bottom): Fletcher Trust 4007P/26; p. 84: Fletcher Trust 4007P/1; p. 85: CB; p. 87: OSM Box 57 No 65; p. 88: HC 0774_01_005A.jpg; p. 89: GO; p. 91: GO; p. 92: GO; p. 93: CB; p. 94: Mary McLean; p. 96: GO; p. 98: OSM Box 57 No 40; p. 99: HC 0881_01_001A.jpg; p. 100: HC 1004_01_004A.jpg; p. 101: CB; p. 103: GO; p. 104: OSM Box 57 No 114; p. 106 (top): CB (bottom): GO; p. 107: CB; p. 109: CB; p. 110: CB; p. 111: GO; p. 112: HC 0703_01_001A.jpg; p. 113: GO; p. 115: GO; p. 118 (top): HC 1041_01_002A.jpg, (bottom): HC 1041_01_001A.jpg; p. 119: ATL 1/1-018521-F; p. 120: HC MS-1523/003; p. 121: GO; p. 123: GO; p. 125: GO; p. 126: OSM Box 57 No 26; p. 127: HC MS-2171/004; p. 129: CB; p. 130 & 132: Aileen Maxwell and Ada Gilling, 'The Working Girl of New Zealand', Preventive Medicine Dissertation, Otago University, 1942; p. 133: CB; p. 135: OSM Box 57 No 69; p. 137: CB; p. 139: HC 2407_01_016A.jpg; p. 140 (top): HC 0648_01_004A.jpg, (bottom): CB; p. 141: HC 1008_01_004A.jpg; p. 142: CB; p. 143: OSM G471; p. 144: HC 2407_01_010A.

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Otago Settlers Museum/Toitu: photographic collection.


Fletcher Trust: photographic collection.

Acknowledgements

This book is based in part on research conducted by Joanna Galer and Scott Campbell. I am also very grateful to Judith Collard for facilitating publication, Gerard O'Brien and Chris Brickell for their contemporary photographs of buildings in the warehouse precinct and to Austin Gee for revising the manuscript and locating archival photographs. I am grateful to Toitu Otago Settlers Museum, the Hocken Library and the Alexander Turnbull Library for permission to reproduce archival photographs held in their collections. Finally, my thanks go to the publisher, Chris Brickell, for his enthusiasm for this project and his eye for detail which has resulted in this superb publication.

Alexander Trapeznik





DUNEDIN'S WAREHOUSE DISTRICT is a newly rediscovered treasure. Spanning the few blocks stretching from the railway line to Princes Street, from Queens Gardens to the Oval, for many years this area slipped out of the public eye. The grid-pattern street layout contains a dense mixture of commercial and industrial buildings, typically between two and four storeys high. Many have a decorative façade to the street and plain brick or masonry walls facing their neighbours. Some became derelict, others home to a variety of uses. A few have been demolished to create car parks. Recently, many of the buildings have become the subject of renewed enthusiasm, being strengthened, refurbished, repainted and valued once again.

This lavishly illustrated electronic book explores the business, social and architectural history of the precinct. The area was once home to the well-known firms Donald Reid & Co; the National Mortgage & Agency Co; the Union Steam Ship Co; Murray Roberts & Co; Wright, Stephenson & Co; AH & AW Reed; Sargood, Son & Ewen; Bing, Harris & Co; Brown, Ewing & Co; Ross & Glendining; Kempthorne Prosser; Reid & Gray; Cossens & Black; Shacklock; and one of the few survivors, Hallenstein Brothers. A detailed map is included, and specially commissioned photographs by Gerard O'Brien and Chris Brickell are complemented by a wide range of historic images.