

PART IV: SOME POSSIBLE PROJECTS

STUDY OF AN OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

Variation in militancy and class consciousness between different occupational groups has long been noted. In the wake of E.P Thompson's studies, historians of labour in the English-speaking countries have emphasized looking at how class relationships develop and differ in particular contexts. They have become increasingly sensitive to the importance of differences in the scale of enterprise, the work process itself and the physical arrangements of the workplace, the frequency of multiple employment of family members in the same workplace, the proximity of work and residence, the residential stability or transiency of workers, their relative continuity in occupation within career and between generations in the same family, the age, sex, ethnic, and religious composition of the work force, the degree of paternalism of employers, and other variables. They have considered how these differences may influence workers' relationships to each other, to their employers and to their immediate communities and ultimately how they affect workers' view of the larger society.

In the United States the work of Daniel Walkowitz on iron molders and textile workers, of John Cumbler on shoe workers and textile workers, and of Tamara Hareven on textile workers in particular localities provide good illustrations of what can be learned through close examination of the variables noted above in shaping the experience of particular occupational groups in particular contexts. From occupational and geographic mobility alone much can be learned about the changing state of a trade and its attractiveness for different groups of workers, as we discovered in analyzing patterns

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of expansion and attrition in skilled crafts like bricklaying, shoemaking, and cabinet making in Poughkeepsie, New York.

For a recent European settler society like New Zealand, studies of individual occupational groups have a further importance. Your cities began during, not before, the industrial revolution. Yet you had a pioneer period in which some historians believe that occupational versatility and transiency characterized the entire society. Correspondingly, there is a strong tendency to see, by contrast, a subsequent period (often defined as the 1890s to the 1920s) in which the society stabilized. In this view New Zealand achieved not only a normal demographic profile at this time, but also a more settled way of life, with more stability and continuity in individual careers, and more stable family and community relationships. How applicable this generalization is to members of various occupational groups needs to be tested for both periods of time.*

Also to be tested is the possible implication that the work forces of individual firms tended to become more stable as well. How long, for example, did factory workers tend to remain with the same

* This view of a period of stabilization need not imply the "embourgeoisement" of the working class. There is strong evidence in New Zealand as in other English-speaking countries that all workers feared descent into the slums and the "gutter" where people lose their self-respect and also that skilled workers, especially, often pursued the signs of respectability. Erik Olsen has nicely described the complexity of change in the attitudes of different working-class groups in Dunedin during the period of stabilization: "within the labour movement the skilled men became the brokers in a complex tradeoff in which labour won influence and power in return for which the skilled helped to root out working-class rowdiness and larrikinism for most working-class women the new ideology of suburban domesticity, with its exaltation of the wife-mother, proved very attractive." (*A History of Otago*, 1984, p. 123).

firm by the 1910s and 20s? How frequently did they leave the firm but continue to report themselves in the same industry within the city? leave the city altogether? Did the "leavers" often show up again at a later date in the same factory? In sum, to what extent do factory work forces participate in the trend toward greater stability seen for the society as a whole. Or do they seem to be distinctive in their behaviour, either on a temporary basis or throughout their working careers?

A modest, but important beginning, to answering the question of whether factory operatives participate in the general trend toward greater stability can be made by studying the work force of one factory. The project would relate the patterns of behavior found in that work force to what can be determined about the character of factories generally in its industry as well as to the distinctive features of the particular firm, its workplace and personnel policies, and work process, including the degree of mechanization. As the primary source, we would prefer payroll records, such as those for the G.A. Coles shoe factory which are described in this report under their location, the Auckland Institute. Because the Coles payrolls are divided by department, the experience of different types of factory workers may be compared over time. Are the best paid and the more skilled workers more stable in the factory? Is there much shifting of workers between departments within the factory? Is the work force as a whole characterized by a low rate of turnover?

Once the payroll has been linked to the electoral roll (the district electors as well as the parliamentary roll should be used

as a doublecheck), you can address other questions.' Do workers tend to live in clusters near the factory? If there is any trend in changes in residence while workers are still employed by the factory, is the direction of change nearer to the factory thus reducing the journey to work? How frequently do workers occupy the same dwelling? belong to the same family? Does a substantial proportion of the work force not appear in the electoral rolls? Do those missing in the rolls also have brief employment in the factory suggesting that they are transients? (If they do persist in the factory, one might guess they had not reached age 21 - since shoe factories employed a number of workers less than that age - and so you would wish to push the trace in later rolls to see if they appear subsequently.)

Do the occupational designations in the rolls suggest the work or the position of the operative in the factory (e.g. Boot Finisher or Cutter, or Cleaning and Boxing Room), or even the fact of being an operative or specialized worker rather than a skilled craftsman apprenticed to the trade as the terms "bootmaker" and "shoemaker" tend to suggest? One of the incidental uses of this project would be to evaluate the usefulness of the occupational titles given in the rolls and directories in identifying the skill (and so the probable reward) of workers in a given industry.

To put the findings for the individual firm in perspective, the investigator can use several kinds of published quantitative analyses for the same period of time. For example, the Department of Labour reports in the Appendices of the Journal of the House of Representatives will break down the work force in particular industries in some detail.

By 1910, for example (see H-11, pp. 12-13), the breakdown for the Bootmaking industry for Auckland city specifies the number of workers aged 14 to 16, 17 to 20, and 21 years or older, distinguishing male and female workers in each age group, with their weekly wages, and also the number of employers and indentured apprentices. It provides this breakdown for each of the following categories of shoe workers: Rough-Stuff Cutters, Benchmen, Clickers, Machinists, Finishers, Pump and Welt Hands, Fitters and Table Hands, General Hands in Larger Factories, and General Hands in Smaller Factories.

The Statistics of New Zealand and after 1921 the New Zealand Statistical Report for Factory Production will give a breakdown (unfortunately, by Province only) of individual industries, showing the number of establishments, the character of the organizations (individual ownership, partnership, registered company, or cooperative), the employees (divided by male and female) in administration, manufacturing, and distribution, and the total salaries and wages paid to each category.

As a check on the degree of specialization, the researcher can use the Classification of Industries, Professions, and Occupations prepared by the National Efficiency Board (August, 1917), held at the National Archives. This Classification has the virtue of categorizing occupations as "most essential," "essential," "partially essential," and "non-essential" to the industry. It also codes "Operations" as to whether they can only be performed by an expert, specifying male or female, whether they could be performed by substitute labour of either sex, or whether the substitution must be male or female.

For the legal conditions governing employment in a particular line of manufacturing, industrial awards under the Arbitration Act are essential. Jim Holt's book should be the guide to their proper use. The Coles payroll books do have some references to the award current for them. The awards themselves list the employers to which they apply.

* * * *

Less easy to use and less informative as the basic primary source for an occupational group study than a factory payroll is the electoral roll. A base-line sample drawn from the roll, however, has the virtue of representing all workers of that kind in the city, avoiding the possible biases in the workforce of one firm. Since the roll is alphabetized by surname, there is no alternative but to go through the entire list searching for the occupational designations you want. And there is a complication when the work force includes operatives with ambiguous designations like "machinist." That term refers to male and female machine operators in a variety of lines of manufacturing, including clothing and shoemaking. (The term "fitter" in New Zealand seems to be used to specify what "machinist" does in the United States, a skilled craftsman who makes machines and machine tools, but we have not had time to study occupational nomenclature closely.) Since neither electoral rolls nor city directories specify place of employment, you may well have to limit your focus in a given industry to those occupational groups whose designations are unambiguous.

For example, an industry which should be studied for Auckland (if only because the 1890 Sweating Commission hearings in Auckland focused on that industry) is clothing. Many of the women listed as "machinists" in the electoral rolls would have worked for clothing manufacturers, but without payrolls they cannot be separated from machinists working in other industries. Fortunately, the number of tailors and tailoresses to be investigated is large, and the Labour Department report breakdowns for the City of Auckland of the workforce by specialities within the industry should help to clarify how large a proportion of the total workforce was accounted for by various occupational designations.

For women workers, the problem of change in surnames with marriage makes it harder to study continuity in the workforce after marriage. But one possibility is to make a list of all the surnames of tailoresses, for example, who disappear from the electoral rolls and then check for marriage certificates in the years immediately proximate to see what proportion may still be in the city. Then check their married surnames in the electoral rolls to see if they continue with employment outside the home.

Incidentally, the largest clothing manufacturer in Auckland in 1943 (and the fourth largest factory in the city at that date), the Cambridge Clothing Co. Ltd., employing 49 men and 308 women, is still in existence with its factory and main office on Great North Road in New Lynn. Someone in the Department should find out whether this factory has maintained its personnel records over time; they would be invaluable for the study of working women, and especially the changing proportion of single and married women over time.

THE STUDY OF A RELIGIOUS GROUP

Although consciousness of ethnic and religious pluralism has not loomed as large in the history of major cities in New Zealand as in the United States, it has surfaced vividly at certain points, notably during the controversial Bible in the Schools movement and in the sedition trial of the Roman Catholic Bishop Coadjutor of Auckland, James Liston, for a St Patrick's Day speech in 1922 largely concerned with the Easter rising in Ireland in 1916. Our impression is that ethnic and religious pluralism is a relatively neglected area within New Zealand historiography, except for scattered individual studies like Richard Davis, Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1862-1922 and certainly neglected for the history of New Zealand cities. It may well be more important for the interpretation of urban social structure than seems to be assumed. For example, so far as working-class status and ethno-religious heritage coincide for a particular group, such as the Irish Catholics, even temporarily, the influence on the perception of that group by others and on its members' sense of themselves may be profound.

In the United States Irish Catholics in some of our oldest cities in the Northeast, especially Boston, have only recently been shedding the defensiveness which grew out of their early experience as a despised labouring class - "No Irish Need Apply" - of an alien religion. Their very numbers at the time of the famine migration in the 1840s and 50s forced the Irish to huddle together in slums which were interpreted as evidence of their social degradation and frightened Yankee Protestants. Yet in the more recently founded and rapidly expanding cities of the Midwest and Far West, Irish Catholics had a different experience. They shared much more evenly in proportion to their

numbers in the opportunities for social mobility in booming economies and developed an elite of their own who often played prominent roles in the economic and political leadership of their cities, even in their "high society."

Our crude impression is that the experience of Irish Catholics in Auckland and other New Zealand cities falls between these two American extremes. But the value of any project focusing on this group will lie less in locating their position generally than in the specifying of points and degrees of similarity and difference. For example, because Auckland was a new city with more of an entrepreneurial bias (and apparently fewer pretensions about trying to transplant English social structure) than Wellington or Christchurch, we would expect to find more Catholic upward mobility and earlier participation in the leadership of the city, and so more group pride and less defensiveness. The early prominence or wealth of Peter Dignan, John Tole, John Sheehan (member of Sir George Greys' cabinet in 1877), the Mahoneys, Darbys, and Lynches, and others supports this expectation impressionistically as does the aggressiveness of the Catholic clergy in pushing for reinstatement of state aid for Catholic schools and in protest against the adoption of a secular system of education in 1877. On the other hand, as Father Ernest Simmons has noted, the increase in anti-Catholic bigotry after 1870 "helped to create a corresponding anti-Protestant bigotry in Catholics and caused them to close ranks and regard themselves as a persecuted minority." (Simmons, In Cruce Salus, p. 190.) Father Simmons informed us that Rory Sweetman at Peterhouse Cambridge is working on the Irish in New Zealand and graduate students also should be aware of the book on that subject by Eileen Duggan.

A project on Auckland's Catholics (predominantly Irish) in the late nineteenth century will have rich resources for examining pulls within this religious community both toward individual success and assimilation to the English norms of respectability dominant in the city's upper stratum and toward maintenance of a separate, insulated world of their own, with an elaborate array of diocesan and parochial organizations and a distinctive consciousness. Should the project extend to the 1920s and so include the Catholic reaction to the Protestant Political Association and Bishop Liston's trial for sedition, then the student may be able to assess change over time in the Catholic community's consciousness of itself and its relation to the larger society of Auckland, and particularly of how largely "Catholic" is identified with "Irish."

The 1871 census of Catholics in the city (described under the diocesan archives) provides a superb basis for investigation of both occupational mobility in Catholic families and their relation to the Church and the wider society (as judged by attendance at Catholic or Protestant schools and by intermarriage). For 1871 itself the census notes whether confirmation and first communion have occurred and whether the sacraments are received, etc. Using the ages for children in 1871, the investigation can check electoral rolls by the time the children would have reached age 21 to see whether they remain in the city and, if so, at what occupation. Persisting males and female children can then be checked in parish marriage registers to determine their birthplaces, occupation of themselves and their fathers at time of marriage, current residence, and maiden name of mother. This will permit comparison of father's occupation at two points in time.

We have not suggested the even easier linkage with birth certificates because only place of birth would be added to the 1871 census information; not until 1875 did the state require the additional information of age and birthplace of each parent and the date and place of their marriage. In the case of individuals who do not appear in the marriage registers, this check of birth certificates would be important. In the case of families which in 1871 seem likely prospects to have more children, given the ages of those at home, a check in the parish baptismal registers might prove useful. The birth certificate for any child born after 1874 would yield the important additional information mentioned above.

The burgesses rolls from 1872-3 to 1898-9 can be checked at intervals to determine value of property held in the city. (The extensive collection of parish and Catholic organization records at the diocesan Archives will permit identification of memberships and contributions among those enumerated in the census.) The combination of all of these records will allow systematic examination of the stability, occupation, property, and participation in church life of the city's enumerated Catholic population (1320 individuals) a generation after the founding of the city. The resulting portrait can be compared with the description of the second generation (after the famine immigration) Irish in the United States in general treatments like Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia*, or in mobility studies, like Peter Decker's *Fortunes and Failures* for San Francisco and Stephan Thernstrom's summary of studies for several cities in his *The Other Bostonians*, Chapter 9.

Should the project be extended into the early decades of the twentieth century, the 1903 parish census for St Patrick's Cathedral, Auckland, would provide a sample, but the question of how representative of the city's Catholics that congregation was would need to be considered.

Evidence on the opinions of the laity may not be easy to find although Father Simmons may be able to direct an investigator to letters from laymen in the correspondence of the bishops and the diaries of bishops and priests may also provide useful commentary. The three newspapers addressed to Catholic readers held by the Archives - The Freeman's Journal, Catholic Times, and The Month - must have taken lay opinion and interests into account, and Father Simmons, himself a journalist, could comment on how far he thinks they did so. (Bishop Luck regarded The Freeman's Journal in the 1880s as too Irish to be an official Catholic publication.) For a small group of prominent laymen, there is one wonderful record in which they demonstrated their literary talents in 1873. The Auckland Catholic Literary Institute prepared a hand-written book of "Essays and Lectures Written by the Members" (Volume I) which includes Peter Dignan's "Auckland Epitomized by a Native" and John Sheehan's "Auckland in the Year of Grace, 1900", a fantasy of the future which reveals the author's ardent hopes for the primacy of Auckland among New Zealand's cities and the leadership of Irish Catholics in achieving it.

The opinion of the clergy can be gathered from a variety of materials - diaries, correspondence, minutes of synods and bishops' conferences, circulars, and pastoral letters. The collection of personal writings and research (the latter especially on the Orange Lodge) by Bishop Cleary (1910-1929), himself the leading Catholic journalist in New Zealand from 1898 to 1910, is very rich.

THE UPPER STRATUM

Auckland's upper stratum needs systematic investigation, especially for the period from the loss of the capital to Wellington until 1926. The 1926 census recorded the first decade in which Auckland's growth soared far beyond that of its major rivals, portending its ultimate emergence as the primate metropolis of New Zealand. Two important transitions need special attention, one already studied in part, and the other still largely presumptive. R.J.C. Stone has noted that to a greater extent than in any other New Zealand city the depression after 1886 in Auckland "pulled down the established commercial leadership." (Stone, Makers of Fortune, p. 1). He has described that leadership, but no one as yet has looked closely at their successors by 1900, when recovery was well underway.

There is no single source that provides ready-to-use reliable data on all wealth (even of one type, like real estate) for all and change in the leadership of the professions and in large-scale individuals for the late nineteenth century and the problem of data on administration in both public and private sectors is not clear, but the leadership of the twentieth century is much greater. For the one would expect new kinds of formal qualifications to become more important in both in New Zealand during this period of urbanization as they did in the United States and Europe. In his account of movement toward a new society from the 1890s to the 1920s, Erik Olssen has described the general trend in a statement which could serve as a hypothesis for testing in Auckland, as a case study: "A new generation of technocrats, imbued with a faith that science and rationality would solve society's problems, became influential in administration at the national level and in most urban areas." (The Oxford History of New Zealand, p. 253).

The problems at the outset for the study of different kinds of elites and of an urban upper stratum generally are, first, of definition and, second, of discovering sources which permit as much consistency as possible in the criteria employed for identifying the subject group across time. In the matter of definition, for example, one can emphasize economic resources, using property in real estate as the best available indicator, but that does not emphasize acquaintance with other people of power, as membership in certain exclusive clubs does, nor civic prominence, as officeholding in a number of important voluntary associations does. All that we will do here is to note some of the major sources, which criteria they relate to, and the periods of time for which they are available.

There is no single source that provides complete and reliable data on all wealth (even of one type, like real estate) for all individuals for the late nineteenth century and the problem of data on individual wealth for the twentieth century is much greater. For the period from 1872 to 1898, the burgess rolls for the city (see the section on City Directories and Electoral Rolls) provide a relatively easy way of ranking individuals by amount of real estate owned in the city. (Although the true worth to the owner is - as noted in our section on Valuation Records - unknown unless Certificates of Title are used to locate mortgages, this crude indicator of wealth is useful in separating the rich for purposes of study.) Total amount held in each electoral district - six wards from 1882 to 1898 - can be summed for a city-wide total for the elector; the location and value of individual properties also is given. After 1898, unfortunately, the use of data on valuation of real estate will be much more difficult because the rating books and valuation rolls are arranged by location of property, not by name of owner, and there are no indexes to the names of those responsible for the rates.

If social exclusiveness is important to the investigation, then membership in clubs like the Northern (originally Union) and the Auckland may provide the base-line sample. It can then be related to sources useful for other criteria, such as wealth, to see how closely "the very rich" and "the socially exclusive" coincide. The Northern Club prides itself on being a relatively small organization. According to the Secretary, it never had more than 200 members before the 1930s when regular membership records began to be kept. Fortunately, the Club has one crucial record from its beginning in 1869: A Register of Candidates for Admission which includes name, occupation or profession, and residence. Company affiliation is noted. The Club also has a full run of minute books and annual reports. Request for permission to use these records should be made through the Secretary, Mr R.B. Yule, at the Club office, 19 Princes Street. We did not have time to investigate the records for the Auckland Club. They include minute books which begin in 1877, but with a gap early in the twentieth century. The Club has the typescript of an unpublished history by C.W. Vannell, "The Auckland Club, 1853-1969." Request for permission to use these records should be made to Mr Roger Waterhouse at the Club office, 34 Shortland Street.

The materials for determining civic prominence, especially biographical sketches, are varied. Difficult to characterize, but also potentially immensely useful as the only richly-detailed compilation of biographical sketches of prominent citizens for individual cities before 1900 is the Cyclopedia of New Zealand (1898). Because inclusion was by subscription, the bias of the Cyclopedia needs to be checked against various forms of ranking, such as wealth, membership in exclusive clubs, and - for the officers of incorporated

companies - capitalization of their companies. Who's Who in New Zealand seems to emphasize leadership in government and public life more and business leadership a little less. One of the editors of the early Who's Who, Guy Scholefield, also edited the two-volume Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (1940). The first edition appeared in 1908, but there are substantial gaps between subsequent editions - the second is 1925 - until the 1950s. (The first edition, by rough count, has about 1,300 biographies, with Wellington most heavily represented.)

For women of any prominence, one place to look for biographical information is the Women's Archives Collection at the Auckland Institute, developed in cooperation with the National Council of Women. Obituaries, newspaper articles, and sometimes vitae or brief autobiographies may be included and there is an alphabetical card index to the collection.

To augment the biographical information contained in the above compilations, researchers can turn to the obituary files, from the 1930s onward, of the Auckland Public Library. For the early twentieth century, the Auckland Institute has a major index in progress which can lead you to obituaries. For much of the period, 1911-1945, the Institute has "death clipping books" kept by Parkinson and Bouskill, Monumental Masons. An alphabetical index (by surname and then given name) to these scrapbooks is being prepared by volunteers. The cards note the date of death, age of the deceased, if given, and the location of the notice in the Scrapbooks, e.g. 1922-4, p.17. For the years not covered in these scrapbooks - 1915-6, 1920-2, and 1924-9 - an index to the death notices in the New Zealand Herald already has been completed.

The death notices themselves customarily give name, date of death, where death occurred, usually the age of the deceased and the name of a relative (spouse, if alive, sibling, if not; sometimes a child, in the notice for a parent, and a parent, for a younger single person), and occasionally the late residence of the deceased. Sometimes place of funeral service and interment are specified, but often the notice simply says private interment.

With the identification of date of marriage in obituaries, it should be relatively easy to extend the analysis of recruitment of the upper stratum through the information on parents and their occupations in marriage certificates. (The death certificate will provide that information for the deceased alone). The investigation of the frequency of upward mobility through marriage and also of intermarriage among first families both within the Auckland area and among the major cities of New Zealand is an important project in itself. Helpful here in a supplementary way is a magazine designed for New Zealand's upper crust, the Weekly Graphic and Ladies' Journal, a mine of evidence and anecdote on upper-class fashions, ceremonies, and institutions. The Institute has the complete run, 1890-1913.

Obituaries and Whos' Who will be the most useful sources for studying changing levels of achievement and especially of more specialized and professional education among the upper stratum. But it would be useful also to see how many of Auckland's first families in the late nineteenth-century sent their children to certain local secondary schools, like the Auckland Grammar School and King's College. What was the general social mix at these schools and how did it change over time? (Theses on Auckland at particular points in time have commented on the social mix then, see, for example, Margaret Mutch,

"Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of Auckland, 1890-6", Chapter 5: Education and Social Status.) An upper stratum whose children are exposed in the formative adolescent years to students from families in more modest circumstances are likely to have a different outlook on society from those who mingle only with their social peers (as was true of most of the new private preparatory schools founded in the United States in the late nineteenth century). We have not examined the records for King's College (apparently held at St John's Theological College) or of the Auckland Grammar School. Frank Rogers knows the records of the latter school and has prepared an alphabetical listing of all its graduates.

For a comparative perspective turn to the most comprehensive study of upper strata in American cities: Frederic C. Jaher, The Urban Establishment which has separate sections on Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles. It deals with economic and political leadership, cultural and charitable activities, and the arbiters and institutions of "high society." It suffers from some lack of consistency in criteria for the upper strata in different cities as well as from lack of attention to how - and with what degree of unity and success - members participated in decision-making on important municipal issues. (See my review in Vol. 18, no. 2 (1984); pp.303-5 of the Journal of Social History.)

THE POOR

Because New Zealand moved so quickly from a frontier stage to state welfare measures, advanced for their time, we tend to presume that a class of poor people never developed. We expect widespread and severe hardship, but temporarily - as in Auckland during the depression of the 1860s when the better-off created soup kitchens to prevent starvation for the unemployed. We also expect destitution for some young families losing breadwinners through death, accident, or illness and for some old people no longer employable and without relatives to support them. But we do not assume the existence of a class of families who remain in need of assistance over long periods of time, and a culture of poverty spanning generations has never seemed probable. Yet these presumptions have not been tested systematically despite the fact that the study of those who seek relief from other than relatives, neighbors, and friends should be easier in New Zealand than in many societies.

In the United States, a bewildering variety of private and public, local and state agencies provided assistance before the federal government assumed major responsibility in the Social Security Act of 1935, but in New Zealand charity relatively early became the jurisdiction of the State Hospitals. The passage of the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act of 1885 paved the way for a systematic provision for a health and welfare service throughout the colony. Until then, as Jeanine Graham notes (Oliver, ed. Oxford History of New Zealand, p. 137) there had been a gradual growth of "church orphanages, refuges' for prostitutes, private and public industrial schools for uncontrolled children, and a patchy system of charitable aid administered largely through hospitals...."

Standardized forms for applications for relief soon appeared. Fortunately, the Auckland Hospital Board has preserved all of the applications it received between 1889 and 1939, by which time the new Labour Government's Social Security legislation had sharply reduced the cases where applications for relief would seem justified. This source (described in this report under Auckland Hospital Board Archives in Part II) should be the foundation for any study of the poor in Auckland. The individual applicants and their families can then be traced in a variety of other records including city directories, electoral rolls, church membership rolls and baptismal, marriage, and burial registers, and school attendance registers. The combined evidence can be used to develop a series of portraits of those needing assistance at various points in time to see how much they differ, and especially with changes in the business cycle. The tracing also will permit the researcher to determine how frequently the applicants leave Auckland and, so long as they remain, how their circumstances change.

The investigator will want to try to determine what limitations the applications for relief may have as a representation of the destitute poor and of the working poor who cannot maintain subsistence without assistance - even though the applications clearly are the best source available for studying them. One approach is to look at how the Hospital Board officers appraised the applicants' needs and their worthiness for assistance. For the period before 1927 one Minute Book of the Relief Committee for 1903 to 1909 seems to have survived, recording the decisions on applications for those years and the reasons given for them. A comparison of these reasons with the information on the applicants'

situation in the applications themselves may reveal not only the Committee's standards (and biases) in deciding who the deserving poor are but also may perhaps suggest the extent to which the applications include families which do not seem - even by the most generous interpretation - to need assistance.

Another approach to the problem of representativeness is to look at other records which might suggest whether significant numbers of truly needy persons turned to other sources of charitable relief, such as churches, or avoided applying to any charitable agency because of the stigma associated with acceptance of relief. Newspapers, minute books and other records of churches in less affluent areas, and especially records of inner city missionaries like the Anglican City Missioner and the Salvation Army could be helpful here.

Consideration of possible limitations in the basic source itself would be introductory, to put in perspective the major kinds of analysis of the source: (1) the collective portraits of the poor in Auckland at different periods of time, of, say, all applicants every fifth or tenth year of the span, and (2) analysis of the careers of selected groups of applicants within these samples. The portraits would describe the distribution of the applicants by age, sex, marital status, number of dependents, occupation, residence, and length of time in New Zealand. The researcher would then ask how that distribution compares with the population of Auckland as a whole and try to identify which clusters of traits are most frequently associated with destitution at different points in time. At what stages in the life cycle of individuals and families are they most vulnerable, for example? Are there disproportionate numbers of large families where the children are not yet of working age?

How frequent are older single or widowed individuals without relatives liable to contribute to their support?

Do applicants concentrate in occupations which provide irregular employment and require little or no skill, such as casual labour? Are those applicants who do report skilled trades or factory jobs in industries where employment tends to be seasonal? Do the dates of application from such workers cluster in certain periods of the year? Generally, is there a greater concentration of applications during the winter months? Does the proportion of more skilled workers among applicants rise sharply - as you might expect - in time of national depression or widespread local unemployment? Do recent immigrants appear much more frequently among applicants for relief than they do in the general population? How much do the specific causes of destitution named on the applications vary according to the age, sex, marital status, and occupation of the applicant?

The more difficult and time-consuming part of the research will be the subsequent step of tracing individual applicants and their dependents in other kinds of records. While the easiest way of approaching tracing is to put the applicants for any given moment in time in alphabetical order, the data sheets employed - and ultimately the computer records - should be organized so that the individual records can easily be regrouped for different kinds of analysis. (Particular types of information must always appear in the same location on the data sheets and computer records.) Should it turn out, for example, that a combination of certain traits - such as criminal offense, lack of school attendance by children of school age, and residential

transiency within the city - seem to identify a distinctive subgroup among the applicants (one which seems closer to a genuine culture of poverty), then the researcher will wish to compare this subgroup systematically on all major variables with the whole group of applicants and with other subgroups, such as the aged and infirm. Incidentally, provision should be made in the computer record for indicating whether there is more than one application for relief from the same applicant, and it would be worthwhile to analyze all applications over one five-year span simply to see how many repetitions appear.

One of the most important questions in tracing applicants will be whether they appear at all in other records and, if so, for how long? How visible and how transient were they? Do they show up in street directories, but not in electoral rolls (and what does the frequency of their appearance in the rolls suggest about their political participation)? In tracing applicants backward and forward in time, do you find many who appear in other records at some point in time but not at the time of their application? What does this suggest about their visibility to directory canvassers and public officials? If the application lists relatives liable to support the applicant, do the relatives appear in other records? Judging by the occupations of those relatives who can be identified in other records, does the applicant seem to be part of a generally poorly off kin group? Do those applicants who appear in electoral rolls or in the alphabetical portions of directories, but who prove to be transient in residence within the city, move almost entirely between areas known for cheap, over-crowded housing and less-skilled population? If applicants prove stable in residence within the city, do their children appear in school attendance registers? Do family members appear in local

church records? Generally, for applicants who do appear in other records, are there signs - such as a favorable change in occupational designation - that their hardship was temporary and that they have clearly improved their economic situation since the time of application?

Should a strong clustering of applicants be found in a few areas of the city, it will be easier to see how frequently they show up in membership rolls or other registers of local churches. A general analysis (from street directories) of these areas would also be desirable to describe more fully the usual environments of the destitute poor. That might include a look at the field books for valuation for particular streets at particular points in time.

If possible, the sample of applicants for a given year should be compared with the list of arrangements for that year (and for the year before and after) in the Criminal Deposition Books (before 1881) and Records of Criminal Proceedings (after 1881), held at N.A.R.C. to see the incidence of criminal offence (and of what kinds: drunkenness? child abuse or neglect?) among the applicants.

The purpose of looking at the careers of applicants and their families by tracing in other records should govern the length of time covered by the traces: that purpose is to find out how frequent or infrequent long-term poverty as distinguished from temporary destitution was in Auckland - and by extension in other major New Zealand cities - at different points in time between 1889 and the expansion of Social Security in the late 1900s. The researcher will want to consult the literature on the poor and poverty in other English-speaking nations. For the United States and Canada, recent books by Michael B. Katz and Jeffrey Williamson will be useful.

Background reading for the project should include Margaret Tennant's essays on charitable aid administration in the April issues for 1979 and 1980 of the New Zealand Journal of History and the 1968 M.A. (Canterbury) thesis by M.F. Chilton, "The Genesis of the Welfare State: a study of hospitals and charitable aid in New Zealand, 1877-1892." R.J. Campbell, "Unemployment in New Zealand, 1875-1919 (D. Phil., Massey, 1976) should help provide the larger perspective for destitution and there are a number of theses on the unemployed and their organizations during the depression of the late 1920s and 1930s.

THE STUDY OF AN AREA, I: FREEMAN'S BAY

The Freeman's Bay area should have high priority among historical studies of localities within the Auckland urban region because of its importance for the history of the working class, the poor, newcomers of every description (including Maoris and Islanders since the 1930s), and urban renewal. It provides a good case study in how the early history of an area can shape its character over a long period of time, but not irrevocably - as the current gentrification in parts of the area shows. Industry had developed there by the early 1850s, and the status of the area was not enhanced by the decision to permit destitute squatters to erect ramshackle dwellings as a temporary measure during the depression of the 1860s. The expansion of heavy industry, assisted by the gradual reclamation of the foreshore from the 1870s onward, reinforced the tendency for residents on the lower slopes to be largely drawn from the less prosperous members of the working class. Reports of overcrowding appeared periodically up through the cries of alarm by the City Council's Decadent Areas Committee in 1938 and the post-war reports which led to urban renewal projects in the area.

A project on the social history of Freeman's Bay could focus on the extent to which an area that has served as the port of entry to the city for so many relatively disadvantaged newcomers was able to develop any stability in neighborhoods and any cohesive institutions. This focus would require investigation of the changing mix of the population over time, its relative stability, its ability to sustain neighborhood and group institutions, the frequency of various forms of social pathology, and the frequency with which those moving elsewhere

seem to be experiencing upward mobility. The span of time covered might be less than 1866 (the year of the first extensive city directory) to 1980, but it should be long enough to include shifts in the ethnic and industrial mix of the area and preferably include some of the impact of post-war urban renewal.

The first step would be to establish the character of residential areas in Freeman's Bay at different points in time to see how much diversity in social characteristics appears among residents, street to street. From 1877 on City Council valuation rolls (at the Public Library) and street directories may be used to distinguish home owners and renters and to determine whether landlords live in the same area or are absentees. From 1900 the field books for valuation can be used to determine the size, condition, and amenities of individual dwellings, and usually their age as well. Photographs give an even better sense of condition and crowding of the housing in particular streets. Here the researcher should turn to John Holloway (see the discussion of his work in the Photographs and Maps section) who has studied the photographic record for Freeman's Bay more carefully than anyone else. He also knows a lot about which records may be most useful for reconstructing the population and the ownership of land in Freeman's Bay before 1877.

Especially in a district where large numbers of boarders and lodgers might be anticipated, the electoral rolls should be used to reconstruct the adult population at different points in time and also to trace persistence in residence. Once the location of manufacturing industries and other employers in Freeman's Bay has been established through trade directories, maps (especially the City Council Survey

map of 1908 and any insurance company maps that can be located), and monographs (notably Linge's dissertation on the geography of manufacturing in Auckland), then the proportion of residents who work in the area (rather than, for example, in the less specialized Queen Street valley manufacturing district) and their journey to work can be determined. This will give some idea of the degree to which the Freeman's Bay population tended to be isolated physically and distinctive, employed especially in the area gas works, timber mills, and dock and boat yards.

Church records should be used to help determine the ethno-religious diversity and the frequency of religious participation. The researcher will want to investigate the registers of nearby parishes like St Mary's Roman Catholic, Ponsonby, as well as those in Freeman's Bay itself, like St Thomas Anglican. It also would be useful to try to identify which friendly society lodges and which trade unions (such as the Timber Workers) might be expected to attract members from the area and then to see if membership lists survive. For at least the last six years, interviews with old residents (especially with clergy, shopkeepers, and others whose daily work brought them into contact with many local residents) may be the quickest way to get a preliminary sense of the degree of institutional and associational involvement among residents and the specific institutions and voluntary association which were important in Freeman's Bay.

Generally, oral history should be important to such a project both because it can provide a much more richly-textured study, especially description of everyday life and of major events in the

area, and because it may lead the researcher to other written materials (perhaps even to diaries and reminiscences still in private hands).

Once shifts in the characteristics of inhabitants - and the timing of those shifts - has been determined, the problem of explanation begins. Here the work of geographers on Auckland's growth and development should be helpful in providing a larger framework for interpretation, but digging in statistical sources, including censuses, to see whether the shifts are general in Auckland or distinctive to Freeman's Bay (and perhaps other areas) will be essential. Some government reports such as the national housing survey of 1937 may be helpful in a general way as well as files of the Housing Corporation and the State Advances Corporation on housing for natives (SAC 35/232) urban renewal, and slum clearance in Auckland. But the City Council records on Freeman's Bay projects will be most important.

Besides Council reports, notably Housing Policy and Organization Survey (1 August 1956) and Progress Plan: Freeman's Bay (February, 1966 by the City Development Section, Town Planning Division), the researcher may wish to examine Council Minutes and individual documents, such as Memorandum of Chairman to the Members of the Housing Committee re Freeman's Bay Redevelopment Scheme, 11 October 1950. For this and earlier periods, the City Engineer's Records also will be useful on physical changes in the area. See, for example, Record No. 256/3/1913 from File 324/15 on the problems of Council and Harbour Board cooperation in rerouting Fanshawe Street and relocating Harbour Board tenants from off the new line of the street to their new site.

THE CAREER OF AN AREA, II: KARANGAHAPE ROAD AND ITS VICINITY

The current signs of renovation around Karangahape Road near the Sheraton Hotel suggest the importance of studying the successive transformations of the general vicinity of this thoroughfare while many informants still remain there who have observed the last transformation (following the decline and by the 1950s the elimination of the tramways). The career of this area would make not only a challenging thesis project, but (for anyone with the requisite literary skills) a book which should attract a wide readership in Auckland. What a dramatic story of urban ^{change} it provides. It begins with the merchant princes who erected homes on the ridge in the 1860s and shifts direction in the 1880s when the coming of the horse tramway to Ponsonby (by way of Pitt Street) foreshadows Karangahape Road's importance as a major traffic node where transportation lines radiate outward from the Queen Street valley (already by the 1890s connecting Great North Road, Remuera, and Onehunga) with a corresponding growth of the area as a subsidiary retailing center. The twentieth century sees an increase in apartments, boarding houses, and private hotels in the vicinity and corresponding decline in the private residence of merchants and professionals. A more general decline in status in pakeha eyes followed as the automobile progressively displaced public transportation and the post-war Maori and Islander influx into Freeman's Bay began to influence the adjacent portion of Karangahape Road.

The focus of the project should be description and explanation of change in the area in both kinds of activities and actors (including businessmen and non-resident employees as well as residents). The

social history of a vicinity like that of Karangahape Road with a mixture of commerce, manufacturing, and residence and major changes over time necessarily will be complex. So an investigator may wish to focus the project more sharply by developing and testing a hypothesis about the process of change. (A hypothesis emphasizing the impact of changes in transportation will have immediate stimulus from essays by geographers Frederick Dahms and G.T. Bloomfield.) But any hypothesis should be framed so as to keep as much attention as possible to the full range of interactions between changes in transportation, in business, and in the social character of the area.

For the oral history of the area, Jolyon Firth, chairman of the Northern Archives and Records Trust, former city councillor, and chartered accountant whose office is on Karangahape Road, will be glad to make introductions to area businessmen. Firth himself is a mine of information. Professor Judith Binney will be the best guide to those leaders of the Maori and Islander communities who might be most helpful in paving the way for interviews among area residents from these groups.

At least one area business - the Newton branch of the Bank of New Zealand - already has a published history which includes commentary on changes in the area over time. Other firms may well have anniversary histories, and larger firms with a long tenure in the area - like the George Court and Riddell Department stores - may have records of employees and customers. For the systematic investigation of change in businesses and residents, directories, electoral rolls, the City Council field books for valuation, and the photographic record should be correlated.

Use of the electoral rolls will be especially important for parts of the area (like Symonds Street just north of Karangahape Road) which have an increasing number of apartments and boarding houses since the city directories often do not enumerate their residents.

SOME OTHER POSSIBLE PROJECTS

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