

LAND POLICY AND THE ECONOMICS OF HIGH COUNTRY RUNS IN NEW ZEALAND: LAUDER STATION 1883-1907

1. Introduction

The expansion of the New Zealand economy during the second half of the nineteenth century depended heavily upon the development and exploitation of its pastoral resources. Apart from the 1860s when gold was important the major export was wool, with growing exports of refrigerated meat, butter and cheese only rivalling wool exports after the turn of the century.¹ The bulk of the nation's sheep were to be found on large estates or runs, some of which belonged to land companies and others to individuals. The majority of these were freehold properties but, in the South Island in particular, large blocks of land were often held on pastoral leases granted by the crown for various terms of years.

The 1860s and the 1870s were 'a golden age' for large estates as an increase in sheep numbers, rising wool prices, and improved systems of husbandry saw handsome profits earned both by freeholders and leaseholders alike. Not all welcomed the growth of inequality and thoughts increasingly turned as to how large holdings might be broken up and closer settlement promoted.² From 1877 onwards a series of Land Acts sought to restrict the activities of leaseholders and open up land for closer settlement, culminating in the Land Act of 1892, which limited leaseholders to one run each.³ The Land for Settlements Act of the same

year allowed the government to purchase large freeholds for the purposes of subdivision.⁴

Gould has suggested that government policies 'cannot account wholly, or even mainly, for the dismemberment of large estates'.⁵ Brooking, too, has concluded that 'Liberal Policy produced little impact on leaseholding pastoralists'.⁶ These views would seem to be rather wide of the mark, for although freehold estates may have been largely unaffected, it is clear that government land policy bore heavily on leaseholders of large pastoral runs. The extent of crown leases in 1892 was still very considerable, with around 12.5 million acres held leasehold compared to only 13.5 million acres freehold.⁷ While some of the land leased from the crown was high country and only really suitable for extensive grazing, there were still considerable areas of lower ground suitable for subdivision and closer settlement. Much of this land was resumed by the government over the next twenty years and by 1912 the amount of land held on crown pastoral leases had fallen to 6.8 million acres.⁸

This paper argues that a significant part of the decline in crown pastoral lease acreage can be attributed to changes in land legislation and its enforcement from the late 1870s onwards. Amendments to the terms and conditions of leases subjected leaseholders to a reduction in the scale of their business units, the piecemeal loss of lower and more easily worked land, and increasing insecurity of tenure. Squeezed by the growing pressures for settlement, many runholders took

advantage of provisions that allowed them to surrender their leases and exit the industry.

The experience of Lauder Station, Central Otago, exemplifies the problems faced by the typical high country run. Leased from the crown in 1883 by wealthy Dunedin importers and woollen manufacturers, John Ross and Robert Glendining, it was well managed, had access to ample reserves of capital, and was able to supplement land leased from the crown with small blocks of freehold land. The station did surprisingly well in the supposedly difficult eighties, struggled in the mid-nineties due to the loss of land and inclement weather, but made handsome profits thereafter. This paper examines the fortunes of Lauder Station from 1883 onwards, the ways in which Messrs. Ross & Glendining sought to adapt to the changing legal and economic environment, and what prompted the two partners finally to surrender their leases in 1907.

2. The decision to invest.

John Ross and Robert Glendining had made a small fortune during the investment boom of the 1870s, their drapery importing and wholesale distribution business often yielding returns in excess of twenty per cent per annum on capital employed. Towards the end of the decade they began to explore fresh avenues for investment, erecting several commercial buildings in the centre of Dunedin and constructing a state of the art woollen mill at Roslyn. Like many others at the time, they also found the profits to be earned from sheep farming irresistible and

in 1877 they leased 'Romarua,' a 10,000 acre pastoral block on the Lee Stream 40 miles from Dunedin. After three years the partners surrendered the block although the reasons for this are not entirely clear. Many years later, however, Ross was to complain that it was a cold, bleak spot.

The sharp downturn in the economy in 1879 is often regarded by historians as the beginning of the so-called 'Long Depression' in New Zealand. Contemporaries, not blessed with foresight, were altogether more optimistic and when agricultural prices began to improve in the early 1880s, many were ready to invest in land once more. A golden opportunity arose in Otago where, in March 1883, the leases of 71 runs containing 2.6 million acres of largely unimproved land expired. Under the terms of the 1877 Land Act the runs were to be sub-divided into 170 smaller blocks of between 5,000 and 10,000 acres, with some larger blocks of up to 30,000 acres being permitted in more mountainous areas.⁹ The leaseholds of the new smaller runs were to be sold at auction in the autumn of 1882, a year prior to entry by new tenants.

With Roslyn Woollen Mills successfully in production and their business generating substantial amounts of free cash, Ross & Glendining decided that now was the time to re-enter the pastoral sector. Early in 1882 they turned to James Elliott, the former manager of the Romarua block, with a proposal to manage any new property they might acquire. In return he was to receive a salary of £200 all

found, which included a house and servant, and a one third share of the profits after interest on the partners' capital investment had been paid.¹⁰

Elliott accepted the proposal, his first job being to view and select one or more blocks of land for which they might bid. He was to be assisted by estate agent John Reid, of the Dunedin firm of Reid & Duncans, who had plans of the various blocks to be auctioned and a list of rentals set by the crown at which bidding was to commence. Glendining's instructions to the two men were quite explicit. 'Rabbit country' was to be avoided, as was the high country towards the lakes as it was too distant to manage conveniently. Small blocks and those offered on short leases were of little interest while blocks close to settlement and with adjacent freehold should be disregarded as they might command a premium at auction.¹¹ The process of search ultimately led to an area 70 miles inland from Palmerston, not far from a small settlement of Hill's Creek, where both the Hawkdun and Lauder stations were being subdivided.

The auction for the leaseholds of the 170 runs was held in Dunedin on February 24th, 1882. It attracted huge interest, a last minute change of venue being required to accommodate an estimated crowd of around 1,000 people. The bidding was brisk, only three runs being left unsold at the end of the day, with most fetching more than the upset rentals set by the government.¹² Part of the subdivided Lauder run, 226a, fell to the original lessees, J.L. Roberts and J.L. Handyside, the remainder of Lauder station being taken up Thomas Keenan and Frederick

Morgan, pig farmers and butchers based in the nearby goldmining settlement of St. Bathans. Ross & Glendining were obliged to settle for the rather more mountainous Hawkdun runs 227 and 227a, for which they agreed to pay a rental of £990 per annum. The combined acreage of the two blocks was 55,540 acres and the leases were to run for ten years.¹³

Elliott's first action was to make a thorough inspection of the property and in late March, 1882, accompanied by John Reid, he set out for Hill's Creek. The report from the pair was generally favourable who thought that, except in severe winters, stock losses were unlikely to be greater than upon other runs in Central Otago.

There were, however, hints of troubles to come:-

'Of course you are aware the eastern boundary is the watershed of the Hawkdun Mountains and Mount Ida at an elevation of from 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea-level. The faces of the mountain are very steep and naturally are only fit for summer grazing. But the balance and decidedly major part of the country consists of undulating flats and low downs with an elevation of from 1800 to about 3,000 feet above sea level and is really capital sound, well grassed, well sheltered sheep country...'

Inevitably rabbits were present but they were only particularly invasive along the banks of the Manuherikia River which formed part of the boundary.¹⁴

The carrying capacity of the runs was believed to be in the region of 20,000 sheep although, during the mild winter of 1881, the manager of Hawkdun Station

claimed to have kept 23,000 store sheep on the ground. The planting of turnips and rape, Reid and Elliott suggested, would raise stock capacity although such improvements could only be carried out with the permission of the local Land Board. Reid thought that the two runs might be operated under the 'comfortably suggestive' name of Home Hills Station. Advantage might also be taken of neighbouring run, Hawkdun 445, a large and mountainous tract of land that was not likely to be taken up and which, due to the lack of fences, was open to straying stock.¹⁵

The location of the runs in a gold mining district, some seven miles from the diggings at St. Bathans and 17 miles from Naseby, was something of a mixed blessing. Both settlements had a telegraph office, a regular wagon service linked the area via the Dunstan Road with the main trunk railway line at Palmerston, and there was a twice weekly coach service from Dunedin.¹⁶ The Central Otago railway, upon which construction began in 1879, promised future improvements in communications if – and when – the line was completed. But the presence of miners, whose relationships with runholders had never been cordial, was problematical, raising the possibilities of stock theft and demands for parcels of the better land.¹⁷ Indeed, the first petition for 50 acres to be released from run 227 was received by the Otago Land Board even before Ross & Glendining entered the property. A successful objection to the petition was registered with the Commissioner for Crown Lands for Otago but such demands would grow as the population increased and the diggings were worked out.¹⁸

3. The acquisition of Lauder

Although the leases of the two blocks did not commence until the 1st March 1883, Elliott began work at once. Permission was obtained from the Hawkdun Manager to erect buildings and yards prior to the entry date and enquiries began to be made concerning the purchase of sheep.

Early in May 1882 one of the Lauder runholders, J.L. Roberts, informed Reid that not only was he and his partner willing to sell their flock of over 30,000 sheep to Ross & Glendining but they were also prepared to sell the lease of block 226a , consisting of 13,440 acres, that they had just secured at auction. A further 535 acres of freehold at neighbouring Blackstone Hill was also for sale together with woolshed, labourers' accommodation, sheep dip, mustering yards and lambing paddocks from which the Lauder and Home Hills stations might be worked. The right to the registered station brand was to be included.¹⁹

By June agreement to purchase both the Blackstone Hill freehold and the Lauder run had been reached, the total purchase price of £16,000 to include the freehold, valued at £3,326, and approximately 25,000 sheep and 6,000 lambs valued at a little over £11,000. The remainder was for the value of improvements to the run and monies already paid to the crown when securing the new lease.²⁰

The purchase of the Lauder lease did not mark the end of Ross & Glendining's acquisitions. Early in January 1883, Keenan and Morgan approached Robert Glendining offering to sell a major portion of the Lauder leasehold land that they had secured at auction the previous February. After some discussion, Ross & Glendining agreed to take possession of runs 226b and 226c, paying an annual rental of £1,030 for the 24,760 acres concerned. Part of 226 was to be retained by Keenan and Morgan but it was subsequently subdivided and in August a new block, of 14,050 acres, had been re-let to Ross & Glendining.²¹ Block 226d was retained by Keenan and Morgan.²²

This last acquisition took the total acreage of Lauder Station to over 107,000 acres for which annual rentals and license fees of £2,704 were paid. (see Table 1) With the leases secured the partners began to purchase additional stock, buying some 9,000 young sheep, principally wethers less than two years old. The total stock on hand when mustered at the end of the year amounted to 38,869 ewes, wethers and lambs valued at £16,338. The 160 rams on hand were valued at £480. By February 1884 the partners' total investment in the station amounted to £30,106.²³

4. Stock and Pasture Management in the mid-1880s.

The principal output of Lauder Station during its early years was wool, the flock initially consisting entirely of Merino. This small, fine woolled sheep was ideally suited to the dry, cold conditions of Central Otago and thrived on the native grasses that covered much of the high country. The focus on wool is reflected in

the fact that of the flock of more than 38,000 sheep, 43 per cent were wethers.

Unable to breed, they nevertheless supplied the best quality fleece. A good proportion of the 18,585 ewes were evidently kept for wool as well since between them they produced only 3,532 lambs.²⁴ (see Table 2)

The high proportion of dry ewes kept on the station was not a matter of choice but necessity. With lambing commencing at the beginning of October when snow might still be expected, the shortage of low country upon which to winter stock and oversee lambing acted as a constraint upon the number of breeding ewes that might be kept. Ideally the station would have bred sufficient lambs not only to replace culls and sheep that had died but also to supply other stations that wished to make up stock numbers. This situation never obtained at Lauder during the 1880s.

The inability to raise sufficient lambs soon became a major issue for the partners, especially as they quickly realized that the regular purchase of expensive breeding ewes and young wethers at up to ten shillings a head made it difficult to run the station at a profit.

There were a number of measures open to James Elliott to improve the carrying capacity of the station. One option was to improve the lower pastures through the use of artificial grasses and by planting turnips. Oversowing with ryegrass, cocksfoot and white clover was particularly effective as it tended to 'eat out'

indigenous grasses which, with grazing, tended to degenerate²⁵. There were costs, however, as the imported grass seed frequently contained noxious weeds such as Californian thistle which got caught up in the fleece and reduced its value. Furthermore, the rich imported grasses did not suit the Merino which did better on native vegetation.²⁶ The benefits of using artificial grasses hugely outweighed the costs, however, with Elliott's nephew later suggesting that it might even double stock capacity.²⁷ Grass seed was regularly sent to Lauder although whether it was confined to the freehold at this stage or used more widely is not known.

The use of turnips by Scottish shepherds upon to winter stock, especially ewes in lamb, was a longstanding practice. In 1884, therefore, a ploughman was hired by Glendining to plant turnips and attend to general cultivation.²⁸ Thereafter scores of acres of turnips were planted on the freehold every year although the frequent lack of rainfall meant that conditions were not ideal. Small quantities of oats were also cultivated providing feed for the horses, chaff for the sheep in winter, and grains to mix with poisons for the rabbits.

Good pasture and stock management not only involved sowing turnips and grasses but also controlling where sheep might graze. This required the maintenance of fences, the subdivision of the runs, and the construction of shepherds huts at strategic points. The Fencing Act of 1881 placed an obligation upon runholders to fence their property and stipulated the nature of fences to be constructed.²⁹ To comply with the Act and to further subdivide the property, some

28 tons of number eight wire, two tons of barbed wire and 16,616 iron fence posts and standards were railed and carted to Lauder. These were used in the construction of 20 miles of fences, the total cost of materials, cartage and work done by fencing contractors amounting to £1,442. Thereafter maintenance and replacement was covered by an annual depreciation charge of around £300 per annum, the amount being raised when fences were particularly badly damaged by snow.³⁰

Control of the rabbit population was also a vital factor in sustaining and raising the carrying capacity of the station. The Rabbit Nuisance Acts of the 1870s reflected increasingly strenuous efforts to control the pest, with the land divided into rabbit districts and local boards of trustees and sheep inspectors being empowered to enter land and take action should the occupier fail to discharge rabbiting duties adequately. In 1881, central government became more directly involved, appointing rabbit inspectors to each district and taking powers to levy a rate on local landowners of up to one farthing an acre to fund rabbit extermination.³¹

Ross & Glendining, as we have seen, were alive to the rabbit menace and, through Elliott, made every attempt to keep numbers to a minimum. The station was regularly supplied with powder, ammunition and poisons, principally phosphorus, which was administered with oats. In slack periods it was the job of station hands to lay poisons for rabbits.³² The main method of control, however, was through

rabbiting gangs who were paid for their labours by the weight, colour and conditions of skins produced. These were baled and, along with wool, shipped to the United Kingdom to be sold at auction. When the first annual balance was struck in February 1884, the seven bales of skins shipped to London realized £254. A further 11,958 skins, with a book value of £70, awaited shipment. The rabbit account for the year revealed a loss of 5/1d, a good result compared with a deficit of almost £400 in the following two years. (see Table 1)

The other principal means through which margins might be improved was through careful stock management. James Elliott, who spent most of his time at Lauder Station, was not in an ideal location to buy and sell stock and so this function was largely assumed by Robert Glendining. Apart from a brief interest in the Romarua block, Glendining's experience of sheep had hitherto been primarily confined to attending the annual wool sales in Christchurch and Dunedin to buy for Roslyn Woollen Mills. Many of these sales were held by leading Dunedin stock and station agents, Wright Stephenson & Co, and it was while buying wool for the mill that Glendining struck up a friendship with one of the rising stars of the firm, James Armour Johnstone.³³ Johnstone, who became a partner in Wright Stephenson in 1885, was only too happy to pass on information to his good friend and customer, Glendining, about young sheep to be had at advantageous prices. By 1887 Glendining was able to boast to his partner Ross, resident in London, that he was getting quite a name 'for buying sheep cheap'.³⁴

The improvement of pastures, control of stock through fencing, eradication of rabbits and astute sheep trading all helped to raise flock numbers and improve wool returns. (see Table 1) But the failure to breed sufficient lambs meant that in spite of purchasing young sheep the Lauder flock progressively aged, with the proportion of full and broken-mouthed sheep rising from 32.6 per cent in February 1884 to 57.2 per cent by February 1887. This inevitably degraded the ability to produce both lambs and wool. Thus even in years when there was a good crop of lambs, such as in 1887, Lauder Station did not come near to covering an imputed eight per cent interest on capital invested let alone make an accounting profit. In 1888, £2,024 of accumulated losses was written off and the imputed rate of interest reduced to seven per cent but Lauder still did not make a profit.

Given that wool prices declined from 11.5 pence a pound in 1882 to 9 pence in 1888, the fact that Lauder Station generally yielded over five per cent on capital throughout the eighties suggests that high country runs may have fared rather better in this period than is commonly supposed.³⁵ Yet the station still did not meet the internal rate of return criteria set by Ross & Glendining. Without a sharp upturn in prices, it seemed to the partners that an improvement in profitability was not likely to occur unless Lauder Station had access to more low country for lambing.

5. The quest for low country.

There was still government land un-let in the mid-eighties but, almost without exception, it tended to be either inaccessible and/or mountainous. In 1886 Ross & Glendining had leased 23,000 acres of one of these mountain runs, Hawkdun 445, for a nominal £10 per annum.³⁶ The altitude and steepness of this run meant that it supported relatively few sheep but as it was adjacent to Home Hills, its occupation and partial fencing enabled Elliott to muster more easily and control the rabbit population more effectively.

While it was relatively easy to secure high country such as Hawkdun, there was considerable competition for low country which was becoming increasingly scarce. In 1886, with the pastoral leases of a number of surrounding properties coming up for renewal, Glendining and his manager Elliott began to appraise the suitability of land soon to be auctioned.³⁷ The most obvious choice was run 224, Blackstone Hill, which lay on the south eastern boundary of Lauder Station and where the partners already held their small freehold property. To the east, the run encompassed the 3,000 ft. Blackstone Hill range but to the west the land fell away to the flats alongside Manuherikia river at an elevation of just over 1,000 feet. The run, which was to be auctioned in April 1886 for occupation the following March, was to be split into five smaller runs of around 5,000 acres each.

Ross & Glendining were on friendly terms with Frank Pogson, the occupier of the neighbouring Blackstone Hill, Highfield and Ida Valley runs. As a matter of courtesy, they informed him of their intention to bid for some of Blackstone Hill at the forthcoming auction, explaining, 'It is quite impossible to work our present runs to advantage unless we have some low country for lambing; and for this about 15,000 acres [is] necessary'.³⁸ At the ensuing auction they secured the contiguous runs 224, 224a and 224c, comprising some 16,000 acres of the upriver part of the original Blackstone Hill run. The level of rentals was generally less than four years previously and for the three blocks they paid a total of £461 per annum, with the leaseholds to run until 1897. Runs 224b and 224d, at a lower elevation, fell to Pogson.³⁹

The Blackstone Hill runs provided the partners with some, if not all, of the lower ground they needed. Nevertheless, Glendining was sufficiently encouraged to sell old stock and purchase 10,500 young ewes and wethers.⁴⁰ The lower altitude meant that lambing could commence around the 1st October, one month ahead of Lauder, and it was here that the bulk of the new breeding stock was wintered. When Glendining visited the station during the spring of 1887, he was able to report to Ross that the 10,000 ewes at Blackstone Hill had produced a good crop of lambs although feared that the lack of grass and the return of cold weather was likely to produce losses.⁴¹ This proved to be the case, a thousand less lambs surviving through to shearing compared to the previous year. Unable to rear sufficient sheep, he was forced to continue buying in young stock.⁴²

6. Small settlers and their demands for land.

The sub-division of the runs in 1887 allowed the government both to reduce their size and reserve better agricultural land for closer settlement. Some 2,500 acres adjacent to Blackstone Hill had been set aside for this purpose but it was some time before all the land could be leased or sold to settlers. Glendining, quick to spot an opportunity, applied to the Otago Land Board for the right to graze the land in return for controlling rabbits. This, together with the grazing rights to another reserve, meant that Lauder Station had temporary access to over 5,000 acres of low country – rent free. The settlers around Hill’s Creek were incensed when they found out, petitioning the Land Board against the granting of such rights, but to no avail.⁴³

The settlers’ demand for land, however, was not so easily dismissed. In June, 1888, those living in the small settlements of Cambrians, Becks and Tinkers took advantage of the provisions of the Land Act of 1885 to petition the crown to cancel Keenan’s lease of Lauder run 226d and re-let it to them in small blocks on perpetual leases. As much of the land put aside for settlement had now been taken up there were good grounds for further sub-division. Glendining, fearing the thin end of the wedge, used his influence with the Commissioner of Crown Lands for Otago, J.P.Maitland, who was chairman of the local Land Board. The low ground, Glendining stressed, was absolutely essential for the operation of the

runs.⁴⁴ The settlers' petition was rejected even though it fell within the purview of the Act.

The Land Act Amendment Act of 1888, which resulted in pastoral leases being classified as either purely pastoral or, if they were suitable for further subdivision, agricultural/pastoral, gave fresh hope to the settlers. Early in 1889 crown officers visited Otago and reclassified Blackstone Hill, Highfield and Ida Valley as agricultural/pastoral land. Much encouraged, the settlers promptly petitioned the Minister of Lands to cancel the whole of Blackstone 224c and part of Blackstone 224, some 7,000 acres in all. The nineteen petitioners, which included miners, farmers, storekeepers and labourers, indicated that they wished the land to be subdivided and let on perpetual leases.⁴⁵

Glendinning once again intervened, writing directly to the Minister of Lands. Splitting up the runs in 1882, he contended, was very much in the nature of an experiment. Previously sheep had been able to escape down the mountainsides in bad weather but this was no longer possible, the reduction in upset rentals set for the 1886 auctions recognizing the difficulties that runholders now faced. Indeed, Lauder Station was actually obliged to lease lower ground from others in order to survive. While accepting that land was needed for settlement he argued that,

‘If this low country is taken from us, we shall have to abandon breeding entirely on all these adjacent runs; and they can only be kept stocked at

enormous loss by purchasing grown sheep each year to make up for the loss by death, and to replace culls for which we only get a nominal price...

We fail to see any urgency for the request of the 19 petitioners, and we think it most probable that if their request is granted, the result would be similar to what followed in other instances of his kind – the land would be used as commonage and, being “no mans land”, would soon be overrun with rabbits and prove a costly nuisance to the neighbourhood.’⁴⁶

These arguments seem to have swayed the Minister of Lands and despite a further petition by the settlers for a smaller quantity of land, subdivision was averted.⁴⁷

7. Strategies for survival

The general reclassification of land in 1888, although not immediately resulting in the cancellation of agricultural/pastoral leases, foreshadowed what might happen in the future. For the time being, at least, Blackstone Hill seemed to be safe since the leases ran until 1897. Strictly speaking, the crown was only obliged to give one year’s notice prior to resumption but revoking long leases was virtually unheard of. Run 227a, Home Hills, seemed to be at greater risk, with 500 acres to be resumed for settlement when its lease expired in 1893.

With Lauder Station already suffering from insufficient low ground, Glendining began to take steps to offset anticipated future losses of land to settlers. Early in 1889 Elliott was sent a fresh list of runs to inspect where leases were about to expire. The problem was that the most convenient runs, those in the neighbouring

Ida Valley, were only to be re-let on one year leases and there was always the prospect that agricultural/pastoral land on other runs might be resumed at short notice if required.⁴⁸ None of the runs proved satisfactory and the search for low ground continued.

Ultimately the solution came from an unexpected quarter. In 1891 Frank Pogson, whose wife was in failing health, informed Glendining that he was to sell up. Johnstone of Wright Stephenson was to handle the sale and through him Pogson's freehold and leasehold properties at Blackstone Hill, Ida Valley, and further afield in the Maniototo, were offered to Ross & Glendining for £26,000.

The land on offer, 5601 acres of freehold and 49,206 acres of leasehold, was rather more than the partners required. Moreover, the Maniototo properties were too distant and on leases about to expire while the Ida Valley freehold properties were more suitable for cattle than sheep. On the other hand, the two Blackstone Hill runs, for which Glendining had bid in 1886 and which offered 10,630 acres at just over 1,000 feet, were most attractive, especially as the leases ran to 1897. In the Ida Valley, the six Highfield runs (225 to 225e) consisting of 32,580 acres at a similar altitude, also had a lot to commend them. Apart from 225d, their leases also ran to 1897.⁴⁹

Both the Blackstone Hill and Highfield runs were well suited to sheep breeding, each yielding a crop of lambs equivalent to one third of their total flock. George

Hercus, accountant and general manager for Ross & Glendining, calculated that of an annual gross profit earned by Pogson of 5/2d per sheep since 1882, 1/7d came from breeding while 3/11d came from wool. This stood in stark contrast to Lauder Station which barely broke even on its sheep breeding account. There was also a small profit to be had by breeding cattle and horses. Hercus concluded,

‘It would no doubt be a great advantage to us to have all this country to work along with what we have at present: but there is a good deal to look at on the other side – chiefly the uncertain tenure of the runs and the large amount of money that would be sunk in freehold and difficult perhaps to realize and that in the meantime not yielding interest.’

The price, some £4,500 more than Hercus’ valuation, was also a stumbling block although he conceded that it was the only real chance that Ross & Glendining had of securing convenient lambing ground.⁵⁰

Once again Elliott was dispatched to view the property while Hercus, negotiating with Johnstone in Glendining’s absence, cabled London for advice. Ultimately it was agreed that the Blackstone Hill and Highfield freeholds would be purchased for £5,500. The leasehold properties, amounting to 43,210 acres, and their flock of 25,518 sheep together with other stock were purchased for a further £16,500.⁵¹ This was slightly in excess of Hercus’ valuation but with the incoming Liberal Government immediately introducing a bill which limited leaseholders to ‘one-run-per-man’, he thought it best to close the deal. ‘If [the legislation] is to come,

the more runs we can get capable of being worked together the better, for the chances are that as the leases fall in we shall not be able to renew them'.⁵²

The acquisition of the Blackstone Hill and Highfield runs in September 1891 lifted the carrying capacity of the station considerably. By the balance date in February 1892, the size of the Lauder flock had risen to over 81,000 sheep, principally the result of the purchase of 5,000 wethers 15,000 ewes and 7,000 lambs from Pogson. (see Table 3) The bulk of the newly acquired ewes and wethers were less than two years old, providing Elliott with the opportunity to sell off 17,000 older ewes and wethers from the original Lauder flock. The increase in the number of ewes, a reduction in their average age, and adequate low ground on which to conduct lambing more than doubled the crop of lambs produced to 15,000 during the spring of 1891. At last, it seems, Lauder Station was freed from the necessity of buying sheep to keep up flock numbers.

7. Living with the Liberal Government

The land legislation from 1877 onwards which split up the larger runs, contained provisions for the resumption of land at short notice when required for closer settlement, provided for new types of lease for small blocks cut off from runs, and reclassified land as agricultural/pastoral, meant that access to government land was increasingly placed within the reach of the less wealthy. Yet as the petitions of smaller settlers in the vicinity of Lauder Station make clear, many felt that the

Land Acts still favoured the rich. It was these concerns that the new Liberal government sought to address, committing itself to 'bursting up large estates'.⁵³

The Minister of Lands was Scotsman John McKenzie, an ardent opponent of clearances in his native land and determined to break up large estates in New Zealand. His initial bill, limiting runs to one-per-man, failed to pass the Upper House in 1891 but in the following year a modified bill became law. The Land Act of 1892 effectively spelt the end of large pastoral runs. Henceforth, no runs should be capable of carrying more than 20,000 sheep, except in special circumstances; pastoral/agricultural lands were to be subdivided into runs of no more than 5,000 acres; and no person or company was to hold more than one run. The earlier - if neglected - provision that pastoral lessees might have their leases cancelled at twelve months notice if the land was required for settlement was carried over to pastoral/agricultural leases, now designated as Class 2 leases. To placate large leaseholders, McKenzie agreed to provide security of tenure for up to 21 years for purely pastoral, or Class 1, leases. Large pastoral runs were supposed to have sufficient low country to enable them to be worked.⁵⁴

The strategies employed by Ross & Glendining to protect Lauder Station from the legislation proposed by McKenzie proved to be only partially successful. The speedy acquisition of the Blackstone Hill and Highfield runs prior to the Land Act did indeed ensure that, for the time being, they had pre-empted the restriction of

one-run-per man. But their action in grabbing land ahead of the legislation roused fierce resentment amongst the settler population.

A letter to the *Mount Ida Chronicle* in October, 1891, gave expression to popular feeling in Central Otago:-

‘Sir, - You had a local the other week in your paper that should have had a black band around it. It referred to the sale of Mr. F.G. Pogson’s property...How is it possible for our business people to prosper, or the district survive, if men such as Ross & Glendining and the Mt Ida Pastoral Company are allowed to hold nearly half a million acres between them..Witness the sections that were sold the other day – no less than 30 applicants for each of them! Should any poor devil want 50 acres, a lawyer is employed to make all sorts of protests that it should not be granted to him. If there is one place more than another where the Hon. J. McKenzie’s Land Bill is required, it is here.’⁵⁵

The situation was further inflamed when it was learn that the partners had also secured temporary rights to graze sheep over government reserves in the Maniototo, courtesy of their old friend Maitland, the Commissioner of Crown Lands for Otago.⁵⁶

Given the growing resentment, it is not surprising that the government should take steps for closer settlement even before the Land Act became law. In February 1892, a number of runholders were given the statutory twelve months notice that

their fourteen year pastoral leases were to be cancelled. Ross & Glendining, surprised that these hitherto neglected provisions were to be enforced, received notice that 'a large portion of Highfield and Blackstone Hill' was to be taken.⁵⁷ Through Maitland it was agreed that as from 1st March 1893, the government would resume 10,000 acres at Blackstone Hill and a further 20,000 acres at Highfield. The remaining area was to be relet to Ross & Glendining on secure leases for a term of three years. At the same time a further 2,185 acres was to be cut from block 224d and re-let for one year.⁵⁸

At a stroke, therefore, the expanded Lauder Station lost approximately one sixth of its acreage with a further sixth now subject to short leases. That which was left tended to be the more mountainous stretches of the Home Hills, Lauder and Hawdun runs.

The loss of 30,000 acres of mainly low ground necessarily forced Elliott to reduce the size of his flock, with sheep numbers falling from a peak of over 87,000 in February 1893 to around 60,000 head in the late 1890s. The consequent reduction in the size of the clip, lower wool prices, Hercus' reduction in the book values of sheep to reflect changes in the marketplace, and severe infestations of rabbits all combined to produce miserable returns in 1894 and 1895.(see Tables, 1 & 4) In the meantime, settlers moved in to Blackstone Hill and Ida Valley to establish themselves on the twenty or so small farms that had been created.

9. Snowstorms and the Pastoral Tenants Relief Act, 1895.

With the disposal of surplus stock and book values written down to a minimum, Elliott may have been forgiven for thinking that the station might shortly return to profitability. Fate decreed otherwise. Snow began to fall in Otago and Canterbury in May 1895, further falls and severe frosts ensuring that in the high country snow lay on the ground for up to three months. The low temperatures and lack of feed spelt disaster for many high country stations, in some instances an almost total loss of stock being recorded. Lauder Station did not escape and despite the best efforts to save the flock many died of exposure and starvation. In all, some 33,300 sheep or 49.8 per cent of the total flock were lost compared to normal losses of less than five per cent. Many that survived were in poor condition and had to be culled, with overall losses being estimated to be around £12,000.⁵⁹

The stock losses bore particularly heavily upon Ross & Glendining and other pastoral tenants who farmed the bulk of the high country. After representation from runholders and the Otago Agricultural & Pastoral Society, the government tabled a bill in late September with a view to providing relief. Glendining lost no time trying to influence the outcome by writing to the Minister of Lands. Once again he condemned the ‘dangerous experiment’ of trying to work high country runs without sufficient low country, pointing out that the remains of runs 224 and 225 left in the partners’ hands was ‘quite inadequate for the purpose’. The leases of these runs were to expire shortly but even if they were extended to fall in line with the other Lauder leases, renewed in 1892, stock levels would have to be

reduced. He concluded by arguing that rents were far too high and had been offered only on the understanding that the government would continue 'the practice invariably pursued until 1892, of allowing the leases to run their course...'⁶⁰

The Liberal Government, while sympathetic to the problems of crown tenants, was not prepared to take steps that might slow the process of settlement.

Consequently, the Pastoral Tenants Relief Act rapidly became law, providing merely for a remission of rent, the extension of existing leases or the surrender and re-issue of new ones, and the remission of sheep tax levied under the Stock Act of 1893. The policy towards low country remained unchanged, with Class 2 agricultural/pastoral leases subject to resumption at any time.⁶¹

The legislation clearly did not satisfy Glendining's major demand, namely, that secure access be provided to low country. The provision that allowed for the surrender and re-issue of leases did, however, offer some scope for negotiation.

As an opening gambit, Glendining offered to surrender all leases, the runs then to be combined and relet to the as a Class 1 run under a single license for a term of fourteen years. McKenzie was perfectly happy to issue a Class 1 license to cover the pastoral runs of Lauder, Home Hills, and Hawkdun, all of which might be let to Ross & Glendining for fourteen years at a reduced rental of £900. He was not prepared to include the leases of the agricultural/pastoral land at Blackstone Hill and Highfield. This was to re-let a Class 2 run, subject to twelve months notice at

any time throughout a fourteen year lease. Highfield blocks 225c and 225e were to be resumed when their leases expired in 1896, with the latter relet on a yearly basis until required.⁶²

Glendining welcomed the news that the whole Lauder, Home Hills and Hawkdun was to be let as a Class 1 run at approximate half of the previous rental. The uncertainty of tenure concerning Blackstone Hill and Highfield nevertheless concerned him and he pressed for further concessions. McKenzie was prepared to give a little, agreeing to include 2,000 acres of low country adjacent to Lauder 226b in the Class 1 run. He was not, however, prepared to change his mind over Blackstone Hill and Highfield although he did offer to let them on a Class 2 lease for three years, the question of land for settlement being revisited thereafter. When it transpired that the Class 2 lease might still be interrupted at any time, Glendining stated that he would surrender all the partners' leases.

The threat by a major runholder to abandon sheep farming appears to have prompted an immediate response from McKenzie. In a telegram to Maitland, full of nods and winks, he stated,

‘The modifications of the original proposition of the Board, which Mr. Glendining now wants, seem already agreed upon...The only question remaining is the low country which can be leased as previously proposed by the Board for 14 years...I could not however give a guarantee that the land will not be resumed at any time, as such a guarantee would be illegal: but Mr.

Glendining could be informed that unless there are strong and urgent demands for settlement he will not be disturbed in his leases. The question will depend on a bona fide demand for land for settlement being found in the district after enquiry.⁶³

The possibility that the low country at Blackstone Hill and Highfield might be resumed at any time still worried Glendining. After protracted negotiations, in which the Land Board agreed to reduce rentals still further, he nevertheless agreed to take up both the Class 1 and Class 2 runs for a further fourteen years.⁶⁴ While he may not have got all that he desired, he had at least circumvented the provisions of the Land Act of 1892 which prohibited a single person or company from holding more than one run.

10. Making money from sheep.

The mid-nineties marked the nadir in the fortunes of sheep farming in New Zealand after which profitability began to improve. For runholders such as Ross & Glendining, the reduction in rents made a healthy contribution to finances. Of greater importance was the fact that on international markets the prices of both wool and meat began to move upwards once more. Lauder Station benefited from these factors, the average price received per bale of wool rising from around £10 in 1895 to over £17 in 1906. Thus despite a reduction in flock size from 73,312 to 51,403 sheep over these years, wool revenues increased from £6,815 to £11,625.

Substantial returns were also obtained on sheep account, with Elliott not only managing to supply the station's own requirement for breeding stock but also generating a surplus of younger tock to sell off station. Some were sold to the settlers at Blackstone Hill while others were sold further afield, sheep farmers on low country often relying on high country runs for their breeding stock.

Somewhat belatedly, there was also a move at Lauder Station to breed sheep more suitable for the frozen meat trade. From the mid-nineties onwards, therefore Merinos were increasingly crossed with Cheviots, Leicesters and Romneys to achieve the necessary carcase weights and conformity. Why Lauder lagged behind the rest of the country in moving away from Merinos is not clear, but a premium of upwards of 2/- a head paid for young half-bred and cross-bred sheep provided a powerful incentive to change.

The question as to which breed provided the ideal cross troubled Glendining who had imported a pedigree Cheviot ram to produce a small pure-bred flock to service Merino ewes. 'The Cheviots are a fine handy sheep,' he wrote to Ross, 'but they don't give much weight of wool...I am beginning to think that it was a mistake on our part to go into Cheviots or long-woolled sheep at all, but we did not see that three years ago' In spite of Glendining's misgivings, from 1897 onwards Lauder Station turned out to be extremely profitable, with rates of return on capital in excess of 20 per cent being the norm. Only in the year ending in February 1904 was there a hiccup. Heavy snow the previous July followed by a

hard frost and late spring resulted in stock losses of around 35 per cent of the total flock, principally amongst breeding ewes and lambs. (Tables 4 & 5)⁶⁵

The losses were due, at least in part, to the fact that in 1902 the government had resumed Highfield runs 225b and 225c in order to satisfy demands by settlers for small blocks. This hit at the heart of Lauder operations for the two runs consisted of 13,000 acres of prime lambing country.⁶⁶ The partners were clearly annoyed that the assurances given by McKenzie, although by no means guaranteed, had been abrogated. Despite their protests little could be done to halt the process and Lauder's new manager, Alexander Armour, was obliged to secure agistment at nearby Closeburn in order to supplement the pasturage.

11. Exit from Lauder Station

The losses incurred due to the snows of 1903 encouraged Ross & Glendining to appeal once more to the government to halt the resumption of low country. Given the profitability of agriculture at this time and the fact that there was little crown land left in Otago suitable for sub-division, it is scarcely surprising that their appeals fell on deaf ears.

The government did, however, set up a Royal Commission on Land Tenure in 1905 to consider, among other things, the position of pastoral tenants. Although both Alexander Armour and Robert Elliott were questioned on the sustainability of high country runs, it seems that members of the commission were mainly

concerned with raising carrying capacity. Recommendations thus focused on improved pasture management, irrigation, and the use of artificial grasses. Lip service was also paid to the need for greater security of tenure and the provision of adequate low country. Rather unrealistically, the commission suggested that the government might, in future, consider buying back low country for use by high country runs.⁶⁷

John Ross had no illusion as to what might happen in future. Concerned about the agitation in New Zealand newspapers for cutting up runs and worried that the government might resume the remnants of Blackstone Hill, he suggested to Glendining that they should take advantage of the high wool and stock prices and exit the industry.⁶⁸ Glendining concurred, and the Land Board was approached with a view to surrendering the leases ahead of their expiry date in 1910. It was also suggested that the government might purchase some or all of the freeholds.

In 1906 Ross returned to New Zealand and, with Glendining in failing health, took charge of negotiations with the government. Compensation of £8,700 was agreed upon to compensate the partners for improvements they had made to the leaseholds, a further £9,000 being paid to secure the freeholds at Lauder and Blackstone Hill. Some stock was sold before shearing but the rest were disposed of early in 1907 for £35,687. All told, the partners received over £58,000 from the proceeds of their sales.⁶⁹

On 1st March 1907 Ross & Glendining vacated Lauder Station. Shortly afterwards, the 16,354 acres at Blackstone Hill was sub-divided.

12. Conclusion

The quadrupling of the European population in New Zealand from around a quarter of a million in 1871 to just over one million in 1911, a progressive political system, and the enterprising nature of many migrants meant that it was perhaps inevitable that the rights of early runholders to occupy large tracts of land would soon be challenged. The introduction of refrigeration in 1881 which led to a reduction in the minimum efficient scale in sheep farming and the advent of small scale dairy farming added to the pressures on the government to make land available for closer settlement. The land legislation from the 1870s onwards was a reflection of these pressures.

The Land Act of 1877, which cut up large runs into smaller blocks than hitherto, provided Ross & Glendining with the opportunity to gradually build up their holdings of crown land. But it was the self-same act that was the source of many of their problems, for the way the large runs were sub-divided meant that they found themselves without sufficient low country to winter their stock. Moreover, access to low country became ever more difficult as the partners were obliged to compete with settlers for an increasingly scarce resource. The decision of the Liberal Government of 1891 to invoke the hitherto neglected resumption provision of earlier pastoral tenancies, the introduction of a new Land Act that

limited runholding to one per man or company, and the government's willingness to resume agricultural/pastoral land and sub-divide when there was an active demand from settlers, spelt the end for many crown pastoral tenants.

Ross & Glendining, as we have seen, made every effort to preserve and increase the size of their holdings. Yet even though the partners endeavoured to devise a strategy to outflank the reforming intentions of the Liberal Government, they were forced to surrender many acres of agricultural/pastoral land in the mid-nineties. Indeed, had it not been for the heavy snow in 1895 and their ability to manipulate relief provisions to their advantage, they might have lost even more land when their tenancies expired in 1897. As it was, the renewal of their leases merely delayed the inevitable. The loss of Highfield in 1903 together with the realization that Blackstone Hill might be resumed shortly was sufficient to encourage Ross & Glendining to exit the industry.

The suggestion that government policies had little impact upon large estates is therefore not wholly correct, especially where large pastoral holdings are concerned. True, the twin imperatives of population growth and a decline in the minimum efficient scale of the typical farming unit meant that changes in the structure of agriculture were almost bound to occur. At the same time those imperatives had to be recognized and legislated for by the New Zealand government; in other words, they had to be accommodated by changes in government policy. Accommodated they were, and in 1907 John Ross concluded

that 'The days of squatting in New Zealand are nearly at an end...[for] all the big blocks are being cut up as soon as the leases expire for closer settlement'.⁷⁰

Table 2

Flock composition each February, 1884-1890.

	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
Sheep total	38,869	40,736	44,069	49,386	55,759	58,193	61,125
% Wethers	43	41	47	44	42	46	41
Ewes	48	45	41	39	45	44	43
Lambs	9	14	12	17	13	10	16
Bought	39,631	1,444	3,000	0	13,400	9,061	5,700
Sold	1,880	1,559	2,197	1,033	9,794	6,029	7,000

Sources: Sheep Accounts, Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/3 & 15/4. In this and subsequent tables Wethers' figures include 3-500 rams.

Table 3

Flock composition each February, 1891-1898

	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898
Sheep total	60,721	81,372	87,625	81,256	73,213	43,054	63,297	61,002
% Wethers	43	31	34	37	36	22	23	31
Ewes	46	50	46	45	46	56	50	51
Lambs	11	19	20	18	18	22	27	18
Bought	-	27,325	-	-	-	-	6,553	120
Sold	3,610	17,026	7,737	17,313	18,463	6,766	769	10,679

Source: Sheep Accounts, Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/4 & 15/5

Table 5

Percentage flock composition each February, 1891-1898

	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Sheep total	61,615	53,832	58,729	56,960	52,937	38,874	49,786	51,403
% Wethers	32	34	33	34	37	40	34	33
Ewes	48	47	47	48	46	47	44	45
Lambs	20	19	20	18	17	13	22	22
Bought	103	26	157	71	41	6,664	2,048	31
Sold	7,899	13,056	3,995	7,831	8,409	9,362	2,574	7,037

Sources: Sheep Accounts, Half-yearly balances, AG 15/6 & 15/7.

Table 1

Stock Levels, Profitability & Capital Employed - February Balance 1884-1894

	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Stock Levels (sheep x 000)	38.9	40.7	44.1	49.4	55.8	58.2	61.1	60.7	81.4	87.6	81.3
<i>Gross Profit on:-</i>											
Sale of wool	£5471	5406	6706	7032	8482	9700	8412	7416	9279	9542	7531
Sheep breeding	1729 ^a	-722	44	34	56	-1304	247	249	-798	878	-217
Cattle/Other	116	65	35	58	69	34	39	85	134	34	800
Total Gross Profit	7316	4749	6785	7124	8607	8430	8698	7750	8615	10454	8114
<i>Deductions:-</i>											
Rents/licenses	£2704	2686	2703	2715	3178	3186	2713	2083	3015	3369	2980
Deprec'ion etc.	1626 ^b	946	1126	1245	1422	976	1033	996	4609 ^c	1994	1661
Rabbits	-	378	360	99	+59	143	368	83	479	851	1007
Other ^d	1042	1033	1143	1154	1317	1330	1279	1152	1598	1634	1554
Interest ^e	2182	2350	2669	2836	3092	2854	2591	2267	3019	3614	2629
Net profit/[loss]	£[238]	[2644]	[1216]	[925]	[343]	[56]	714	1618	[4105]	[1007]	[1716]
Total returns (interest + profit)	1944	-294	1453	1911	2749	2798	3305	3885	-996	2607	913
Average capital employed (x £000)	27.3	29.4	33.4	35.5	38.7	40.8	37.0	32.4	43.1	51.5	37.6
Rate of return on Capital. (%)	7.1	-1.0	4.4	5.4	7.1	6.9	8.9	12.0	-0.2	5.1	2.4

Notes: a - additional stock not necessarily sold.

b - depreciation and other charges.

c - newly acquired runs written down.

d - other includes salaries, wages and station stores.

e - imputed interest on partners' capital set at 8 per cent per annum until March 1888 when it was reduced to 7 per cent.

Table 4

Stock Levels, Profitability & Capital Employed - February Balance 1895-1906

	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Stock Levels (sheep x 000)	73.2	43.1	63.3	61.0	61.6	53.8	58.7	57.0	52.9	38.9	49.8	51.4
<i>Gross Profit on:-</i>												
Sale of wool	£6815	4124	5111	7153	8445	5322	6037	7642	8143	6447	10717	11625
Sheep breeding	-792	-4338 ^a	2394	2248	2489	2584	3335	3136	2379	-429	3205	6313
Cattle/Other	110	708	344	79	84	435	431	664	680	726	824	1167
Total Gross ©	6133	494	7849	9480	11018	8341	9803	11442	11202	6744	14746	19105 ^b
<i>Deductions:-</i>												
Rents/licenses	2848	2821	1454	1363	1363	1363	1363	1363	1362	1700	1700	1700
Deprec'ion etc. ^c	941	887	1467	1105	891	844	767	935	807	760	1154	859
Rabbits	1152	369	450	600	475	+7	179	205	243	136	160	154
Other ^d	1446	1572	1629	1773	2590	1680	2137	2021	1824	2505	2033	1921
Interest ^e	2423	2302	1861	1537	1544	1540	1425	1460	1487	1450	1586	1325
Net profit [loss]	£[2678]	[7459]	988	3101	4155	2922	3929	5438	5479	192	8113	13146
Total returns (interest + profit)	-255	-5175	2849	4638	5699	4462	5354	6918	6966	1642	9699	14472
Average capital employed (£000)	34.6	32.9	26.6	25.6	25.7	25.7	23.7	24.3	24.8	24.2	26.4	22.1
Rate of return on Capital. (%)	-7.3	-15.7	10.7	18.1	22.2	17.4	22.6	28.5	28.1	6.8	36.7	65.6

Notes: a - heavy losses due to snow storm

b - stock sold off preparatory to surrendering runs

c - depreciation and other charges

d - salaries, wages and station stores

e - imputed interest on partners' capital set at 7 per cent until it was reduced to 6 per cent in March 1897.

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- ¹ Simkin, *The Instability of a Dependent Economy*, p. 25
- ² Eldred-Grigg, *A Southern Gentry*, pp. 65-7.
- ³ Statutes of New Zealand, 56 Victoria, No. 37.
- ⁴ Statutes of New Zealand, 56, Victoria, No. XXX .
- ⁵ J.D. Gould, 'The Twilight of the Great Estates, 1891-1910', *Australian Economic History Review*, 1970, 22.
- ⁶ Tom Brooking, *Lands for the People? The Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of New Zealand*, (Dunedin, 1996), p. 256.
- ⁷ *New Zealand Official Yearbook (NZOYB)*, 1892, p. 281
- ⁸ *NZOYB*, 1912, p.xxx
- ⁹ Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives, (AJHR), 1881, C.2
- ¹⁰ Partnership Agreement, 12.5.1882, AG 512 1/7, Ross & Glendining Archives, Hocken Library, University of Otago (hereafter R & G).
- ¹¹ Glendining to Elliott, 16.2.1882, AG 512 1/7.
- ¹² Gordon Parry, *The National Mortgage & Agency Co. of New Zealand, 1864-1964*, (Dunedin, 1964), p. 49.
- ¹³ Cash Account, 29.3.1883, AG 512 1/7 R & G; Runs Register, National Archives, Dunedin.
- ¹⁴ Reid and Elliott to Ross & Glendining, 2.4.1882, AG 512 1/7, R & G.
- ¹⁵ Reid and Elliott to Ross & Glendining, 8.4.1882, AG 512 1/7, R & G.
- ¹⁶ Reid and Elliott to Ross & Glendining, 6.4.1882, AG 512 1/7, R & G.
- ¹⁷ J. Cowan, *Down the Years in the Maniototo*, pp. 31 and 66-71.
- ¹⁸ Ross & Glendining to J.P.Maitland, Commissioner for Crown Lands for Otago, 10.5.1882, AG512 1/7
- ¹⁹ Ross & Glendining to Elliott, 4.5.1882, AG 512 1/7, R & G.
- ²⁰ Lauder Balance Sheet, 29.2.1884, Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/3. R & G.
- ²¹ Runs Register, National Archives, Dunedin.
- ²² Ross & Glendining to Keenan & Morgan, April 1883; Ross & Glendining to Elliott, 16.8.1883, AG 512 1/8, R & G.

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- ²³ Lauder Balance Sheet, 29.2.1884, Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/3, R & G.
- ²⁴ Sheep account, Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/3, R & G.
- ²⁵ Alexander Armour, evidence to the Royal Commission on Land Tenure, Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives (hereinafter AJHR), 1905, C 4, p. 184.
- ²⁶ J.D. Gould, 'Pasture formation and improvement', *Australian Economic History Review*, 16, 1976, 1-22.
- ²⁷ Evidence of Robert Elliott to the R.C. on Land Tenure, AJHR, 195, C 4, p. 203.
- ²⁸ G. Hercus to Elliott, 22.5.1884, AG 512 1/8, AG 512 1/8 R & G.
- ²⁹ Fencing Act, 1881, Statutes of New Zealand, 46 Victoria, No. 28.
- ³⁰ Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/3 and 15/4, R & G.
- ³¹ Rabbit Nuisance Act, 1881, Statutes of New Zealand, 45 Victoria, No. 6.
- ³² Glendining to Ross, 3.5.1887, AG 512 5/8, R & G.
- ³³ Wright Stephenson, *A Century's Challenge*, (Dunedin, xxxx), p. 35.
- ³⁴ Glendining to Ross, 3.4.1887, 21.4.1887, AG 612 5/8 R & G.
- ³⁵ Brooking, op cit, p. 77; W.B. Sutch, 'The Long Depression' in M. Turnbull, ed, *Colony or Nation*, (Sydney, 1966), pp. 26-28.
- ³⁶ Runs Register, National Archives, Dunedin.
- ³⁷ The leases of 94 Otago and Canterbury runs, comprising 871,342 acres expired on the 1st March, 1887.
- ³⁸ Ross & Glendining to F.C. Pogson, 4.2.1886, AG 512 1/9, R & G.
- ³⁹ Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/4, R & G.
- ⁴⁰ Sheep Account, Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/3, R & G.
- ⁴¹ Glendining to Ross, 3.11.1887, AG 512 8/8, R & G.
- ⁴² Sheep account, Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/3, R & G.
- ⁴³ Glendining to Ross, 21.4.1887, AG 512 8/8, R & G.
- ⁴⁴ Glendining to Elliott, 16.6.1888, AG 512 1/8, R & G.
- ⁴⁵ Hercus to Elliott, 5.9.1889, Copy of Appeal to Minister of Lands, undated, AG 512 1/11, R & G.
- ⁴⁶ Ross & Glendining to the Minister of Lands, 16.9.1889, AG 512 1/11, R & G.
- ⁴⁷ Copy of Petition, undated; Glendining to Minister of Lands, 3.6.1890, AG 512 1/11, R & G.
- ⁴⁸ Hercus to Elliott, 16.2.1889, AG 512 1/10, R & G.

⁴⁹ Hercus to Elliott, 4.6.1891, AG 512, 1/12, R & G.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Memorandum of Agreement, 8.8.1891, AG 512 1/12. R & G.

⁵² Hercus to Ross, 11.8.1891, AG 512 1/12, R & G.

⁵³ Hercus to Ross, 8.9.1891, AG 512 1/12, R & G.

⁵⁴ W.R. Jourdain, *Land Legislation and Settlement in New Zealand*, pp.116-25.

⁵⁵ *Mount Ida Chronicle*, 1.10.1891, p.3

⁵⁶ Hercus to Elliott, 16.7.1892, AG 512 1/13, R & G.

⁵⁷ Hercus to Ross 3.3.1892, AG 512 1/13, R & G.

⁵⁸ Ross & Glendining to Maitland, 3.3.1892, AG 512 1/13; Half-yearly balances AG 512 15/5 and 15/6, R & G.

⁵⁹ J. Kuzma, 'The 1895 Snowstorm', University of Otago BA, 1999; Half-yearly balances AG 512 15/4; Ross & Glendining to Minister of Lands, 14.10.1895; Ross & Glendining to Chairman of Otago Land Board, November 1895, AG 512 1/17.

⁶⁰ Ross & Glendining to Minister of Lands, 14.10.1895, AG 512 1/17, R & G.

⁶¹ Statutes of New Zealand, Pastoral Tenants Relief Act 1895, 59 Victoria, No. 44.

⁶² Maitland to Ross & Glendining, 8.2.1896, AG 512 1/17, R & G.

⁶³ McKenzie to Commissioner of Crown Lands for Otago, 2.3.1896, AG 512 1/17, R & G.

⁶⁴ Commissioner for Crown Lands for Otago, 10.3.1896, AG 512 15/17.

⁶⁵ AJHR 1904, C. 1, p. 27; Sheep Account, Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/7. R & G.

⁶⁶ Ross & Glendining to Commissioner of Crown Lands for Otago, 16.2.1904, AG 512 2/3, R & G.

⁶⁷ AJHR, Royal Commission on Land Tenure 1905, C.4, xxiv-v.

⁶⁸ Ross to Glendining, 15.4.1905, AG 512 4/13, R & G.

⁶⁹ Half-yearly balances, AG 512 15/7, R & G.

⁷⁰ Ross to J.S.Ross, 11.6.1907, AG 512 4/5, R & G.