

## Caversham Working Paper, 1997-6

### Stone's Trades and Professions Directories

This working paper uses the 1911, 1921 and 1928 Trade and Professions Directories of John Stone to make a preliminary investigation of commerce and industry in Caversham. Businesses and individuals were matched to Caversham addresses from the electoral rolls, then listed alphabetically in relation to trade or profession. Rudimentary analysis revealed some interesting patterns.

The number of businesses and individuals from Caversham entered in Stone's fluctuated noticeably from the pre-war period to 1921, and then again in 1928. The 1928 increase is most probably attributable to the prosperity experienced by the rest of the nation in the post war boom leading up to the 1929 crash, and by businesses increasing in proportion with natural increase. The decrease of 1921 is less easily explained, and I won't speculate as to why this occurred. It is interesting to note that the two professions that mirrored this fluctuation over the period were grocers and butchers.<sup>1</sup> This, however, may be no more than coincidental.

Table 1: Number of Caversham listings in the Trades and Professions section of Stone's Directory.<sup>2</sup>

1911	1921	1928
210	188	241

These entries include non commercial establishments such as public halls, the Masonic Lodge in Cargill Road, and large factories such as the NZ Wax Vesta Co Ltd.

When looking at the businesses listed in Caversham, the prevalence of the petty proprietor is glaringly obvious. On average 85% of the businesses listed were those of petty proprietors (see table 2.) The small, predominantly self-employed businessperson thrived in Caversham in this period. Bakers, bootmakers, retail confectioners and grocers are all represented in significant numbers along the main streets of King Edward, Cargill, and Main South Road, and Cargill's and Forbury corner. These small businesses seem to have provided for the everyday necessities of the local population.

<sup>1</sup> For the actual numbers see Appendix 1.

<sup>2</sup> It is important to keep in mind that individuals and individual businesses were often listed more once in the Directories under separate categories, for example Charles Thorn the builder was also listed as an undertaker, or that C &

Table 2: Percentage of Occupational Groups Listed in Stone's

Occupation	Occupation Key	1911	1921	1928
Employer	1	3	2	1
Professional	2	1.5	3	5
Semi-Professional	3	5	4.5	3.5
Petty Proprietor	4	86	87	83.5
Officials and Petty Executives	5	1.5	0.5	1
White Collar	6	0.5	0.5	0.5
Skilled	7	2	2	5
Semi-Skilled	8	0.5	0.5	0
Unskilled	9	0	0	0.5
<b>total%</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Although the majority of petty proprietors were small, individually owned, single shop businesses, there were a number who operated branches and shops throughout Dunedin. Alex Sligo, the bookseller had shops on Cargill Road and King Edward St. Barton and Trengrove the butchers, had outlets in King Edward and Manse streets. Other businesses such as Peter Fraser's bakery, had diversified and different premises performed different functions, in this case his premises on Stuart St. provided catering services.

While numbers of listings for most trades seem to have remained steady, some trades, especially retail confectioners and bakers experienced a definite increase in numbers, while others, notably builders, saw their numbers suffer.<sup>3</sup> Builders, a significant proponent of the petty proprietors in 1911 with 25 listings, actually dropped to less than half that number in 1928 when only 12 builders listed themselves in Stone's (see Table 3). This deterioration was not exclusive to Caversham, for builders throughout Otago and Southland decreased over this period. However it was a much less dramatic shift in numbers.<sup>4</sup> The downturn in the quantity of individual building contractors was possibly the result of the incorporation of smaller operators into larger construction companies. Dressmakers were another group that shrank substantially, possibly also the product of the rationalisation of small individual producers into larger businesses and firms.<sup>5</sup>

The overwhelming dominance of petty proprietors tends to overshadow the other forms of business in Caversham. To illustrate the diversity of Caversham's commerce and the actual numbers of

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>4</sup>In 1911 342 builders were listed, 1921 saw 241 and there were 290 carpenters and building contractors in 1928.

businesses within various occupations, table 3. provides a random sample.

**Table 3: Sample of Numbers of Businesses within a Particular Trade or Profession**

Occupation	Occupation Key	1911	1921	1928
Bakers	4	6	9	13
Boardinghouse keepers	4	3	6	5
Bootmakers	4	13	14	16
Builders	4	25	16	12
Butchers	4	10	6	11
Chemists	2	2	2	4
Coal Merchants	4	6	4	4
Retail Confectioners	4	6	13	18
Dentists	2	0	1	2
Drapers	4	8	4	5
Dressmakers	4	16	9	5
Grocers/Fruiterers	4	24	24	34
Pubs	4	5	5	5
Ironmongers	7	1	1	1
Painters/Glaziers/Decorators	4	4	5	3
Physicians	2	1	1	5
Plumbers	4	5	2	4
Music Teachers	3	4	6	6

Occupations beyond petty proprietary were on the rise. Professionals for instance grew in number, reflecting the increased demands of an expanding and more prosperous population. In 1911 Caversham had only one physician, two chemists and no dentists, by 1928 these numbers had swelled to five, four and two respectively.<sup>6</sup>

Businesses in Caversham congregated around three main centres of Cargill's Corner (the intersection of King Edward St. with Cargill's Road), Forbury Corner (corner of Forbury Road and Cargill's Road), and Main South Road (area along Main South Road between Surrey and College Streets)<sup>7</sup>. Caversham's only accountant, only bank and only two dentists were all situated at Cargill's Corner. A chemist and

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> By linking land cadastra to valuation rolls it was possibly to lossely demarcate the boundaries of these centres. Cargill's Corner was located between 88-122 King Edward St. and 102-206 Cargill's Road, Forbury Corner from 420 Cargill's Road onwards, and Main South Road fell between 80-167 Main South Road in 1911 and 1921, and between 250-372 Main South Road in 1928. For some reason addresses along Main South Road increased in street number between these two years, possibly a result of greater development and

two of Caversham's five physicians<sup>8</sup> listed in 1928 were also located at Cargill's Corner. Neither Forbury Corner or Main South Road had any professionals beyond a solitary chemist each. It appears that Cargill's Corner can be defined as an area of professional concentration. This does not mean that it was not well represented by petty proprietors, as it enjoyed a similar composition of trades and professions as the other two centres (see Table 4).

Cargill's Corner is also unique in that it was the location for the only two motor car dealers listed. Listed in 1921, both had disappeared by 1928.

Forbury Corner had the more dubious honour of being the location for two of Caversham's five pubs. The other pubs were located away from the three main centres identified. The Main South Road area and Cargill's Corner were both at least two blocks away from the nearest pub.<sup>9</sup>

Cargill's Corner is also prominent because of increase in the number of businesses that were established there, (see Table 5.). Its size more than tripled from 1911 to 1928. Main South Road on the other hand deteriorated. Larger than the two corners combined in 1911, it became the smallest centre by 1928. Main South Road did remain the location for bootmakers listed in the area. A blacksmith also worked on Main South Road until 1921, suggesting a certain traditional cast to the businesses along this road.

Outside the three centres Caversham's commerce was scattered throughout the borough. Petty proprietors operating from home, or with small residential shops and workshops seem to have been common.

In an attempt to unearth any spatial variations that exist between different classes of business and occupation outside of the three main centres, a search was made for two specific groups. Women, limited in their representation in Stone's, provided two groups of workers that were possibly differentiated by socio-economic class, the classification of their professions, location of business, and ownership of residence. These two groups were dressmakers and music teachers.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Of the five physicians listed in 1928, two were listed by their home addresses in St. Clair.

<sup>9</sup> In the case of Main South Road the closest pub was the Parkside Pub, and in the case of Cargill's Corner, the Kensington.

<sup>10</sup> This is not to say that music teaching was not the exclusive domain of

Table 4. The Composition of the Three Business Centres

Occupation	Forbury Cnr			Main South Rd			Cargills Cnr		
	1911	1921	1928	no. of listings per occupation			1911	1921	1928
Accountant								1	1
Cordial Maker				1	1				
Agent, Advertising									1
Agent, Commission		1							
Agent, Estate				1					
Baker	1	2	3	2	2	3		2	4
Bank									1
Blacksmith				1	1				
Boardinghouse Keeper						1			
Bookseller	1			2	1	2		1	
Bootmaker		2	2	4	4	4		4	3
Brewery				1	1	1			
Builder								1	1
Butcher	1	2	3	3	2	3		2	3
Cabinet Maker									1
Chemist			1	1	1	1		1	1
Coal Merchant				1	1	1	1		
Confectioner	1	1	5	1	2	3	1	2	2
Cyclemaker								1	2
Dealer, General				1				1	1
Dentist									2
Draper		1	1	3		2		2	
Dressmaker	1				2	1		3	2
Electrical Engineer									1
Express Prop	2								
Fancy Good Dealer				2					1
Fishmonger	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2
Fruiterer / Greengrocer	2	3	3		2	5			4
Furrier									1
Grocer	2	2	3	5	4	3	2	2	1
Hairdresser	1		2	2	1	1	1	1	2
Hatter									2
Hotels	2	2	2						
Land Agent									1
Launderer	1	2		1					1
Milliner			1	1					2
Motor Car Dealer								2	
Music Instrument Tuner			1						
News Agent			1			1			1
Painter/ Glazier	1	1	1						
Physician									2
Pictureframe Maker				1		1	1		
Plumber	1	1	1	1		1		1	1
Seed Merchant									1
Shirt Manufacturer	1	1	1					1	
Tailor			1	1					1
Tea Rooms									1
Toilet Specialist									1
Umbrella repairer							1		
Wardrobe Dealer							2		

music. Mention will be given to them later on, but for the purposes of paper

Table 5. Number of Businesses in the Three Centres.

	1911	1921	1928
	number of businesses		
Cargill's Corner	13	29	52
Forbury Corner	41	26	35
Main South Road	19	21	31
Total	73	76	118

Both groups are represented in Caversham. Dressmakers are also very visible in the poorer suburbs of Kensington and Rockside, while music teachers are in St. Clair and Corstorphine. The separation of the two groups is striking (see Table 6).

Table 6. Location of Dressmakers and Female Music Teachers

	Dressmakers			Music Teachers		
	1911	1921	1928	1911	1921	1928
Caversham	8	5	2	3		4
Rockside	2					
Kensington	5	5	3			
Corstorphine						1
St Clair					4	1
<b>total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>

Although incomplete<sup>11</sup>, the linkage between addresses given in Stone's adn the valuation rolls provides information on the properties from which these women operated. The records show that the dressmakers worked from home, with the exception of the Misses Healey who rented a room on King Edward St. Dressmakers on the whole appear to have been in rented accomodation, while music teachers were owner occupiers<sup>12</sup>. Two of the dressmakers occupied properties that included both a house and a shop. Music teachers all occupied houses, including Miss E Beadle whose residence was classified as a house and vestibule, and Miss M G McMahon whose property was registered as a house with land.

The limited amount of data makes it difficult to compare the value of property owned by the two groups. In 1911 only one house was owned by a dressmaker, and was assessed at a value of 30 pounds. In 1921 the number had risen to two properties, one a house and the other a house and shop, valued at 46 and 36 pounds respectively. None of the dressmakers in 1928 had records that

<sup>11</sup> Five dressmakers were linked in 1911, four in 1921, and one in 1928. For music teachers, there were only two records for each of the respective three years.

<sup>12</sup> Seven of the 10 dressmakers rented as compared to only 1 of the 6 music teachers for which records were found. The terms rented accomodation and owner occupier must be interpreted cautiously, see Caversham Research

indicated ownership of a residence. The information available for music teachers is similarly limited. For each year there are only one or two house owners, and the average assessments of the homes are 35 pounds in 1911, 40 in 1921, and 34 pounds in 1928. Although an apparent spatial differentiation between music teachers and dressmakers exists, especially in 1921, there is limited variation in the relative worth of the homes they owned and worked from, reliant as this paper is on the data available at this stage.

Those properties with the highest valuations were all rented by dressmakers. This included a house rented by the Misses Best that was assessed at 220 pounds and a shop and house on Main South Road, valued at 146 pounds, rented by Miss M Bates in 1921. The commercial location of the property and its multi-functionality seems to account for its valuation. The valuation of the house rented by the Best's is not so easily explained, beyond speculating that the house itself was of some magnitude or significance.

Despite this, when comparing two houses of similar worth, one rented by a music teacher and the other by a dressmaker in the same year, we discover that St. Clair is considerably more costly than Caversham in terms of rent. A house leased in Albert St. valued at 36 pounds, brought in 20 shillings a week, one in John St. valued at 33 pounds was only leased at 8 shillings. These differences are in line with the general impression from other sources of St Clair as a wealthy suburb.

Over the period 1911-1928 some businesses were listed in all three sample years. Unsurprisingly a number of larger established businesses feature, such as C & W Shiel brickmakers, Lambert Bros pipemakers and the N.Z. Wax Vesta Co. There is also a large representation of petty proprietors and smaller firms that have survived over the period. Whether these businesses were maintained by the original founders or their descendants, or they merely retained the businesses name requires further investigation.

Table 7: Businesses Present in All Three Years

Name		Occupation	year		
			1911	1921	1928
			street, street no.		
TAVERNER	J B & Wm B	Comm Agent/Acctant	43, 55	43, 109	43, 86
FOSTER	Fred	Baker	51, 132	51, 119	52, 291
COXON	R J	Bootmaker	32, 183-5	32, 224	32, 224
HUDSON	John	Bootmaker	51, 107	51, 107	51, 227
KNOWLES	Andrew	Bootmaker	43, 36	43, 92	43, 92
SMITH	Wm	Bootmaker	51, 44	51, 44	51, 116
C & W SHIEL		Brickmaker	32, 0	32, 0	32, 0
THORN	Chas	Builder/Undertaker	52, 11	52, 11	52, 29
PACIFIC-STARR BOWKETT		Building Society	43, 0	43, 0	43, 86
KENSINGTON MEAT Co		Butcher	43, 34	43, 101	43, 101
WRIGHT	Jas & Sons	Butcher	16, 590	16, 602	16, 604
McCRACKEN	Samuel & Sons	Coal Merchant/Grocer	51, 118	51, 118	51, 282
OUTRAM	Harold W	Chemist	43, 48	43, 108	43, 108
HATTON & Co		Manufacturing Confctrs	25, 5	25, 5	25, 12
NEWTON & Co		Fruiterer/Greengrocer	25, 54	25, 0	25, 83
BLACKWOOD	Wm	Grocer	51, 168	51, 168	51, 374
LECKIE	Alex	Grocer	43, 13	43, 19	43, 19
RUTHERFORD	Robert	Grocer	51, 117	51, 117	51, 289
DAWSON	Matthew	Parkside Hotel	51, 0	51, 47	51, 147
STENT	Frank	Jeweller	51, 93	51, 93	51, 261
LAMBERT Bros		Pipemakers	79, 0	79, 0	10, 0
FOSTER	Jas	Plumber	16, 583	16, 583	16, 581
BLACKFORD	Eliza (Mrs)	Shirt Manufacturer	16, 629	16, 629	16, 629
NZ WAX VESTA CO LTD			25, 49	25, 49	25, 68

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**APPENDIX 1.** The different trades and professions located in Caversham in the years 1911, 1921, and 1928, and their respective numbers. (source: Stone's Directory of Otago and Southland).

Occupation	11	21	28	Occupation	11	21	28	Occupation	11	21	28
Accountant		1	1	Dealer, Gen	4	3	3	Oil Merchants		1	
Cordial Maker	2	2		Dentist		1	2	Painter	4	4	3
Agent, Advstg			1	Draper	8	4	10	Paint Manu		1	1
Agent, Comm	1	1		Dressmaker	15	9	5	Physician	1	1	5
Agent, Estate	2			Elec Engineer			2	Pictrefrm Mkr	2		1
Artist		1	1	Exprss Prop*	9			PictureTheatre			1
Asphalter		1	1	Fancy G D	2		3	Pipemaker	1	1	2
Baker				Fibrous Plasterer			1	Plumber	4	3	4
Bank	6	9	14	Fishmonger	4	4	5	Printer	1	1	1
Basketmaker	1			Flourmill	1	1	1	Quarry Prop	2		
Baths	1	1	1	Frwardng Agt			4	Scale Maker		1	
Biscuit Maker			1	Fruiterer / Greengrocer	4	8	14	Seed Mcht / Nurseryman	1	1	
Blacksmith	1	2		Furrier			1	ServiceStation			1
Boardinghouse Keeper	3	6	5	Grocer	19	16	20	Shirt Manu		1	1
Bookseller	3	3	6	Hairdresser	4	3	5	Tailor	3	1	2
Bootmaker	12	15	16	Hatter			2	Taxidermist	1		
Boot Polish Manufacturer		1		Hospital (Private)		1	1	Taxi Prop		6	2
Brewery	2	2	1	Hotels	5	5	5	Tea Merchant & Dealer	1		
Brickmaker	1	1	2	Ironmonger	2	1	1	Tea Rooms		3	3
Builder	25	16	11	Jam Manu	1	1		Tcher Drssmkg		1	1
Building Soc	1	1	1	Jeweller	3	1	1	TcherMusic	4	5	6
Butcher				Land Agent				Theatres & Public Halls	2	5	4
Cabinet Maker	1		1	Laundry	3	2	2	Tobacconist			1
Caterer				Livery Stable Keeper (Cab Prop)		1		Toilet			
Chemist	2	2	4	Milliner	1		4	Specialists			1
Coachbuilder				Motor Car Importer & Dealer			2	Umbrlla rpairr	1		
Coal Merchant				Musical Instrument Tuner	1		1	Undertaker	1		
Confctner-Manu	1	1	1	News Agent			3	Wardrobe Dealer	2		
Cnfctner-Rtail	6	13	19	Nurse**	6			Wax Vesta Manufacturer		1	1
Cyclemaker	3	1	2								

\* frwarding agts from 1921 on \*\* weren't listed from 1921 on