Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand

by

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Abstract: Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand.

Approximately 7000 Scandinavians, Germans, Poles and other continental European settlers arrived in New Zealand from 1871 to 1876 as part of the assisted immigration scheme promoted by politician Julius Vogel. The continental Europeans included many family groups and became a small but significant minority among the Pākehā population of nineteenth century New Zealand. Many of these European settlers clustered in rural communities around the country, including Norwegian and Danish communities in Hawkes Bay and the Wairarapa, along with German and Polish communities in Canterbury, Otago and Taranaki. Some of these communities are well known and have been studied in isolation, and others have been neglected by historians. This project includes a quantitative study of the continental European migrations of the 1870s and examines key settler communities that continental Europeans, particularly Scandinavians Germans and Poles, formed in nineteenth century New Zealand. It also details the mechanisms of the Vogel assisted immigration scheme by examining voluminous correspondence, reports and memos collected in the *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*.

A relational database of ten tables, created for this project, contains information from a range of sources, including passenger records in New Zealand and Europe, New Zealand naturalisation registers and probates. Newspaper information and family histories provided additional biographical details for continental European immigrants. Passenger lists in New Zealand and Hamburg were used to analyse the demographics of the migrants and their diverse European origins. A number of European settler communities were selected, and New Zealand naturalisation records were used to identify and profile European born settlers and their lives in New Zealand. These individuals were matched with passenger records and probate records to build a profile of European settlers in each of these communities.

This study revealed that the European assisted immigrants of the 1870s left from specific regions in their countries of origin, and in many cases specific villages, and local clusters of migration were identified. The examination of a number of the rural communities formed by European migrants in New Zealand revealed that most became small farmers and achieved a modest level of wealth. A close study of the migrants in these clusters revealed many clusters were more

diverse than previously thought, with a range of European ethnicities living alongside each other. Despite initial hurdles these European migrants found it easy to integrate into the dominant Pākehā culture of nineteenth century New Zealand, and by the early twentieth century most of the distinctly European communities had dispersed or blended into the wider population.

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This thesis grew from an interest in my own family history when I was an undergraduate student, combined with an interest in the origins of Pākehā culture and how that history has influenced Aotearoa New Zealand society today. Although I was not born in Marshland, I grew up nearby and our family was unaware of our connection to the history of the area until recently. I would like to acknowledge the two people who have done more than anyone else to promote the history of the Marshland Polish community and encouraged me to keep going with my research: Sister Martha Szymanska, and Margaret Copland. To my family, thanks for always being there. Mum and Dad, sorry I still haven't found a proper job. I hope this thesis will do instead.

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Introduction

In October 1874, Danish couple Adolph and Caroline Olsen, along with their four children, boarded a ship in Hamburg and sailed for New Zealand with nearly 400 other Danes, Swedes, Swiss and German passengers. The Olsens left their home in Aalborg, Denmark, a crowded low-lying city by the sea, to sail halfway around the globe, knowing they would probably never return home. Their reasons for leaving Denmark are unknown but they probably expected better prospects than in Denmark and possibly even the chance to own their own land. The Olsens were an unexceptional family, but older than most migrant families (Adolph and Caroline were both in their mid-thirties when they migrated). On arrival in Wellington, they were sent to Taranaki, where the provincial government was building new roads and settlements on land that had recently been confiscated from local Māori after the wars of the 1860s. The Olsens settled in Inglewood, then barely more than a collection of tents in a rough clearing. Their immediate neighbours were English and European settlers who had been recruited to build a road through the East Taranaki forests. Adolph worked clearing bush or building roads in Inglewood when the family first arrived, and he and Caroline remained in Inglewood for the rest of their lives. Caroline died in 1904 and Adolph died in 1913, leaving £667 to one of his daughters.[1] Adolph and Caroline Olsen are buried together in the Inglewood cemetery. Since their arrival in Taranaki the Danish couple had seen Inglewood grow from a collection of tents in a forest clearing to a small town surrounded by dairy farms. Their children probably retained some Danish but were more fluent in English and thought of themselves as typical small town New Zealanders. Aalborg seemed very far away.

The Olsen family were among around 7000 continental European settlers who migrated to New Zealand in the 1870s as part of the Vogel Government's assisted immigration scheme. These Europeans often settled together in rural communities in different regions around the country. While the majority of Pākehā settlers were of British or Irish origin, these small clusters of Polish, Czech, German, Danish and Norwegian families, among others, contributed to the development of New Zealand Pākehā culture. To understand this contribution, we must investigate the diverse European societies they came from, their reasons for migration, and the type of communities they settled in when they arrived in this country. This study of European immigrants aims to reveal the origins of these settlers and the communities they formed in nineteenth century New Zealand.

[1] Adolph Olsen, probate dated 1913, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2VCD-5J9

Background and Context

Although Māori had lived in Aotearoa for hundreds of years, contact with European explorers began in the seventeenth century. Early Europeans knew the country as New Zealand and until the early nineteenth century, only a few hundred Europeans, mostly whalers, sealers and other traders, lived in the country permanently. Māori outnumbered the visitors and remained in control of the country even after signing a treaty with the British Crown in 1840. As the Treaty of Waitangi was being signed, the New Zealand Company, a private company based in England, launched a colonisation scheme that aimed to build a new settler colony in New Zealand.

The nineteenth century was a time of rapid change in Europe. Increasing population growth and the rise of industrial capitalism disrupted the lives of millions. Many rural people lost land and were forced to become factory workers in the growing cities. Improvements in transportation made movement easier and for many, migration became a viable life choice. Estimates of how many people left Europe (including the British Isles) in the nineteenth century vary according to source and exact time period, but most estimates put the total at between 50 and 60 million between 1800 and 1914. More than half the migrants went to the United States and up to a third of these may have returned to Europe in their lifetimes. Around a million left for Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.[2]

The establishment of the New Zealand Company settlement at Wellington was the first of many planned settlements. The company was a private enterprise which aimed to make a profit from systematic colonisation. The Wellington settlement was followed by colonies at Nelson, New Plymouth, and Wanganui in the early 1840s. Around half of the 17,500 migrants who arrived in this period had their fares paid by the company, and most of these were British. Migration slowed as the company got into financial difficulty and war broke out in the far north. A few years later the Otago Association and the Canterbury Association (both successors to the New Zealand Company) founded colonies in 1848 and 1850 respectively. The settlers at Dunedin were led by Scottish Free Church Presbyterians and Christchurch was founded as an English Anglican settlement. Auckland was settled without company migration schemes, but its population was boosted by soldiers who served in the northern war. Some were awarded land around Auckland, and many were accompanied by wives and children.[3] A small

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[2] Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp.29-30.

[3] Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), pp.30-34.

number of continental settlers arrived too, including the French colonists of Akaroa and the German settlements in the Nelson district.[4]

Between 1850 and 1870 the Pākehā population rose from 30,000 to over 250,000. Nearly 250,000 migrants came into New Zealand but around 100,000 stayed only temporarily. Two thirds were from the United Kingdom. There were three main drivers of this increase. The provincial governments ran their own assisted immigration schemes offering cheap or free passages to rural labourers in Britain and Ireland. Gold rushes, especially after the discovery of gold in Otago in 1861, led to tens of thousands of migrants arriving, hoping to find a fortune. Most were men and the majority came from Australia. 90% were of British or Irish origin.[5] Pākehā settler numbers overtook the Māori population in this period and war over control of land broke out in the North Island in the 1860s. Thousands of British soldiers fought in the wars and many of these decided to stay. By 1870, large areas of Māori land had been confiscated, British troops had been withdrawn and hostilities had subsided in most areas. Māori still controlled most of the interior of the North Island and the authority of the colonial government was minimal or non-existent in those areas.

Pākehā settlers had taken control of much of the South Island land in the 1850s and by 1870 they had built a prosperous rural economy in Otago and Canterbury, whose provincial governments often had more influence than the central government. The small Māori population was marginalised and landless, surviving on a few inadequate and overcrowded reserves. Ngāi Tahu, which once had the largest landholding of any iwi, became one of the poorest in the country.[6]

New settlers landing in New Zealand ports found themselves in provincial towns which were significantly less developed and more isolated than those in Europe they had left. Colonial Pākehā society was small scale and provincial. Town centres were full of recently built wooden buildings barely thirty years old, with a young population and large numbers of new migrants. Travel between cities was only possible by ship and often took days. The North Island wars of the 1860s had exposed just how isolated the North

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[4] Gordon Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula: Cradle of Canterbury,* Revised edition. (Christchurch: Phillips & King, 2010), pp.23-30; James N. Bade 'The Nelson German Settlements' in James N. Bade (ed.), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.52-59.

[5] Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*, pp. 34-41.

[6] Harry C. Evison, *The Long Dispute: Maori land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1997) ,pp.301-302

Island Pākehā settlements were and the colonial government began looking for a way to develop infrastructure and security in the North Island.

Meanwhile, the same factors that had driven mass emigration from the British Isles earlier in the century were accelerating in continental Europe. By 1870 transatlantic mass migration was on the cusp of a massive expansion. Improvements in food production and distribution drove rapid population growth. The rate of increase varied, with Great Britain expanding from 10.9 million people in 1800 to almost 37 million in 1900. On the continent, the population of the Nordic countries rose from an estimated 7.9 million in 1850 to 12.6 million in 1900. The German population is estimated to have increased from 31.7 million in 1850 to over 50 million by the end of the century. The population of France grew less than other parts of Europe in the same period, but still increased by several million. Rural areas became overcrowded and a growing proportion of the rural workforce across Europe had insufficient land to support themselves.[7]

The scale and pace of these changes varied across Europe but wherever they occurred the life patterns of both rural and urban populations changed significantly. Mass production in large scale factories was more efficient and profitable than local manufacturing. Investors were able to move their capital easily, building large factories in some areas and withdrawing from other regions altogether. Small scale cottage industries were unable to compete, which led to local economies becoming more dependent on agricultural work.[8] Capital demanded labour and rural migrants were forced to adapt by moving into the cities, often temporarily as employment opportunities came and went. As transportation improved, these migration routes lengthened.[9]

Similar processes transformed the nature of agricultural work. Small scale farms were gradually replaced by large landholdings which produced cash crops more efficiently. The process of consolidating land ownership and enclosure of common land began in England and spread across Europe by the end of the nineteenth century. Landowners focused on large scale production of one or two cash crops, and preferred to employ seasonal workers for short periods of time rather than keeping permanent staff.

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[7] Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650,* 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp.108-111.
[8] Moch, *Moving Europeans,* pp.115-116.
[9] Moch, *Moving Europeans*, pp.102-105.

Profits and production increased, but rural employment became precarious and seasonal migrations became a necessity for many rural workers.[10]

The increasing movement of goods and people required improvements in transport and in the second half of the century railway construction grew rapidly, requiring large gangs of migrant workers who lived in temporary accommodation. Thousands of Italian men worked all over Europe building railways in the late nineteenth century.[11] The new railroads enabled greater mobility and economic growth, leading to further changes in employment patterns. Changes often affected one area or sector at a time and as most rural occupations were gender specific, a loss of an industry in one area might affect the women of a region more than the men, or vice versa.[12]

All of these factors contributed to a dramatic increase in the scale of transatlantic emigration after 1870. Railway construction and industrialisation transformed North America as well as Europe, and steamships replaced sailing ships on transatlantic routes, making transport regular and cheap. Legal and political restrictions on labour movement eased as economic growth powered the movement of money, people, and products around the world.[13]

These economic changes explain the general trends in migration but individual decisions to migrate were made on a personal level and were influenced by a range of different social factors. Religious differences, political repression and family circumstances all contributed to individual choices. Many European countries conscripted young men into military service, and families were reluctant to lose a son for several years or even permanently. Most migrants had a specific destination in mind, often following friends of relatives who had made the journey earlier.

Once the decision to migrate overseas had been made, potential migrants had to travel to a port and buy a ticket to their destination. For Northern Europeans, these ports were Hamburg or Bremerhaven. Beginning in the late 1860s, Hamburg shipping lines ran weekly services to New York, and each ship carried several hundred people. From 1870, steamships replaced sailing ships on most routes, with 173 steamships operating in the Atlantic in 1873.[14] Regular steamship services required organised sales and marketing operations. The steamship companies established permanent ticket agencies staffed by

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[10] Moch, *Moving Europeans*, pp.111-113.
[11] Moch, *Moving Europeans*, p.121
[12] Moch, *Moving Europeans,* p.117.
[13] Nugent, *Crossings*, pp.11-15.
[14] Nugent, *Crossings*, pp.31-32.

professional emigration agents in major European cities. These professionals each had a network of subagents who distributed information and advertisements outside of the cities. The subagents were usually shopkeepers, publicans or farmers with a regular job and income, who earned a small commission if they made a ticket sale.[15] Long distance voyages to Australia and New Zealand were among the few routes that remained profitable for sailing ships, which did not require fuel stops.[16]

The Vogel immigrants

In 1870 New Zealand Colonial Treasurer Julius Vogel unveiled an ambitious Public Works and Immigration scheme aimed at boosting the population, building infrastructure and centralising the state and the economy. The scheme would transform the country, with the settler population nearly doubling within a decade. Almost 100,000 assisted immigrants arrived between 1870 and 1880. The population continued to grow in the 1880s. Between 1870 and 1890 a total of 115,578 assisted immigrants were brought into the country as part of Vogel's scheme. The vast majority were British and Irish. Most of the assisted immigrants came from the British Isles, and many of the unassisted migrants came from Australia.[17] The 7000 continental European assisted immigrants who are the focus of this study were recruited between 1871 and 1876 and included a high proportion of young families and married couples. These migrant families made a much more significant contribution to the nineteenth century colonial population than earlier continental European migrants in New Zealand who were mostly single men. To understand this, we have to look at the census figures.

The 1871 census provides data on the Pākehā population as the assisted immigration scheme was about to begin. The Māori population was not counted in the census but was probably around 50,000 people at the time.[18] The Pākehā population was 256,393 people, with a sex ratio of 58.64% men to 41.36% women.[19] The 1871 census data shows 5954 European born residents were present before the Vogel migrations. 551 are listed as French and 2416 as German. The remaining 2987 are grouped under "Other European Countries". European born residents had a greater proportion of males than the wider Pākehā population with 5105 (86%) males and only 849 (14%) were female. The dominance of men suggests

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[15] Hvidt, 'Emigration Agents', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vol. 3, no.3, 1978, pp. 180,186.
[16] Nugent, *Crossings*, p.32.
[17] Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*, pp.41-42.
[18] Te Ara estimates: 56,000 in 1858, declining to 47,000 in 1874. Claudia Orange, 'Treaty of Waitangi - Dishonouring the treaty – 1860 to 1880', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/graph/36364/maori-and-european-population-numbers-1840-1881 (accessed 23 January 2019)
[19] Statistics New Zealand, 1871 Census.

many of the continental Europeans in New Zealand at the time were probably young and single, and therefore more transient than average.

By 1878 the non-Māori population had increased to 414,412, and continental European assisted immigration had ended. The number of European born residents had increased from 5954 in 1871, and 12189 in March 1878, an increase of 6235.[20] The proportion of males in the European born population had decreased to 70%. Although still higher than the 56% male broader Pākehā population in 1878, this demonstrates that the arrival of the assisted immigrants had increased the proportion of women in the European born population.

Table 0.1: New Zealand Census data on European born settlers

Country of Birth	27 Feb 1871	3 March 1878	Increase 1871-1878
France	551	737	186
Germany	2416	4649	2233
Other European countries	2987	6803	3816
Total	**5954**	**12189**	**6235**

Source: NZ Statistics, NZ census 1871 and 1878

The European settlers who arrived as part of the Vogel immigration scheme played a part in the transformation of colonial New Zealand. Mass immigration and public works pushed settlements, roads and railways into regions where the government previously had little control or reach, and in 1876 the provincial governments were abolished and replaced by a more centralised state and a subsystem of local counties. The new railway system symbolised nineteenth century industrial capitalism, representing modernity and progress in the eyes of the colonists. The state funded national railway system planned by Vogel accelerated the alienation of Māori land, the clearance of forests and the opening up of remote areas to Pākehā settlement.[21] As historian Donald Akenson points out "The better life for Europe's migrants was paid for in part by a worse life for those they dispossessed", and historians of migration and colonisation need to keep this in mind.[22] The movement of European labourers around the world was a key part of the great expansion of global capitalism in the late nineteenth century. The

[20] 1871 census.
[21] Neill Atkinson, *Trainland: How Railways Made New Zealand* (Auckland: Random House, 2007), pp.10-12, 22-25.
[22] Donald Harman Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the Great European Migration 1814-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011), p.6.

global spread of European settlement was described by Akenson as "the greatest single period of land theft, cultural pillage and casual genocide in world history."[23] The working-class rural labourers who are the subject of this study were almost certainly unaware of this larger context, but they were part of this system.

The rise of industrial capitalism in Europe let to disruptions and opportunities for the migrants in this study. They were offered a life in colonial New Zealand so they could be become workers in a scheme aimed at displacing Māori in order to build a rural capitalist economy. The new society envisaged by Vogel and his supporters did not involve Māori, who were pushed aside and ignored. The newly centralised settler capitalist state was dominated by 'British' small farmers who shared a common colonial New Zealand culture. Adolph and Caroline Olsen certainly built a better future for their children in Taranaki than the one on offer to a working-class couple in Denmark, but like the vast majority of the assisted immigrants and their children, they probably had no knowledge of the agreements the colonial government had made at Waitangi in 1840 and rarely considered the people they dispossessed. The colonial project they helped build was a disaster for Māori. Settlers and government policy relentlessly pressured Māori to sell their remaining land. Māori continued to resist land loss and retain their autonomy as best they could, but the colonial state continued to grow stronger. By 1901 the Pākehā population had reached 772,719 while the Māori population had dropped to 43,112 people, the lowest proportion of the population since records began.[24]

The continental European assisted immigrants settled in New Zealand remained a small minority within the dominant British and Irish cultures that dominated colonial New Zealand, but they added colourful threads to the tapestry of cultures and languages that became Pākehā New Zealand. The continental immigrants who settled here in the 1870s included many couples and families, and thus had a longer-term demographic impact on the population than the earlier, largely male and transient, European residents. As Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn wrote in their 2008 study of English, Scottish and Irish settler origins, "If we are to understand the evolving culture that was Pakeha New Zealand then we must have a solid understanding of who our Pakeha settlers were".[25] This thesis aims to increase our knowledge of

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[23] Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the Great European Migration*, p.6.
[24] Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), p.280; New Zealand census 1901.
[25] Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*, p.14.

continental European migrants in New Zealand and their contribution to the evolution of New Zealand society.

Historiography of nineteenth century European emigration

Historians have produced a vast literature on the nineteenth century European migration and no one historian can hope to read it all. The most important issues for this thesis are the origins and causes of the mass migration out of Europe in the nineteenth century and the experiences of European minorities in colonial societies. Studies of Pākehā migrants within New Zealand have also been useful.

The mass migration out of Europe in the nineteenth century began in the British Isles and most historians of this topic include brief mentions of migration to New Zealand. Eric Richards' 2004 book *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* provided an overview of British and Irish migration and emphasized the link between industrialisation and the rapid increase in working class migration out of the British Isles.[26] Most nineteenth century British immigrants originated in London or in other towns and cities, and came from regions which were experiencing modernisation.[27] Those who left rural areas, especially in the first half of the century, saw rapid and often very disruptive changes to the rural economy. The industrialisation of agriculture increased productivity overall, but it transformed the lives of rural people. Emigration increasingly became a serious option for rural workers, especially when it became known that living standards in the United States were often higher than those in Britain.[28]

Richards is one of a number of historians whose work on emigration from the British Isles includes discussion of the settler empire. Another is Marjory Harper, whose *Adventurers and Exiles* focused on the almost two million people who left Scotland in the long nineteenth century. Harper's book explored the different drivers of Scottish migration and investigated the ongoing influence of Scottish culture in the diaspora.[29] Another book on the Scots, *Scotland in the British Empire*, was a collection of essays exploring the almost two million Scots who played an active role in the Empire as intellectuals, entrepreneurs and settlers. Several chapters discussed the Scots in New Zealand.[30] Also focusing on

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[26] Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004).
[27] Richards, *Britannia's Children*, pp. 6-7.
[28] Richards, *Britannia's Children,* pp.148-149.
[29] Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile, 2003).
[30] John M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine (eds.), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Scots, Rosalind McClean's 1990 thesis on Scottish migrants to New Zealand between 1840 and 1880 involved a longitudinal study using sources in both Scotland and New Zealand, in order to investigate the lives and migration choices of the Scots who chose New Zealand as a destination.[31]

Donald Akenson began his career as a historian of Ireland, but expanded his interest to become one of the leading historians of the Irish diaspora, beginning with his 1985 book *The Irish In Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, which showed that the Irish population in Ontario was contrary to widely held assumptions, mostly rural and Protestant.[32] His most recent book was an excellent comparative study titled *Ireland, Sweden and the Great European Migration, 1815-1914* (2011) which included recent research on Swedish migration as well as Akenson's conclusions from a lifetime of researching migration.[33] *Ireland and the British Empire* is an edited volume on the contradictory nature of the Irish in the British Empire, including the motivations of Irish Catholics who were displaced by empire but often took an active role in its spread. The book included a chapter on the Commonwealth and has a few references to the Irish in New Zealand.[34]

As industrialisation spread into western European regions it caused the same disruptions and changes. German historian Klaus J. Bade pioneered the modern study of migration in Germany and has published widely since the 1970s. His work aims to deepen the understanding of contemporary social problems relating to migration by placing them in a historical perspective. In an edited collection in 1987 he brought together German scholars from a range of disciplines to examine the causes of migration from Germany since the early 1800s.[35] In his 2003 book *Migration in European History*, Bade aimed to counter rising anxieties about migration by demonstrating that emigration and immigration have always been a part of European society. The book focused on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the early chapters discussed how a range of factors including industrialisation, increasing population growth and

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[31] Rosalind R. McClean, 'Scottish Emigrants to New Zealand, 1840-1880: Motives, Means and Background', PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1990.
[32] Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 1999).
[33] Donald Harman Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the Great European Migration 1814-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011).
[34] Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[35] Klaus J. Bade (ed.), *Population, Labour and Migration in 19th-and 20th-century Germany* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1987).

the growing connectivity of the Atlantic economies led to the spread of mass migration, first in England, and spreading across northern Europe by the middle of the nineteenth century.[36]

American historian Leslie Page Moch wrote *Moving Europeans*, a history of internal migration in Western Europe from 1650, which began with a discussion of the scale and features of internal migration in Europe. Moch described how rapid industrialisation in the cities and the equally rapid collapse of the traditional rural economies caused internal migrations across Europe. She also explored how gender, crime, and labour demands affected migration patterns.[37]

Walter Nugent's *Crossings* is a thorough overview of the Atlantic system of migration in the late nineteenth century. Nugent examined a dozen countries on both sides of the Atlantic in order to outline the "main contours of population change" in the region between 1870 and 1914.[38] He aimed to undermine the idea of American exceptionalism, arguing that although the United States was larger and had more land available to settlers, it was otherwise similar to other migrant destinations in the Americas.

More detailed studies of European migration focus on specific issues and historiographical debates. A 1993 collection of essays by edited by Dirk Hoerder and Horst Rossler aimed to show that external migration must be considered in the context of wider internal European migrations.[39] Hoerder discussed the images and myths surrounding major destinations and how these influenced migrants' decisions, as well as migrants' expectations and how these changed upon arrival. The book took a comparative approach with chapters exploring a range of topics, nationalities and localities, and the chapters on Italians, Austrians, Poles and Scandinavians were especially useful. *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives* is another collection of essays which aimed to expand migration studies by arguing that migration was a long-term phenomenon in Europe, and not merely a reaction to modernisation. Several essays make the point that migration was a collective enterprise and often a state controlled one. The

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[36] Klaus J. Bade, trans. Allison Brown, *Migration in European History* (Malden MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2003).
[37] Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans.*
[38] Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p.3.
[39] Dirk Hoerder and Horst Rossler (eds.), *Distant Magnets: Expectations and Realities in the Immigrant Experience, 1840-1930* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1993).

book's chapters ranged from overviews of the topic to case studies of Italian, Polish or German migrants, gender differences, and there were several chapters on rural migrations.[40]

Studies of migration in specific European regions or nations provide detail that some of the broader studies have been unable to explore. Dudley Baines' book *Migration in a Mature Economy* analysed county level emigration rates across England and Wales between 1861 and 1900.[41] Oliver Wavell Grant's 2005 book *Migration and Inequality in Germany 1870-1913* examined rural migration in nineteenth century Germany. The book was a contribution to the debate around the nature of German society before the first and second world wars, and made use of numerous government records to analyse poverty, work and migration, arguing that Imperial Germany's path from an agrarian economy to an industrialised one was rapid and disruptive but no more so than comparable transformations in later developing economies.[42]

Scandinavian historians produced several comprehensive national overviews in the 1970s. Danish historian Kristian Hvidt's 1975 book *Flight to America* was a detailed statistical analysis of information collected by police as emigrants left Denmark.[43] In 1976 the University of Uppsala Migration Research Project produced *From Sweden to America*, a very useful collection which featured work from a range of Swedish scholars. The project was focused on migration to America but contained helpful background research and details of Swedish primary sources. The project is based on quantitative methods but included some discussion of politics and ethnicity.[44] Ingrid Semmingsen's 1978 book *Norway to America* was a useful narrative overview of Norwegian emigration.[45]

A recent book by Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (2016) focused on the experiences of migrants from Eastern Europe from the late nineteenth century onwards. She examined how European governments and officials grew increasingly concerned by emigration and attempted to regulate movement within their territories. Zahra argued

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[40] Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (eds.), *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996).
[41] Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and internal migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[42] Oliver Wavell Grant, *Migration and Inequality in Germany 1870-1913* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[43] Kristian Hvidt, *Flight to America: The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York: Academic Press, 1975).
[44] Harald Runblom and Hans Norman (eds.), *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976).
[45] Ingrid Semmingsen, trans. Einar Haugen, *Norway to America: A History of the Migration* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1978).

that Eastern European emigration restriction policies played an important role in the development of modern ideas around migration, labour rights, border controls and ethnic cleansing. Although the book was focused on Eastern Europe and discussed a slighter later period than the Vogel migrations, it covered useful themes and incorporates much recent research.[46]

Some historians have focused on the experiences of immigrants after they reached their destinations in colonial societies. American scholar Charlotte Erickson published frequently on immigration and her 1972 book *Invisible Immigrants* used letters written by English and Scottish immigrants in North America to illustrate their lives.[47] Her last book, a collection of essays published in 1996, focused on English migration, and how her research methods evolved during her career, starting with a focus on migrant letters and expanding to incorporate a wide range of sources in order to increase our understanding of migrant lives in their entirety.[48]

In *The Promise of America*, Odd S. Lovoll, has produced a narrative history of Norwegians in the United States from 1823 to the present day.[49] *New Land, New Lives: Scandinavian Immigrants to the Pacific Northwest* by Janet Elaine Guthrie was based on a series of interviews with late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scandinavian migrants.[50] Volkard Wehner recently completed a thesis on the German immigrant community in Victoria.[51]

Useful overviews of the European mass migration include Dudley Baines' 1991 volume *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930*, a short but useful overview of nineteenth century European migrations.[52] Recently, New Zealand historian turned world history writer James Belich has investigated the dominance of English-speaking people in the mass migrations from Europe in the nineteenth century. In *Replenishing the Earth* (2011) he argued that English speaking settler colonies were powered by 'explosive colonisation', periods of huge economic growth and development which were characterised by "rapid

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[46] Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2016).
[47] Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth Century America* (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1972).
[48] Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).
[49] Odd S. Lovoll, *The Promise of America,* rev. ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).
[50] Janet Elaine Guthrie, *New Land, New Lives: Scandinavian Immigrants to the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993).
[51] Volkart Wehner, 'The German speaking community of Victoria between 1850 and 1930: origin, progress and decline', PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2017.
[52] Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Education, 1991).

creation of towns, farms, and transport infrastructure".[53] He claimed cultural factors in the English speaking world drove a uniquely dynamic 'Settler Revolution' which led to the dominance of English speaking colonies in the nineteenth century.[54] Eric Richards was less enthusiastic about Belich's cultural motive, and argued that changes in rural economies and increased population growth are still the most likely explanation for nineteenth century European expansion.[55] Richards outlined his theory in his last book, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration* (2018), which investigated the beginnings of modern mass migration in early nineteenth century Britain, which he considered to be the beginnings of an era of mass migration which continues today. Richards challenged historians to connect the micro scale histories of individuals and families who decided to leave home with large scale theories of change. The book contained a series of case studies of migration from small regions and ties them together with a discussion of the root causes of the wave of mass emigration from Britain, and later the rest of Europe.[56]

Studies of Pākehā origins

In New Zealand, research into the diversity of nineteenth century Pākehā origins drew the attention of few historians before 1990. Prior to then, New Zealand historians often assumed settlers were hardy pioneers from a monolithic 'British' background. Later, historians focused on developments in colonial society, without investigating the origins of settlers in detail. Many historians assumed the term "British" was sufficient to describe the many different cultures and traditions that nineteenth century settlers brought to New Zealand.[57] Those who were interested in difference tended to focus on marginal groups or unique communities rather than the British and European migration streams. The situation improved in the nineties with the publication of several studies which focused on the Scots and the Irish in New Zealand. Many of these have been based on qualitative research but more recent research, particularly on the Scots, have made use of quantitative data, including genealogical data and passenger lists.

The first major work to investigate Pākehā origins was Rollo Arnold's excellent study of English assisted immigrants. Published in 1980, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants*

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[53] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth; The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.7,182-186.
[54] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, pp.43,51.
[55] Eric Richards, 'British Emigrants and the Making of the Anglosphere', *History*, Vol. 103, Issue 355 (2018), pp.301-305.
[56] Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).
[57] Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers,* pp.9-10.

of the 1870s focused on the English farm labourers who made up a large number of Julius Vogel's assisted immigrants. The first part of the book described the background to Vogel's immigration scheme and the government agents who promoted it in England. Arnold examined the relationship between the migration scheme and a large-scale agricultural labourers' revolt which broke out in England in the 1870s. His sources included the writings of farm labourers who recorded their experiences in trade union publications both before and after they migrated to New Zealand. Arnold explored the social and economic conditions of a variety of English regions and detailed the efforts of New Zealand government recruitment efforts in each area. Finally, he discussed social and economic conditions in a range of different regions in New Zealand and showed how English labourers adapted to their new homes whether in open farmland or bush country.[58] The book's rural focus meant there was little discussion of labourers who ended up in the cities but was otherwise an excellent example of qualitative research. Nearly four decades later it remains one of the few in-depth books on English migrants in New Zealand. *The Farthest Promised Land* was the first of three books by Arnold, all exploring aspects of nineteenth century colonial New Zealand. *New Zealand's Burning* (1994) was a study of North Island settler communities in the 1880s, using the sources generated by a series of bushfires to analyse the makeup of rural settler communities, and *Settler Kaponga* (1997) was a detailed study of one small North Island settlement from its creation in 1881 to the eve of the First World War.

A Woman of Good Character, by Charlotte Macdonald, was published in 1990, and combined quantitative methods with letters, diaries and other records to examine female assisted migrants in the 1850s and 1860s. The book was based on records of 4028 single women brought to New Zealand by the Canterbury Provincial Government. Macdonald focused on the young adult lives of the women, including experiences of marriage and childbirth in the new colony.[59]

In the same year, Donald Akenson published *Half a World from Home*, the first major scholarly investigation of the Irish in New Zealand. In the book he drew attention to the diversity of languages and cultures within the population of nineteenth century England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. He challenged New Zealand historians to move beyond the popular view of Pākehā as a homogenous group,

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[58] Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1980).
[59] Charlotte Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth-century New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990).

and avoid the "lumping of all white settlers into a spurious unity".[60] Written after a period of research at the Stout Centre in Wellington, in detailing the Irish in New Zealand, Akenson used a variety of research methods, extracting details from widely scattered sources and limited data. Careful study of government statistics allowed him to reconstruct the flow of migrants from Ireland to New Zealand and estimate how many were Protestant or Catholic. He included several chapters on specific features of Irish life in New Zealand, including the evolution of the Catholic school system, a look at the Ulster special settlement organised by George Vesey Stewart, and an investigation of the life of Irish New Zealand writer Dan Devin. The book highlighted several areas of Irish New Zealand history needing further research, including female migrants, marriage customs and more. *Half a World from Home* influenced many New Zealand historians and led to a new academic interest in nineteenth century Pākehā migration and culture.

One of the first to take up Akenson's challenge was Lyndon Fraser, who published his first book in 1997. *To Tara via Holyhead* drew on diverse local sources, including street directories and church registers, to describe the Christchurch Irish Catholic community in detail. Fraser focused on how the new migrants constructed social networks and a new ethnic identity by blending Irish traditions with modern colonial ideas.[61] He reconstructed the everyday life and experiences of communities and individuals and compared his results with the literature of North American migration. He argued that Irish communities were more diverse and variable than American historians have previously thought.[62]

In 2000 Fraser edited a collection of essays on the Irish in New Zealand. *A Distant Shore: Irish Migration and New Zealand Settlement* included contributions from Akenson and a range of New Zealand scholars, including chapters on the evolution of Irish culture(s), migration trends, regional communities and a look at Irish nationalism and the Hibernian Society in New Zealand.[63]

Another collection edited by Brad Patterson appeared soon after. *The Irish in New Zealand* originated from a conference on Irish migration at the Stout Centre of Victoria University and contained contributions by twelve scholars, including eight of the nine in Fraser's book. Topics ranged from

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[60] Donald Harman Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press 1990), p.6.
[61] Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead: Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth Century Christchurch* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1997).
[62] Ibid., pp.4-8.
[63] Lyndon Fraser (ed.), *A Distant Shore: Irish Migration & New Zealand Settlement* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2000).

statistical studies of passenger lists to investigations of migrant correspondence and involvement in politics and religion. Also included were studies on Irish communities in Pukekohe and Hamilton.[64]

The Stout Centre held another conference in 2004, this time focusing on the Ulster Irish. Many of the contributions were published in a 2006 book which included a much wider range of studies from seventeen researchers, including many from Ulster. They included profiles of prominent politicians with an Ulster background, detailed quantitative studies, an initial investigation of the place of the Orange Order and the influence of Irish Protestant culture in New Zealand.[65]

Fraser's next book, *Castles of Gold*, published in 2007, repeated the approach of his first book but examined an Irish community on the West Coast. A wide variety of sources were examined to show how Irish migrants on the West Coast "belonged to particular localities, social categories and personal networks" in Ireland. [66] Fraser used government records and personal letters to explore their lives in the West Coast, and explored a range of themes, including marriage, nationalism, religion, and work. The West Coast Irish lived in an isolated but cosmopolitan community and retained strong connections to Australia. Fraser found the absence of anti-Irish prejudice and a relatively egalitarian economy meant Irish nationalist politics were less evident than in other localities. Instead, the Irish saw themselves as West Coasters and New Zealanders.

Angela McCarthy has also written extensively on the Irish in New Zealand, focusing on culture and identity. Her first book, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937 'The Desired Haven'*, was a study of 253 letters by seventy-four writers. She combined the letters with local archival sources, in order to examine the individual reasons behind the decision to migrate or stay behind, as well as work and family life in New Zealand. She looked at the role of the family in the migration process and argued that migrants should be seen in transnational terms, as many maintained social networks across multiple countries.[67] McCarthy's next book, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840*, was a comparative study of the two ethnic groups over a several generations to the 1950s. She used a range of sources including diaries, letters, interviews, official records, and literature and film. The book included

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[64] Brad Patterson (ed.), *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical contexts and Perspectives* (Wellington: Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, 2002).
[65] Brad Patterson (ed.), *Ulster-New Zealand Migration and Cultural transfers* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).
[66] Lyndon Fraser, *Castles of Gold: A History of New Zealand's West Coast Irish* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2007), p.15.
[67] Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937 'The Desired Haven'* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).

chapters on language and accents, material objects and stereotypes as well as topics such as religion and politics.[68] In both works McCarthy argued against the idea that migration was an isolating process that broke family ties and social networks. She disagreed with the conclusion of Macdonald and Porter, and critiqued Fraser's *Castles of Gold*, arguing that his choice of sources meant he cannot conclusively claim there is a lack of evidence for strong Irish cultural identity on the West Coast.[69]

The first scholarly collection of articles on the Scots in New Zealand was *The Heather and the Fern.* Published in 2003, it featured nine chapters on topics ranging from poetry, literature and pipe bands, to Scots in the Otago gold mines, and Scottish influence in business and the economy. The collection was admittedly introductory and the editors encouraged historians to carry out more research on the Scots in New Zealand.[70] In 2004 a group of historians secured funding from the Royal Society's Marsden Fund for a major research project, titled 'Scottish Migration to New Zealand'. The project led to a range of papers and presentations, including a multi authored overview of the project, published in 2013 and titled *Unpacking the Kists*. The book aimed to contribute to international research on the Scottish diaspora, and confirm theories about Scots in New Zealand. It began by building a detailed demographic profile of the Scots in New Zealand. Data were compiled from the New Zealand Genealogical Society and from death certificates, probates and other sources. The results of this work provided direction for more qualitative research, including local case studies. One of the major aims of the project was to establish the extent of Scottish culture and tradition in New Zealand society. The authors looked at how Scots adapted to New Zealand society, with sections on Scottish civil society, economic life, customs and traditions, and relations with other ethnic groups.[71]

Two participants in the Scottish migration project have published books based on their doctoral research. In 2011 Tanja Bueltmann published *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930* which pointed out that there are differing levels of ethnic identification. Accordingly, her book examined ethnicity from the level of family and kinship, memory and ethnic associations.[72] She

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[68] Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2011).
[69] Ibid., p.205.
[70] Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman (eds.), *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration & New Zealand Settlement* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2003).
[71] Brad Patterson, Tom Brooking, and Jim McAloon, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013).
[72] Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).

used the towns of Oamaru and Masterton as examples, but her research went beyond these towns and examined the evolution and impact of Scottish associations dedicated to Caledonian games, Gaelic language, Robert Burns appreciation clubs, and more. Bueltmann argued that many Scots joined associations to recreate Scottish culture, but these networks also provided economic and social advantages in New Zealand society. The middle class often dominated Scottish cultural associations, but they remained egalitarian and open and often played a role in wider civic society. Scottish culture influenced Pākehā society and culture in significant ways. Bueltmann emphasised that Scots associational culture was a strategy to overcome the potential isolation of a society of migrants.

Rebecca Lenihan's *From Alba to Aotearoa* was also based on the doctoral research undertaken as part of the 'Scottish Migration' project. She examined more than 7000 Scots migrants using data extracted from genealogical records, combined with a subset of the death certificate records created by Phillips and Hearn for their research. Her book incorporated a full discussion of her methods, and assessed the strengths and weaknesses of the data she used.[73]

In contrast to the Scots and the Irish, the English in New Zealand have been neglected. In 2012, Otago University Press published *Far from Home: The English in New Zealand*, a volume of studies on English migrant experiences and identity in New Zealand.[74] It followed a similar format to previous collections on the Irish and Scottish, with historians contributing chapters on a range of topics, including studies of beer drinking, death and funerals, and Māori views of the English. Unfortunately, the book has not led to more research on the English and many chapters appear to be based on research projects in other areas of New Zealand history.

The best introduction to New Zealand migration policy is *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938*, written by W.D. Borrie in 1938 but not published until 1991.[75] This remains the most detailed outline of government migration policy in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, outlining both policy aims and outcomes.

The most important recent quantitative overview of Pākehā origins is *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland, 1800-1945*, by Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn. Published in 2008, this

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[73] Rebecca Lenihan, *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand's Scots migrants 1840-1920* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2015).
[74] Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy (eds.), *Far From Home: The English in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012).
[75] W.D. Borrie, *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938* (Canberra: Demography Program, Australia National University, 1991).

overview of British migration is based on data from 11800 death certificates and detailed statistics on the origins of British migrants and the distribution around New Zealand. Phillips and Hearn investigated how the migrant stream influenced the development of New Zealand society, concluding that many of the distinct old-world traditions which arrived with the migrants were diluted by colonial culture. The new colony was based on English institutions but saw itself as British rather than English, and the colonists supported egalitarian and democratic ideals, with an expectation that the state should serve and support the public.[76]

The historiography of nineteenth century Pākehā migration has grown since the 1990s, and a wide range of methods have been developed in the course of this research. The increasing interest in genealogy has vastly increased the range of digital sources and databases available to historians. Research into the origins of continental European migrants using these new methods and sources is overdue. Most of the continental European settler research is at least twenty-five years old and much of it is narrowly focused on a specific ethnicity or locality. Often these studies have little content relating to the 1870s assisted migrants of that ethnicity and the quality of the research is variable, with many seeming impressionistic, unsystematic and celebratory. None have taken advantage of new methods of population studies and statistical analysis that have been used in recent research on Scottish and Irish migrants. Nevertheless, this research provides useful information on the larger European migrant communities in New Zealand.

Older research into nineteenth century Pākehā migration tends to focus on regions or specific groups of migrants and many contain useful information about continental Europeans in New Zealand. A 1938 thesis by J.W. Davidson focused on the Scandinavians in New Zealand, describing the assisted immigration scheme and the Scandinavian communities formed around New Zealand. Davidson relied on government reports and therefore focused on the special settlements in the North Island, with little detail on the Scandinavians who settled elsewhere.[77] Leslie Geoffrey Gordon's 1965 thesis detailed the history of migration into Hawke's Bay using provincial government records from the 1850s to the 1870s.[78] Similarly, Latiffa Khan's 1968 thesis on migration to Wellington between 1853 and 1876 used sources from Immigration Department archives, including letters and other detailed information about

[76] Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*.
[77] J.W. Davidson, 'The Scandinavians in New Zealand', Honours thesis, Victoria University College, Wellington, 1936.
[78] Leslie Geoffrey Gordon, 'Immigration into Hawke's Bay, 1858-1876', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965.

the employment and placement of settlers.[79] John Morris completed the first statistical study of Vogel period migrants in his 1973 thesis. He created a random sample of 2298 (approximately 1 in 30) migrants randomly chosen from surviving passenger lists between 1871 and 1879. The problem with his sample, as Donald Akenson has pointed out, is that not all the passenger lists have survived and the number lost varied greatly from year to year.[80] Looking specifically at mainland European settlers, Morris' sample contained 151 people, when a 1 in 30 sample should produce a number nearer 223. The thesis outlines the economic context for European migrations and has some useful findings about the demographics of European migrants, but more thorough investigations are now possible.[81] The writings of I.H Burnley provided useful information on the distribution of German and Polish settlers in New Zealand.[82]

Andrew Trlin's 1979 book *Now Respected Once Despised: Yugoslavs in New Zealand* is a good example of an early academic study of European migrants in New Zealand. He based his study on letters and other primary documents by migrants, adding official sources where necessary.[83]

Danish Emigration to New Zealand is an edited collection of writing sponsored by the Danish government. It tends towards the celebratory, but includes a general statistical overview of Danish migration, a useful essay on the history of the Danish Lutheran Church in New Zealand and a discussion of the writings of several Danish settlers.[84]

The German Connection, edited by James N. Bade, is a very useful volume looking at German speaking peoples in New Zealand including several chapters on the nineteenth century assisted immigrants, alongside studies of the already established German communities.[85] The decision to study German

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[79] Latiffa Khan, 'Immigration into Wellington Province 1853-1876', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1968.
[80] Donald Harman Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press 1990), p.217.
[81] John Morris, 'The Assisted Immigrants to New Zealand: A Statistical Study, 1871-1879', MA thesis, Auckland University, 1973.
[82] I. H. Burnley, 'The Greek Italian and Polish communities in New Zealand', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1979; I.H. Burnley, 'German Immigration and Settlement in New Zealand 1842 to 1914', *New Zealand Geographer*, Vol. 29 (1973), pp.45-63.
[83] Andrew Trlin, *Now Respected, Once Despised: Yugoslavs in New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1979).
[84] Henning Bender and Birgit Larsen (eds.), *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Aalborg: Danes Worldwide Archives, 1990).
[85] James N. Bade (ed.), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993).

speaking peoples, rather than trying to define a German, is wise, but the book fails to delve into the issue of minorities who spoke German as a second language and did not consider themselves German at all. The most obvious example is the German speaking Polish community who arrived in the 1870s. The book has useful details on German (and Polish) assisted migrant settlements in the lower North Island, Canterbury, Otago and the West Coast. Many of these chapters list family names and refer to older and hard to find secondary sources on local communities.

The only book that details New Zealand's nineteenth century Polish settlers is *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand* by J.W. Pobóg-Jaworowski.[86] The author was a Polish nationalist who migrated to New Zealand after the Second World War, and the book represented the culmination of twenty years of genealogical research. Although not well organised it contains much data that are unavailable elsewhere, including interviews and recollections from the families of Polish settlers in Taranaki, Otago, Marshlands, and the Wairarapa. Pobóg-Jaworowski estimated that about a thousand Poles settled in New Zealand as assisted or nominated migrants between 1872 and 1883. More recently, two useful websites focusing on the Polish in New Zealand have appeared. *Poles Down South* focuses on the history of the Polish community in Otago, and *Polish History New Zealand* contains a very useful searchable database of Polish settler names as well as local and family histories. Both websites feature biographies of hundreds of individuals and families.[87]

The history of many of the Scandinavian settlements of the 1870s has been explored in local histories of variable quality. Many contain valuable information that is unavailable elsewhere, including oral interviews and local or family histories. The most useful recent examples are *Mosquitos and Sawdust* by Val Burr, *Dannevirke: The Early Years* by Rob McDonald, and more recently, Kay Flavell's *Rainbows Over Mauriceville*.[88]

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[86] J.W. Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand* (Warsaw: CHZ "Ars Polona", 1990).
[87] Polish History of Otago and Southland Charitable Trust (POHOS), *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/; Barbara Scrivens, *Polish History New Zealand,* https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/
[88] Val Burr, *Mosquitos and Sawdust: A History of Scandinavians in Early Palmerston North & Surrounding Districts* (Palmerston North: Scandinavian Club of Manawatu, 1995); Rob McDonald, *Dannevirke: The Early Years* (Hastings: Rob McDonald, 2002); Kay Flavell (ed.), *Rainbows over Mauriceville: Early days in a Scandinavian-Kiwi community* (Masterton: Friends of Mauriceville, 2013).

Only a few hundred Italians were recruited as part of the Vogel migrations in 1875 and 1876 and they were briefly mentioned in two books on Italians in New Zealand.[89] More detail about the arrival of the Italian Vogel migrants can be found in a short 1972 book.[90] A more recent academic study on Italians in New Zealand also mentioned the 1870s migrants and all four works emphasise the dishonesty of the Italy based New Zealand immigration agent who recruited the migrants.[91]

Histories of European migration and histories of Pākehā origins provided context and point to interesting questions for the study of continental European assisted immigrants in New Zealand. The existing studies of continental setters in New Zealand contained useful information but often the immigrants are treated in isolation, even though they often arrived on the same ships and worked and lived alongside each other in New Zealand. Very few of these studies were recent enough to have taken advantage of advances in digital archiving and genealogy software.

My research into the 1870s European assisted immigrants aims to take advantage of the availability of new digital data sources and takes a broad view of European immigrants as a whole rather than artificially dividing them by the nationalities they were grouped into by government officials. Religious and cultural differences will not be neglected, as the European assisted migrants were a diverse group made up of many different nationalities and ethnic identities. Internal migration was also common and national borders were constantly changing. As German historian Klaus Bade noted, "not only did people move over borders, but borders moved over people".[92] Nationalism was a powerful political idea in the late nineteenth century Europe, but we cannot assume that everyone identified with the categories created for them. Identity was not synonymous with nationality, language or religion, nor was it static. As a British historian has pointed out, identities are not like hats, "Human beings can and do put on several at a time".[93]

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[89] I.H. Burnley, *From Southern Europe to New Zealand: Greeks and Italians in New Zealand* (Kensington NSW: University of New South Wales Press, 1972); Paul Elenio, *Alla Fine Del Mondo, To the Ends of the Earth: A History of Italian Migration to the Wellington Region* (Wellington: Petone Settlers Museum and Club Garibaldi, 1995).
[90] Hugh and Eugenie Laracy, *The Italians in New Zealand and other studies* (Auckland: Societa Dante Alighieri, 1973).
[91] Sarah Patricia Hill, 'Italiani agli antipodi: Italian Immigrant Identities in New Zealand' in Graziella Parati and Anthony Julian Tamburri (eds.), *The Cultures of Italian Migration: Diverse Trajectories and Discrete Perspectives* (Madison NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011), pp.127-140.
[92] Klaus Bade, trans. Allison Brown, *Migration in European History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), p.x.
[93] L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1992), p.6, quoted in Bueltmann, p.7.

Lyndon Fraser warns that historians should not assume that migrants had a well-developed ethnic identity when they migrated, nor that they maintained their identity unchanged in the new colony. "Ethnic identity … is a culturally constructed set of usages adopted by people in their day-to-day relationships with one another and the society around them".[94] Donald Akenson defined an ethnic group as one whose members "share a common culture based on common ancestral origin" or "are identified by others as belonging to that group" or are descendants of people who identified themselves or were identified by others as belonging to that group.[95] The primary sources record some information on nationalities, but these were categories defined by the state, and although nationality, ethnicity and religion played a role in the lives of migrants, both in Europe, during migration and in New Zealand, these identities were much less defined and more changeable than government records suggest.

Treating these data with caution, there are some broad categories and groups which need to be examined. Among the migrants who came to New Zealand, the Scandinavians spoke languages that were more or less mutually intelligible, and they generally adhered to the Lutheran faith. There were exceptions: for example, religious dissenters in Sweden were more inclined to emigrate, so differences in religious identity need to be investigated.[96]

Many German migrants were also Lutheran, but the Poles living in German territories were often separated from their neighbours by religion and language. The German Empire encouraged German nationalism and prejudice against non-German minorities, especially Polish Catholics. Pobóg-Jaworowski estimated that about a third of the 'German' migrants to New Zealand were Polish speaking Catholics. He calculated this number by examining surnames in passenger lists, combined with his background knowledge of Polish settler families in New Zealand.[97] Pobóg-Jaworowski realised that not all those with Polish surnames were necessarily Catholic and that some settlers with German names were Catholic and Polish speaking, but he did not explain his methods in enough detail to reproduce them. In any case, the boundary between 'German' and 'Polish' ethnicities was too blurry to create a definitive picture. Another area of difficulty is the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein, created in 1868 from lands previously held by the Kingdom of Denmark. The area has a complicated history, with many of its inhabitants regarding themselves as Danish, but it also contained recent German settlers. This already complex ethnic picture was complicated again by migration to New Zealand. Did the way the migrants

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[94] Fraser, *Tara via Holyhead*, p.3.
[95] Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p.30.
[96] Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the Great European Migration*, p.81.
[97] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, pp.12-13.

saw themselves and their fellow Europeans change in New Zealand? How did they view Māori, English, Irish and Scottish settlers? How did they cope with learning a new language? Did some migrants maintain European ethnic identity, or did they abandon it and submerge themselves into the mainstream culture? All of these questions need to be considered.

Methodology and sources

This project uses a range of sources to investigate the 1870s assisted immigrants from Continental Europe. The most important source is the passenger lists that were generated as part of the immigration process. The term 'assisted immigrant' refers to those migrants who were assisted by the New Zealand government, which provided free or cheap passage for their journey. Details of each assisted immigrant were recorded by the government as part of the migration process. Most of the 1870s New Zealand passenger lists survive and have been digitised. In the case of continental migrants in the Vogel period, the passenger departure records generated by German port authorities in Hamburg have also been very useful. Information collected from European assisted migrants who came to New Zealand between 1871 and 1876 from both German and New Zealand passenger records was compiled into a relational database created for this research project.[98]

The majority of the continental assisted immigrants who came to New Zealand in the 1870s departed from Hamburg, where the German government required information on all departing passengers to be recorded. These records have been digitised and transcribed and are available via Ancestry.com. Three migrant ships departed from Oslo or Bremerhaven, and the remaining continental migrants made their way to London and embarked for New Zealand alongside migrants from the British Isles. The New Zealand government required the collection of information on all arrivals and this was recorded in a log book onboard each ship. Most of these books survived, have been digitised and transcribed, and are available on the *FamilySearch* website. These books record the name, age, gender and family status of each migrant along with their occupational and last place of residence. In the case of continental migrants on British migrant ships the last place of residence is given only as the country, for example, Germany or Denmark.

There are some potential problems with this passenger data. Assisted immigrants were aware that the sponsoring government preferred certain types of workers, and they may have been tempted to adjust their occupation or age in order to maximise the chances of getting an assisted passage. It is also unclear

[98] See Appendix for details of the sources for each passenger list and other database information.

how the last place of residence information was collected. In some cases, this may be the home town of the migrant, or it may be simply the last place they visited before the information was collected.[99]

For the second half of this study, it was necessary to identify first generation continental migrants in nineteenth century New Zealand communities and match them with the passenger data. Unfortunately for historians, the census forms that were used to compile New Zealand's censuses have not been retained, so we only have the information in the published census reports. The reports from the 1871 and 1878 censuses provided information on the birthplaces of non-Māori residents in each province. These two documents were used to identify provinces which had an increase in continental European born residents in the 1870s. The 1878 census also provided birthplace information at a county level, enabling a more detailed picture of where continental European born residents were living in the years after the European migration scheme had ended. This data, combined with secondary sources on these locations, enabled the identification of clusters of European assisted immigrants. A number of these clusters were selected for further study and the next stage was to identify individuals within those clusters.

Naturalisation records were used to identify European born residents of the clusters and further records were used to build a profile of the individuals and families in the community. Unlike British migrants, continental European migrants were classified as foreigners when they arrived in New Zealand. Most who chose to settle permanently eventually applied for naturalisation and this process generated records which are very useful to the historian and have so far not been used for quantitative research in New Zealand.

Anyone born in British territory (including New Zealand after 1840) or on a British ship was considered to be a British subject. 'Aliens', as non-British nationals were known, could acquire British status through the process of naturalisation. New Zealand's Aliens Act 1866 set out the process, which included taking an oath of allegiance and being resident in New Zealand. The citizenship status of male British subjects was also applied to their wives. In 1923 the law was amended to specify that British women who married 'alien' men would lose their British nationality.[100] The Ancestry.com website has a database of New Zealand naturalisations from 1843 to 1981 compiled from the naturalisation registers held at New Zealand Archives and a microfiche copy of *Names etc. of Alien Friends who have been naturalised in New*

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[99] Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*, p.19.
[100] Harriet J. Mercer, 'Gender and the Myth of a White New Zealand, 1866-1928', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.52, No.2 (2018), pp.24-25.

Zealand, an alphabetical listing of naturalised citizens published in 1914.[101] The database allows searches by keyword so it is relatively easy to compile a list of European born naturalised residents in a particular district born before 1880.[102] The information for each record includes name, birthdate, age, birthplace, former nationality, occupation and residence at time of naturalisation. The gendered naturalisation laws meant most of the individuals naturalised in the nineteenth century were men, but the data does include some widows and single women.

Those migrants who did not became naturalised do not appear in the records and therefore were not entered into the database for this project. The only records of unnaturalised migrants were those made during the First World War, when all those in New Zealand aged fifteen or over who were not British subjects were required to register with the government. British born women who had married aliens were initially overlooked.[103] The 'New Zealand Register of Aliens 1917' lists these individuals but was not used in this study as any first generation 1870s assisted immigrants had by then reached retirement age.[104]

Naturalisation records were used to compile a list of individuals from each of the chosen localities. The name on these lists were then used to identify probate files, which were used to build profiles for the individuals and their families. The combined naturalisation and probate records allowed the construction of a detailed demographic picture of the European born settlers in the chosen locations. Where possible these records were linked with individuals in the passenger database. New Zealand probate files from 1843 to 1998 held by New Zealand Archives have been digitised and are easily accessible and searchable through the *FamilySearch* website. Each file contains a will, and a valuation of a deceased person's assets. Some contain a full inventory of assets and most contain useful information on family members, which can be very helpful when trying to identify a European born settler who may have changed the spelling of their name in New Zealand. Probates do have some limitations but are the only available source that can used as a statistical source for measuring personal wealth. Probates measure wealth at death, so the elderly are overrepresented in the statistics. Some individuals may have generated and then lost their fortunes before death and others may have given wealth away to

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[101] 'About New Zealand Naturalisations 1843-1981', Ancestry.com; https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1844/

[102] 1880 was chosen as a cutoff date to ensure most of the individuals included were likely to be part of the assisted immigration scheme.

[103] Mercer, 'Gender', p.32.

[104] 'New Zealand Register of Aliens 1917', R23657021, ANZ.

children or others during their lifetimes. Unlike British probate files, New Zealand probates include all forms of property including land and buildings.[105] Until 1884, the property of married women in New Zealand was regarded by the law as belonging to their husband.[106] Therefore, women's probates dated before 1884 are limited to those of single women, including widows.

Traditional archive sources were used to complement the analysis of migrant data. My primary supervisor, Professor Jim McAloon, kindly provided access to data from his research into the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, which made it easy to locate the biographies of several hundred European born settlers. The Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL) holds a number of shipboard diaries, memoirs and other records of the migration and subsequent life in New Zealand produced by European assisted migrants. The National Library's *Papers Past* website offers access to historical newspapers in New Zealand. Local archives around New Zealand contain a range of information on communities and individuals, and useful primary sources were located in Tūranga (Christchurch City Library), Puke Ariki in New Plymouth, the Wairarapa Archive, and the MTG Hawke's Bay Museum in Napier. These sources enabled me to add detail to local histories of European migrant communities.

It is important to understand New Zealand government policy regarding assisted immigration from Europe, including the decision to recruit European migrants, the government's intentions, and how the policy developed, as well as the legal dispute that ensued when the government ended the policy. Many European migrants were directed to settle in designated areas and worked on specific projects including road and railway construction. The *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) contain correspondence between the Government and the Agent General's Office in London, including discussion of migration policy, recruitment, and reports on individual ships as they arrived in New Zealand. These reports contain details of each ship's journey and the steps taken to obtain employment for the migrants as they arrived. Archives New Zealand also holds paperwork produced or received by the Immigration Department, which contains similar but often more detailed information on the new arrivals. New Zealand government census data provides information on the distribution of residents born in other countries. Analysis of these sources will allow the creation of a broad picture of European migrant distribution in New Zealand.

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[105] Jim McAloon, 'The Colonial Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago, No Idle Rich', *New Zealand Journal of History,* Vol. 30, no.1, (1996), p.44.
[106] Catherine Bishop, *Women Mean Business: Colonial Businesswomen in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2019), pp.57-58.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter One examines the evolution of European immigration as part of Julius Vogel's Immigration and Public Works scheme. It describes how the first groups of Scandinavian migrants were selected and how that pilot scheme expanded into a larger plan. The chapter investigates how the New Zealand government recruited migrants in mainland Europe, how migration policy changed, and how European immigration finally ended due to disputes between officials in New Zealand, London and Europe.

Chapter Two investigates the economic and social conditions of 1870s Europe, and looks into the mass migrations out of Europe in the nineteenth century. An analysis of the passenger list data indicates that the New Zealand bound migrants were recruited from specific regions in Northern Europe, and the economic and social conditions of those regions are examined in more detail. The age, marital status and occupations of the migrants are analysed and compared with the broader migration patterns in Europe.

Chapter Three looks at how the colonial government received and distributed the new arrivals. This chapter uses passenger data and archival sources to map the initial distribution of the migrants in New Zealand and includes details of the Scandinavian Special Settlements and the evolution of the Jackson Bay settlement on the West Coast.

Chapter Four focuses on the Scandinavian settlements in Hawkes Bay and the Wairarapa, outlining how these communities evolved and how Danes, Swedes and Norwegians adapted to life in New Zealand. Many of the European settlers in this region were assigned to government-funded special settlements in the Seventy Mile Bush. The mostly Scandinavian settlers made up 10% of the Pākehā population, the highest concentration of continental European settlers in the 1870s. A number of Germans also settled in the area, especially in Masterton, as well as a group of Polish Catholics in Carterton. The European settlers of Norsewood are examined in detail, including Norwegians, Danes, Swedes and a small number of Germans.

Chapter Five examines continental assisted immigrants living in Canterbury, with a focus on the German, Moravian and Polish settlements in Oxford and Marshland. Canterbury had a developed and growing agricultural economy and demand for rural labourers was high. The social and cultural life of these settlers is examined, including the role of the Lutheran and Catholic Churches, and the already established German community in Canterbury. In Oxford, German and Moravian assisted immigrants

joined a community which already had a small German population, and a predominantly Polish Catholic community emerged in the market gardening district of Marshland outside Christchurch.

Chapter Six examines the lives of European migrants who arrived in Otago from 1872. Several hundred West Prussian Germans and Poles were assigned to work on Otago railway contracts and later settled along the route of the railway in the Taieri district, and later Gore. The Polish Catholic communities at Allanton and Waihola remained small and had less wealth than many of the other rural communities in this study. In Gore, a mixed German speaking community developed which had a diverse range of occupations and incomes.

Chapter Seven returns to the North Island to focus on continental assisted immigrants who settled in Taranaki from 1874 and describes the construction of the 'Mountain Road' between New Plymouth and Hawera and the arrival of a small group of Swiss migrants. European migrants were among those assigned to build the road and clear land for the establishment of Inglewood, Midhirst and Stratford. The European settlers who lived at Inglewood came to be the single largest cluster of German speaking migrants in 1870s New Zealand and, like many rural Pākehā settlers who lived in Taranaki, became moderately prosperous dairy farmers.

Finally, the Conclusion discusses the results of the research. The European settlers who formed rural communities were usually not wealthy and often had difficultly in the early years of colonisation but most had improved their standard of living by moving to New Zealand. Each of the various European communities eventually assimilated into the wider Pākehā population. The larger communities kept their distinctive nature longer and those which were part of the Catholic community retained the memory of exclusivity longer.

Chapter One. The Continental European Migration Scheme.

On the morning of Wednesday 9 August 1876, the chatter of half a dozen languages rang through the streets of Wellington as hundreds of newly arrived European settlers explored the city. The three masted sailing ship *Fritz Reuter* had anchored in the harbour three days earlier, but the passengers had only been permitted to land the day before. The voyage of the *Fritz Reuter* carried the single largest shipment of continental Europeans to arrive in New Zealand in the nineteenth century and marked the end of a five year continental European immigration project. This chapter will outline how the government came to recruit continental Europeans to New Zealand as part of Julius Vogel's Immigration and Public Works scheme announced in 1870, and will follow the evolution of the migration scheme as London based diplomat Isaac Featherston attempted to balance the requirements of the colonial government in Wellington with the realities of the migration business in Europe. The continental European part of the assisted migration scheme ended in confusion with the death of Featherston in 1876 and this chapter will conclude with a summary of the legal dispute that cast a shadow over Featherston's legacy. A key source for this chapter will be the records of official communications published in the *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*.

Background to the Vogel Scheme

The assisted immigration plan which became known as the Vogel scheme was originally conceived in the 1860s as the colonial government, supported by British troops, fought a series of wars against Māori across the North Island. By 1868 the bulk of the fighting was over and most of the British troops had gone, but new Māori leaders emerged to threaten North Island colonial towns. Tītokowaru and his followers threatened Whanganui, and on the east coast a band of warriors led by Te Kooti roamed freely attacking Pākehā settlers. Although the threat from both groups had receded, it was clear that sparsely populated Pākehā sheep farming districts and isolated coastal settlements of the central North Island remained vulnerable to guerrilla warfare. Large parts of the North Island remained under the control of Māori, and Pākehā sheep farmers were unable to recruit suitable labour. In the South Island, Pākehā were firmly in control, but many were unwilling to pay for wars from which they saw little benefit. According to colonial leaders in Hawkes Bay and the Wellington region, the solution was to link the farming districts with new roads and railways, encouraging both economic development and further settlements. In 1869, these leaders organised a vote of no confidence in the current administration and

convinced Parliament to form a new government under William Fox.[1] While Hawkes Bay and Wellington politicians dominated the new government, a recent arrival from the South Island, Julius Vogel, was awarded the position of Colonial Treasurer. Born in 1835 in London, Julius Vogel was raised by his mother and her Jewish merchant family. He left school early to work at his grandfather's company. He later studied metallurgy and migrated to Victoria, Australia, where he went into business as an assayer on the gold fields. There he became interested in journalism and edited several goldfield newspapers. He moved to Dunedin in 1861 and became the founding editor of the *Otago Daily Times*, the first daily paper in New Zealand. He used the paper to promote himself and his opinions and inevitably became involved in local politics. By 1863 he sat in both the Otago Provincial Council and the House of Representatives. In 1868 he was removed as editor of the *Otago Daily Times* and eventually quit the provincial council taking himself and his new wife to Auckland. In the 1860s he had supported provincial autonomy and opposed the North Island wars as a drain on resources, but when he became Treasurer in 1869, he was beginning to develop much more ambitious policies.[2]

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[1] Rollo Arnold, *New Zealand's Burning: The Settler's World in the Mid-1880s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994), pp.24-26.

[2] Raewyn Dalziel. 'Vogel, Julius', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated April, 2013. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1v4/vogel-julius

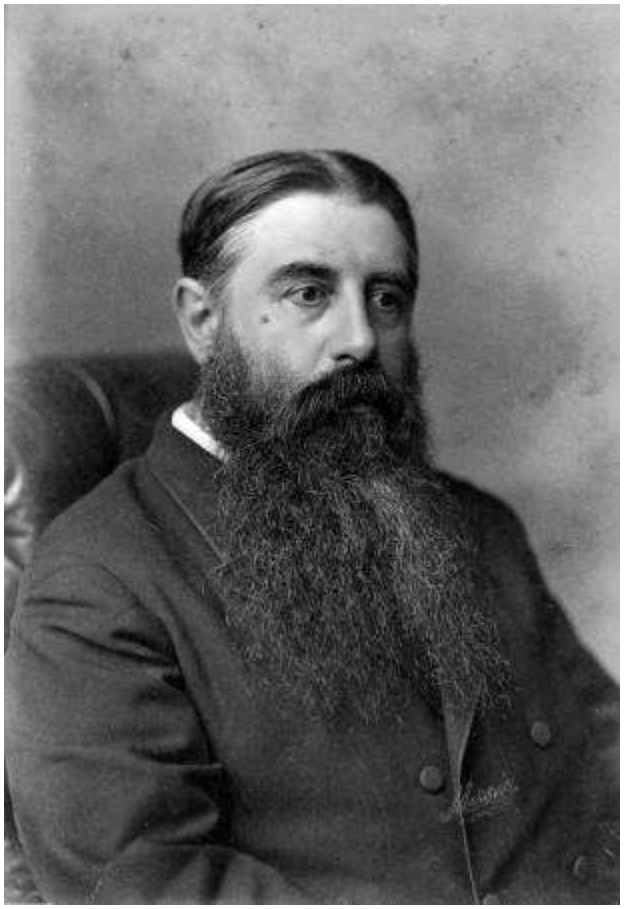

Figure 1.1: Julius Vogel in the 1870s. PAColl-439-1, Alexander Turnbull Library

The new government reduced defence spending and ceased large-scale military operations against Māori. Instead, they planned to build roads, bring in immigrants and increase settlement.[3]

Vogel signaled his intentions in his 1869 financial statement. He considered that opening up roads was a step that would "do more towards finally solving our difficulties with the natives than any other that could be devised".[4] He aimed to achieve control of the North Island by developing the infrastructure and economy, outnumbering Māori with new settlers. Coastal Pākehā settlements would be linked, and new roads would be cut through the centre of the North Island. In the meantime, the government still

[3] Raewyn Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986), pp. 97-99.
[4] *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (NZPD), 6, p.157 (29 June 1869), from Malcolm McKinnon, 'Lines on the map and the shadow of the land – the decline of Maori autonomy, 1840-1900', in Brad Patterson, Richard S. Hill, and Kathryn Patterson (eds.), *After the Treaty: The Settler State, Race Relations and the Exercise of Power in Colonial New Zealand* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2016), p.73.

needed British troops. Many in the colony felt betrayed and angry when the British announced they would withdraw the last of their troops from New Zealand in 1869, so the Government appointed Dillon Bell and Isaac Featherston as Commissioners and sent them to London to try to persuade Britain to leave some troops in New Zealand.[5] Bell and Featherston were both experienced colonial politicians who had migrated to New Zealand as employees of the New Zealand Company and had been elected to leadership roles in the Wellington government. Isaac Featherston would become New Zealand's first Agent General in London where he was responsible for overseeing the recruitment of migrants for Vogel's scheme.

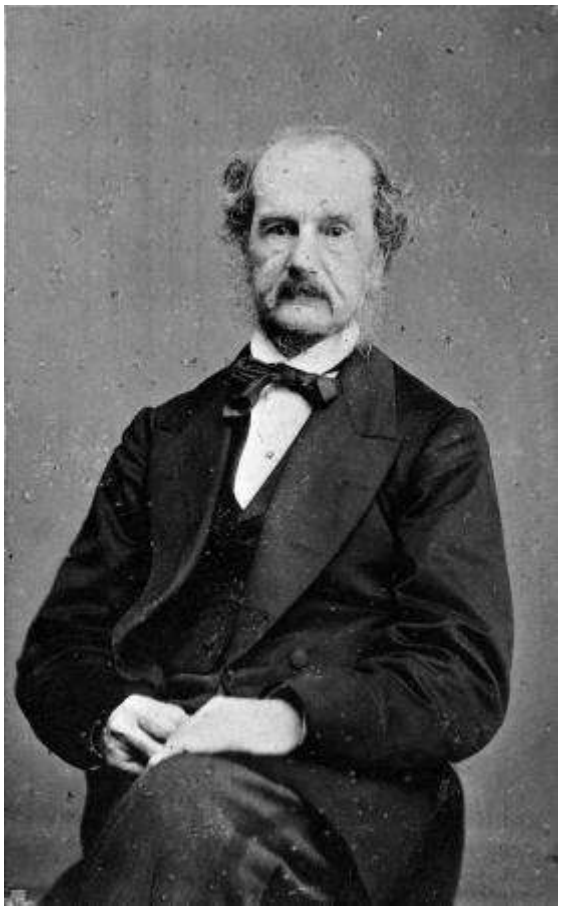

Figure 1.2: Isaac Earl Featherston, PA2-2492, Alexander Turnbull Library

Born in 1813 in England, Isaac Earl Featherston had a comfortable upbringing and an excellent education, but suffered from poor health throughout his life. He graduated as a medical doctor and

[5] Raewyn Dalziel, *The Origins of New Zealand Diplomacy: The Agent-General in London, 1870-1905* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1975), pp.21-22.

sailed as a ship's surgeon on a New Zealand Company migrant ship in 1841. In Wellington he fell out with the company bosses and at one point fought a duel with Colonel William Wakefield, the Company's Wellington representative. Featherston became active in local politics and by 1853 was elected the first Superintendent of Wellington Province, a position he held almost continuously until 1870. He was also elected to the House of Representatives first as member for Wanganui in 1853, then as member for Wellington City from 1855 until 1870. He was married with twelve children but his wife Bethia died in 1864. He was considered a capable diplomat and politician, but he opposed the centralising tendencies of Fox and Vogel government. Sending Featherston to London would be a good use of his talents while also keeping him well away from Wellington.[6]

Vogel began work on his financial plans early in 1870. In June, he revealed the plans in a three-hour Budget speech in Parliament. He announced that £10 million would be borrowed over the next decade and used to fund public works and a massive increase in the population. Until then, immigration had been the domain of provincial governments but Vogel felt it needed to be driven by central government. At first many politicians thought Vogel had gone too far, too fast, but newspapers and the public were enthusiastic about his budget.[7] Many years later, in 1893, Vogel made it clear he aimed his policy in 1870 at overcoming Māori resistance and gaining control over the North Island. "I will tell you the real facts", he told a meeting in London, "the Public Works Policy seemed to the Government to be the sole alternative to a war of extermination with the natives".[8] Vogel's government would fund the construction of infrastructure that would enable both settlers and the colonial capitalist economy to dominate the North Island.

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[6] David Hamer. 'Featherston, Isaac Earl', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1f4/featherston-isaac-earl
[7] Dalziel, *Julius Vogel*, pp. 104-109.
[8] Julius Vogel, *New Zealand its Past Present and Future*, paper delivered to Imperial Institute, London, 4 Dec 1893, p.4. quoted in Rachel Dalziel, *Julius Vogel*, pp.105-106.

Featherston and Bell in Europe

When Vogel delivered his budget speech, he had not worked out the details of the immigration scheme, but he had asked Commissioners Featherston and Bell to investigate options while they were in London. Featherston and Bell met with British Colonial Secretary Granville and Prime Minister Gladstone and urged them to reconsider the decision to withdraw their troops, but the British refused to change their minds. Having failed in their primary mission, Featherston and Bell turned to the other tasks Vogel's government had given them, including obtaining loans, making railway and telegraph contracts and investigating prospects for immigration schemes. They became aware that large numbers of migrants were leaving European ports for North America, so Featherston travelled to Scandinavia and Northern Germany to investigate.[9] When they returned to London in September 1870, the Commissioners posted a report to Wellington. They sketched a brief outline of emigration in Scandinavia, reporting that Norwegians and Swedes migrated mostly to Chicago where they spread into surrounding areas in the United States, where Scandinavian communities had already been established. They tended to migrate in community groups made up of young and old families and younger adults, often from the same village or congregation. The Commissioners noted that Norwegian and Swedish emigrants were small farmers or agricultural labourers and considered that most were adaptable with a range of rural skills, including forestry and other trades.[10]

Featherston and Bell proposed diverting some of these migrants to New Zealand but recognised some obstacles. Scandinavian migrants were unable to pay for the increased cost of migration to New Zealand, nor were they likely to migrate to a country where "they had no friends, and of which they know nothing". The two Commissioners discussed possible solutions to this problem and decided on a plan. "The only feasible plan of ultimately securing a stream of emigration seemed to be to select and send out a few young married couples, the Government defraying the whole cost of their passage". Aware that the 1870 migration season was about to end, the commissioners decided to implement the plan immediately, rather than wait for permission, and they approached migration agents in Christiania (modern Oslo), Copenhagen and Gothenburg, asking them to recruit ten young couples each as soon as possible. Featherston and Bell told the government they were confident that subsidising these migrants would be worth the expense in the long run.

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[9] Dalziel, *Origins of NZ Diplomacy*, pp.21-23.
[10] *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1871, D3a, pp.5-6.

The agents were to each select ten young married couples, with no more than two children per couple. If married couples could not be found, young unmarried men and women were acceptable. The contract explained that the migrants must be drawn from as many districts as possible, in order that "any reports they may send home may circulate widely" in their home countries. The migrants would be sent to London or Glasgow, where John Morrison, of the New Zealand government's business agency in London, would connect them with a sailing to New Zealand. The entire cost of the journey, including provisions, would be covered by the Government, which promised regular business to the migration agents if the initial experiment proved successful.[11]

The first group, recruited by Winge and Co, a prominent emigration firm in Christiania, sailed by steamship to London, where they were transferred to the sailing ship *Celaeno*. The group of seventeen Norwegian families and one Swedish family totalled fifty-two people.[12] In Copenhagen, migration agent Wilken Horneman recruited fifty Danes, including thirty-one single men and two single women. Contrary to instructions, Horneman had recruited single men, but Morrison was otherwise pleased with the Danes. In Gothenberg, emigration agent John Millar sent seven families and three single men to London, totalling twenty people. These groups travelled to London and boarded the *England*, sailing for New Zealand in early December.[13]

Back in New Zealand, Colonial Secretary William Gisborne asked Robert Pharazyn, Commissioner for Confiscated Lands, and Arthur Follett Halcombe, Wellington Provincial Secretary, to prepare for the arrival of the Scandinavian settlers. Featherston had also returned to Wellington, where he was still Provincial Superintendent. The Wellington provincial government agreed to provide a block of recently purchased forest land near Palmerston (North) for the settlers. It was thought the new settlement of Palmerston had good prospects if a road or tramway could be built to connect it with nearby open land, and the town already contained a few Danish-speaking residents who could assist with translation requirements. Pharazyn and Halcombe suggested supplying each settler family with a fifty-acre block of land, but Featherston thought this allotment was far too generous. Officials were unable to agree on how much land to award each family and whether they should be offered guaranteed employment on

[11] AJHR, 1871, D3a, p.6; Dalziel, *Diplomacy*, pp.19-20.
[12] AJHR, 1871, D3a, p.9.
[13] AJHR, 1871, D3a, pp.18-19.

government contracts.[14] As late as 24 January 1871, Gisborne was sending letters to the provinces asking if Scandinavians were required by local employers.[15]

On the morning of Sunday 5 February 1871, when the *Celaeno* sailed into Wellington Harbour, no agreement had been reached.[16] Halcombe decided that each Scandinavian family would be allocated ten acres, which they had first option to buy within two years.[17] He arranged for the Scandinavians to pick up supplies and tools, and accompanied them by steamship to Foxton. From there the party travelled overland, reaching Palmerston a few days later. Halcombe increased the land grant to forty acres of bush per family, which they could buy for £1 per acre if they paid within three years.[18]

The deferred payment scheme offered to the Scandinavians provoked dismay from a group of unemployed workers in Wellington. 511 people signed a petition demanding that Featherston extend the same terms to "English, Irish, and Scotchmen". Featherston, who was still under the impression that the grants were much smaller, assured the petitioners that the Scandinavians had been given temporary rights to five to ten acre blocks and were expected to pay the government for the tools and rations they had been given. He was happy to offer the same terms to the unemployed in Wellington, but said the province would not be offering land for sale by deferred payments.[19]

The second group of Scandinavians on the *England* arrived in Wellington on 21 March 1871. Again, Halcombe met them at the dock, along with an immigration officer from Canterbury, who convinced a few of the group (including, to Halcombe's annoyance, the only English-speaking settler) to go with him to the South Island. The remainder were housed in the barracks at Te Aro, where a few obtained jobs in Wellington. One single woman married a Norwegian sailor who crewed on the *England* and both became settlers. After three weeks in Wellington, the party, led by Halcombe, sailed to Foxton and walked inland.[20] Winter weather made the journey slow and difficult. The convoy camped overnight at Oroua Bridge, and were joined for supper by local Māori and a group of English workmen. After dinner, the group formed a circle around the fire and took turns performing traditional songs in Māori and Scandinavian languages. The next day a more formal encounter took place, with Māori from the nearby

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[14] AJHR, 1871, D3a, pp.10-13.
[15] AJHR, 1871, D3a, pp.7-8.
[16] *Evening Post* (EP), 6 Feb 1871, p.2.
[17] AJHR, 1871, D3a, p.13.
[18] AJHR, 1871, D3a, pp.16-17.
[19] EP, 22 Feb 1871, p.2.
[20] AJHR, 1871, D3a, pp.20-21.

pa presenting the Scandinavians with several tons of pumpkins, more songs, and speeches from both sides. After arriving in Palmerston, the families were assigned to sections on the same terms as the first group, and a large number of single men were given twenty acres each.[21]

Despite the excess of single male migrants, government officials considered the Scandinavian experiment to be a success and felt positive about the immigrants they had received. In his final report on the scheme Halcombe had "no hesitation in classing the Norwegians in the first rank as likely to be useful and successful settlers in a country where bush prevails". He considered the Swedes to be nearly as suitable as Norwegians but was less impressed with the Danes, who, he wrote, "do not appear to me to possess any special qualifications or aptitude for a Colonial life". While the Danes were experienced farmers, they lacked forestry skills of the Swedes and Norwegians. When the Scandinavians arrived there had been "a great popular prejudice, almost amounting to indignation, against them" but this had dissipated after a few months due to the good habits and hard work of the newcomers. Halcombe believed a few hundred more Scandinavian settlers would be welcomed in the same neighbourhoods.[22]

The Office of the Agent General

The Immigration and Public Works Act established a new position of Agent General, based in London, who would oversee immigration to New Zealand. Vogel and Featherston were regarded as the two strongest contenders but Featherston proved a more popular choice with Parliament. He was appointed in April 1871 and was soon sailing for London again.[23] Arriving in August, he first recruited staff and set up his office. He asked his old friend Charles Rooking Carter to help him find office space.[24] Carter, an English builder who had migrated to New Zealand in 1850, had been successful in business and politics before returning to London.[25] Featherston employed Carter as an immigration officer responsible for making lecture tours in England, and inspecting departing migrant ships. Several other men with New Zealand connections were hired to work in the offices, including John Morrison of the New Zealand government's business agency and they began recruiting a network of part time immigration agents

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[21] Ibid., and *Wellington Independent*, 22 April 1871, p.3.
[22] AJHR, 1871, D3a, pp.23-24.
[23] Dalziel, *Diplomacy*, pp.28-29.
[24] Dalziel, *Diplomacy*, p.30.
[25] G. H. Sutherland. 'Carter, Charles Rooking', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated December, 2005. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c8/carter-charles-rooking

from all parts of the British Isles.[26] Letters began arriving from New Zealand provinces with detailed requests for immigrants of different occupations and backgrounds. Featherston was in no position to fill the demand as he had barely set up his office.[27] He and his staff found it impossible to work with the many differing provincial migration requests and decided on a single set of regulations, based on those used in the Scandinavian experiment.[28] Agricultural labourers, mechanics, shepherds, domestic servants and navvies were offered assisted passage to New Zealand, provided they were considered to be of good character with sound mind and good health. Single men and families were required to pay some of their fare in advance while single women could travel with no deposit and repay the costs once they had arrived in New Zealand.[29] Vogel had also negotiated a deal with an English contracting company to build railways in New Zealand. The company, Brogden and Sons, would recruit several thousand railway workers who migrated to New Zealand as assisted immigrants.[30]

Featherston found the first few months in London disappointing. In a report to Colonial Secretary Gisborne, he wrote; "prospects for any large emigration from England and Scotland at present under the terms offered are not encouraging".[31] In Europe however, emigration was big business and Featherston was in contact with migration agents in the main ports. Leaving his staff to focus on recruiting British migrants, he visited Christiania, Gothenburg and Copenhagen in October 1871 and then Frankfurt and Hamburg, meeting with the migration agents he had dealt with the previous year. When he returned to London in November, he informed Gisborne that he had made preliminary agreements to recruit 2000 Germans, 3000 Norwegians and 1000 Danes, to arrive in New Zealand within two years.

Featherston instructed the agents to find as many single women for domestic service as possible, in addition to young married couples with one to three children. All were to be selected from rural districts and the migration agents would be paid £14 for each single female recruit, and £10 for every other adult. The single women would travel for free, and the others would pay £5 in cash or promissory note to the government. Featherston structured the agreement to ensure the contract would not be profitable for the agency unless at least a quarter of the recruits were single women. No detail was provided for the other agreements, but Scandinavian migrants would be expected to pay their own way

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[26] Dalziel, *Diplomacy*, pp.30-33.
[27] Dalziel, *Julius Vogel*, p. 147.
[28] AJHR, 1872, D1a, p.3.
[29] Dalziel, *Diplomacy*, pp.35-36.
[30] Delwyn Blondell, ''A Bright Eye to the Main Chance', Brogden's navvies – British labourers building New Zealand's Railways' Master's Thesis, Massey University, 2020.
[31] AJHR, 1872, D1a, p.4.

to either Hamburg or London, where they would be shipped to New Zealand.[32] Featherston assured the government the arrangements were not set in stone and he had retained the right to modify them. His letter to Wellington ended with an apology for the lack of detail, as he had no time to explain fully and promised to send the full contracts in a future mail.[33] He attached a copy of the conditions he had required from the Norwegian agents in Christiania, along with their letter agreeing to the terms, but provided no further details of the agreements he had made in Germany or Sweden.[34] The vague details and lack of paperwork were to become a regular feature of Featherston's despatches about continental migration and eventually contributed to major problems.

Back in New Zealand, Vogel dominated the 1871 session of the New Zealand Parliament, overshadowing even Premier William Fox. The economy was in trouble and the public works and immigration scheme became the main focus of Parliamentary debate. Vogel centralised the immigration programme and reduced the powers of the provincial governments, angering some of his provincial supporters. Parliamentary opposition to the government and Vogel's financial policies became organised and vocal.[35] After the session finished the implementation of public works and immigration became politically urgent in order for the government to retain support. Two more representatives were brought into the cabinet, including Hawkes Bay Superintendent John Davies Ormond, and South Island politician William Reeves.

The Immigration and Public Works Act had authorised the central government to purchase blocks of land from provincial governments for new settlements, and Hawkes Bay and Wellington provinces negotiated land sales. In Hawkes Bay, Ormond began planning the construction of a railway from Napier to Wellington in December 1870, while large sections of the required land, known to settlers as Seventy Mile Bush, were still owned by Māori. In June the Provincial Council approved his plans for special settlements in the area, and Ormond recommended the Nuhuka and Mahia blocks at the north end of the Bay as being suited to German settlers with vine-growing experience. He recommended that settlers bound for Seventy Mile Bush itself should be accustomed to bush work.[36]

The first Annual Report of the new Immigration and Public Works Department noted that Ormond had succeeded in purchasing a large part of Seventy Mile Bush. As the report stated, "The acquisition of this

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[32] AJHR, 1872, D1a, p.4-5.
[33] AJHR, 1872, D1a, p.4-5.
[34] AJHR, 1872. D1a, p.8.
[35] Dalziel, *Julius Vogel*, pp.124-127.
[36] AJHR, 1871, D3, pp.11, 13-15.

fine territory, and its occupation by immigrants, will give an incalculable impetus to the colonization of the North Island".[37] Planning was underway before the final purchase were confirmed. William Fitzherbert, who had recently replaced Featherston as Superintendent of Wellington province, was the first to suggest greater numbers of Scandinavians. In a May 1871 memo, he wrote that he required 100 Scandinavian families and single women: "They should all be farm labourers and lumberers as they would be introduced mainly with the view of locating them as pioneers in a bush country".[38] The request was forwarded to Featherston in London.[39]

A more detailed immigration plan was sent to London in October. Featherston was instructed to send 300 families and 100 single men as soon as possible. Gisborne wrote "It is intended that the Scandinavian Immigrants should be located in three small settlements along the line of road through the Seventy Mile Bush". The exact nationalities of the migrants were left up to the Agent General, but the government preferred that two settlements be Norwegian and one Swedish. Featherston was free to name each village himself, and each settlement would be assigned a 5000 acre area of bush. Within that area a ten acre village would be laid out in quarter acre sections. Reserves would be set aside for schools and churches and the remaining section should be sold to settlers. Outside the village, the rest of the land would be divided into twenty acre blocks and each migrant family would be allowed to select one of these for £20, which was to be paid off within three years. The government would provide transport from Napier to the new settlement sites and provide up to two weeks of rations and supplies. The men would be paid to build roads three or four days per week, with the remaining days free so they could work on their own land. Featherston was instructed to focus on recruiting families, as "single men are more attracted by the wages of settlers than by land". The government objected to giving families free passage and suggested charging a third of the cost, about £5, was reasonable, and could be paid either in cash or in instalments once they had arrived in New Zealand. Single women were to be offered free passage and single men, while covered by the subsidy, should be expected to pay their costs upfront. The exact details were left to Featherston's judgment.[40] Soon after, Gisborne advised Featherston he was sending an assistant to help with Scandinavian recruitment. Bror Eric Friberg was a Swedish forestry

[37] AJHR, 1871, D4, p.1.
[38] AJHR, 1871, D3, p.22.
[39] AJHR, 1872, D3, pp.25-26.
[40] AJHR, 1872, D1, pp.4-5.

expert who had lived in New Zealand for five years, most recently in Hawkes Bay. He was instructed to travel to London where he would report to Featherston.[41]

A month later, in November 1871, a full set of general instructions for the immigration scheme were sent to Featherston. The government required 8000 assisted immigrants in 1872, in addition to a number of workers required by Brogden's railway construction. Of these 8000, most would be distributed among the general population but Gisborne indicated that up to a third would be assigned to special settlements. The Hawkes Bay settlements were the only ones that had been planned. Featherston was authorised to accept promissory notes if migrants were unable to pay even the subsidised fare. Families were preferred but Gisborne made it clear that Featherston was "not to permit the precise letter, or even the spirit, of the instructions sent to you, to prevent your sending out the number of suitable immigrants I have asked for".[42]

These instructions took up to three months to reach London and this time delay meant it often took a further six months to clear up misunderstandings. Ormond, who took over the Ministry of Public Works at the end of 1871, noticed that Featherston had not provided the details of his continental contracts and mistakenly thought they were made with shipping companies. He wrote "I am unaware of the steps taken to approve the immigrants selected by the various Continental firms with whom you have contracted. It seems to me … that it would have been better, and more likely to have secured the class of immigrants desired, had the shipping firms provided only the passages and other means had been adopted for selecting the immigrants".[43] Featherston was urged to modify the contracts, even if it meant increased cost, to ensure that shipping firms were not responsible for the selection of migrants.

The Hamburg Contracts

Featherston returned to Hamburg in February 1872 to finalise the German contracts. The agreement was made with Louis Knorr and Co., a migration agency wholly owned by Charles August Mathei. Mathei had with a long association with the Sloman Shipping Company, and they had been working with the migration agent for Queensland, German businessman Wilhelm Kirchner, when Featherston arrived in

[41] AJHR, 1872, D1, pp.5-6.
[42] Dalziel, *Diplomacy*, p.35; AJHR, 1872, D1, p.8-9.
[43] AJHR, 1872, D1, p.35.

Hamburg.[44] The exact relationship between the three businesses remained unclear to the New Zealand government throughout the continental migration period.

Although the German contract was signed with Louis Knorr and Co., Featherston assured the government that shipping company owner Robert Sloman himself was "personally responsible" for the execution of the contract. The agreement stated that Louis Knorr and Co. would "procure and convey from Hamburg to any safe port in New Zealand" 2000 adult migrants, to be shipped "within two years of the present date". The contract specified that "The emigrants will consist of unmarried females between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five years, of young married couples with not more than from one to three children under twelve years of age (for any children in excess full passage money is to be paid by the emigrants)". Single men were permitted as long as their numbers did not exceed 10% of the passengers on each ship.[45] All emigrants were to be from rural districts, were required to "produce certificates of good character" from a local magistrate or clergyman, and the men "must have been employed as rural labourers". Louis Knorr and Co. agreed that conditions on the voyage would be of the standard required by the New Zealand government and they would be responsible for the supply of food and water to the passengers during the voyage. They also agreed to carry any Scandinavians recruited by New Zealand agents who made their way to Hamburg. The government agreed to pay a commission of £1 sterling for each adult migrant, and would provide the passage money for all single women and "about twelve vine-dressers and their families". The government would pay £10 for every other adult fare. In return, Louis Knorr and Co. agreed to collect £5 from each adult passenger and forward it in cash or promissory notes to the Agent General's Office in London.[46]

Next, Featherston turned to recruiting potential migrants from Scandinavia. His first problem was what to do with the new Scandinavian officer who had arrived from New Zealand. The Swedish forestry expert Bror Erik Friberg had arrived in London in March 1872 but Featherston was unable to employ him as intended. Norway, Denmark and Germany all required migration agents to be registered with the local police and pay a large bond in cash. Friberg was unable to pay and Featherston did not think it worth the cost, given that he had already signed contracts with local agents. Instead, he proposed that Friberg be sent to southern Sweden where it was hoped he could employ a licensed agent.[47] Friberg was

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[44] Heinz Burmester, 'The Fritz Reuter Story', trans. Helga Grattan and Rick Hogben (1983), p.12, R9731581, Archives New Zealand (ANZ).
[45] AJHR, 1872, D1a, p.13.
[46] AJHR, 1872, D1a, p.13.
[47] AJHR, 1872, D1a, pp.21-22.

sent to meet Hamburg-based migration agent Augustus Behrens who had licenced sub agents. When Friberg met these agents in Sweden, he was surprised to be shown flyers published by agents claiming to act on behalf of the New Zealand Government, advertising at far cheaper prices than Friberg was permitted to offer. Confused, he returned to London. Featherston instructed Friberg to return to Sweden and make himself useful for a few months by reporting on the local sugar beet, paper making and milk preservation industries. Finally, Featherston decided to appoint Friberg as leader of a group of 200 migrants who would sail on the first direct passage from Norway to Hawkes Bay later that year.[48]

The first ship was ready to leave Hamburg in May and Featherston personally supervised the departure. The *Friedeburg* owned by Robert Sloman, the largest ship owner in Hamburg, had just carried 300 migrants to Queensland. The ship had been inspected by Friberg and the newly appointed ship's doctor, J.D.L. Temple. Despite having signed the contract with Louis Knorr and Co., in his report Featherston described Sloman as "in reality, the contractor". He assured the government that Sloman was personally invested in the migration scheme and was prepared to "incur any reasonable extra expense" to satisfy the New Zealand government.[49]

Still in Hamburg, Featherston wrote to Gisborne regarding Ormond's concerns with the agreements. "I am happy to inform you that the course thus recommended by Mr. Ormond, in entire ignorance of the contracts into which I had entered, is precisely the one that has been adopted" he stated. Featherston explained that the contract with Louis Knorr and Co. was for selection of emigrants and the shipping company merely transported them. He reassured Vogel that all ships sailing from foreign ports would be inspected by himself or one of his trusted staff. The Norwegian and Danish contracts he had signed were also merely contracts to recruit and select suitable migrants, with no shipping involved. Likewise, the contract for the voyage from Norway was made directly with the ship owner Mr Bull, and had no connection with Winge and Co., the Norwegian recruitment agency.[50]

Next, Featherston travelled north to oversee the departure of the Norwegian ship *Høvding*. In Christiania he found there was little regulation of passenger conditions and refused to approve the departure until the accommodation and hygiene on board were improved. The ship finally sailed on May 31, carrying Bror Erik Friberg, along with 376 migrants.[51]

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[48] AJHR, 1872, D1a, pp.24-25.
[49] AJHR, 1872, D1b, p.3.
[50] AJHR, 1872, D1b, p.5.
[51] AJHR, 1873, D2d, p.4.

Scandinavians bound for New Zealand continued to arrive in London, where the Agent General's Office assigned them to ships carrying British migrants. *Ballarat*, *Halcione* and *Queen Bee* all sailed from England with groups of continental Europeans on board. A second ship sailed from Hamburg in July. The 228 passengers on board the *Palmerston* had arrived from various ports in Germany, Denmark and Norway. Carter, who inspected the ship, reported that seventy migrants came from a single district in West Prussia.[52]

Despite the concerns of the government, Featherston had reason to be pleased with the progress he had made with continental migration in 1872. However, by the end of the year the situation had changed. German officials were increasingly objecting to emigration, especially if it involved German subjects committing themselves to debts or service with overseas powers. The scheme Featherston had negotiated required migrants to take on debt in the form of promissory notes, which was at odds with the German government's approach, and put the German agents in a difficult position. Both Sloman and Louis Knorr and Co. became "unable or unwilling" to continue with the contracts.[53] Following the departure of the *Palmerston*, both Sloman's and Louis Knorr and Co. informed Featherston that they could no longer supply migrants under the present contract due to concerns about the use of the promissory notes in migration contracts.[54] Featherston failed to inform the government, apparently hoping the problem could be overcome.

Unaware of the new problems, the New Zealand Immigration Office published its first annual report, which focused on North Island immigration, including the Scandinavian settlements. Provincial immigration schemes in Canterbury and Otago had been running smoothly for some time and those schemes brought migrants into an already functioning economy. With the exception of Auckland, none of the North Island provinces had a functioning immigration scheme and the recent conflict had made expansion very difficult. New settlements in the North Island had to be built in thick bush and therefore required more effort and investment. Wellington and Hawkes Bay provinces had made concrete requests for settlements so these became the focus of the Department.[55] European migrants were arriving regularly too. Of the twenty-five migrant ships arriving in New Zealand in 1872, three sailed direct from Europe, and several of the British sailings carried large groups of continental migrants.[56]

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[52] AJHR, 1873, D2, pp.1-2.
[53] Burmester, 1983, pp.16-17.
[54] AJHR, 1877, D2, p.57.
[55] AJHR, 1872, D16, pp.3-4.
[56] Register of Immigrant Ships, IM 9/1. Archives New Zealand (ANZ).

Privately, the government did have some criticism of the European contracts and sent these to Featherston in London. William Reeves, overseeing the Public Works Office, worried that Featherston had not allowed for the selection of all migrants to be overseen by New Zealand government officials. He insisted that Featherston supervise the selection of migrants and approve all passengers before embarking: "[Y]our officers must be instructed firmly to refuse passages to any who may be physically or mentally unfit for the requirements of the colony". While it was too late to alter the 1872 contract, he urged Featherston to be more careful in future contracts. Reeves was also concerned that the repayment deal offered in the contract with Louis Knorr and Co. was more generous than that offered to British migrants. The government had "a decided objection to placing Scandinavian Immigration on better terms that that from the United Kingdom" and Reeves demanded that they be placed on terms equal with those for UK migrants.[57] It is worth noting that Featherston had still not provided the government with information about the equivalent contracts he had signed in Norway, Sweden or Denmark.

In July 1872 J.D. Ormond urged Featherston to halt any further recruitment of Danish migrants. He forwarded a report by Halcombe who had remained in close contact with the first two groups of Scandinavians. Halcombe had decided the Danes were "shiftless, thriftless, unable to work with the axe and not very willing to learn". As a result, he complained, the Danes were in debt, earning less than their Norwegian neighbours and prone to "magnify every little unavoidable difficulty into a great grievance". The Danes were filthy people living in filthy houses, he decided. In contrast, the Norwegians across the road were "cheerful and contented" and lived in "exquisitely clean" comfortable and well-decorated homes. He urged the Immigration Office to discourage any further migration from Denmark.[58] Another likely explanation, not mentioned by Halcombe, was that the Danes were overwhelmingly young single men, and rural life in Denmark meant dairy farming with very little experience of forestry. The other Scandinavians lived in family units and often came from areas where forestry skills were part of everyday farm life.

By the end of 1872 officials in New Zealand began to notice the lack of communication from the Agent General's office. In November, the acting head of the Immigration Office, G.M. Waterhouse, wrote a long and angry memo to the Agent General's office, informing Featherston that the information he had "with regard to your arrangements in England, is so exceedingly meagre as to be a cause of considerable

[57] AJHR, 1872, D1, p.44.
[58] AJHR, 1872, D1, p.50.

embarrassment to the Government".[59] The government had no idea of the number of employees working in the London office or how much they were being paid. Letters and requests had been unanswered for months, and rumours were circulating that the immigration contracts Featherston had made in Hamburg relating to European migrants had "fallen through", and Waterhouse wondered why the government had not been informed. More generally, the memo instructed Featherston to do more to increase the flow of migrants: Waterhouse wrote "I must again impress upon you that the speedy introduction into the colony of a suitable body of immigrants is the first consideration; the expense must be regarded of secondary importance". Featherston, who was very ill when he received the letter in early 1873, finally provided the requested details of his employees but did not mention the Hamburg contracts.[60]

Frustration with Featherston continued to grow in Wellington, and in May, the Immigration Office wrote to remind him that the New Zealand government still did not know whether the Hamburg contracts remained in force. Although Featherston had assured the Government that he had arranged for the delivery of 8000 continental Europeans migrants by the end of 1873, Immigration noted only 1916 had arrived as of May that year.[61] Featherston replied with a brief update in July. The Hamburg contract "had not actually fallen through" he wrote, but his German partners "were in a position of extreme difficulty" due to new German government restrictions on emigration. Only very recently had the firm admitted they could not carry out the contract, forcing Featherston to make alternative arrangements. No details of these difficulties or the new arrangements were provided.[62]

Featherston was also recruiting in England and Scotland but here too he was falling short. After being asked to supply 8000 migrants in 1872, he had found fewer than half that number, and faced harsh criticism in Parliament. A select committee was established to examine the immigration policy. While the committee came to the conclusion that the difficulties were beyond Featherston's control, many in the Government found him to be a useful scapegoat for the problems.[63]

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[59] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.16.
[60] AJHR, 1873, D2, pp.14-16; Charles Rooking Carter, *Life and Recollections of a New Zealand Colonist*, *vol. III*, (London: Charles Rooking Carter, 1875), pp.233-235. *Early New Zealand Books*; http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/
[61] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.88.
[62] AJHR, 1873, D2c, p.7.
[63] Dalziel, *Diplomacy*, pp.37-38.

Vogel becomes Immigration Minister

In October 1873, Vogel, who had succeeded Fox as Premier, took over the immigration portfolio. He quickly moved to improve communications by using the newly installed Melbourne telegram service. He instructed Featherston to introduce free passages for migrants, including free nominated migration, where a New Zealand resident could nominate a friend or relative in Europe and the government would pay for their passage. He also began writing his own pamphlet on the benefits of emigration to New Zealand, to be published and distributed by the New Zealand government.[64]

In London, Featherston's health improved and he travelled to Hamburg again to salvage the contracts. He informed the government that he had arranged to transfer the Louis Knorr and Co. contract to August Behrens, the "merchant of high respectability", who had assisted Friberg the year before. Featherston warned that, given the German government's opposition to emigration, "it is quite impossible at present" to say whether Behrens could fulfil the contract. He also arranged to transfer the Norwegian contract with Winge and Co. to a Mr Gunnerstadt, who had apparently been "the real agent throughout the whole business".[65] Despite the problems, the flow of European migrants had not stopped completely. The *Høvding* made a second sailing from Christiania to Napier in July, the only migrant ship making a direct sailing from Europe to New Zealand in 1873. Groups of European migrants sailed on six of the British migrant ships to New Zealand, and 805 continental European assisted emigrants arrived in the country that year.

Featherston needed to renegotiate the Hamburg contracts if European migration was to continue. His deal with August Behrens was short-lived as the German agent no longer held an emigration licence.[66] Featherston decided the solution was to hire Wilhelm Kirchner, the migration agent associated with Slomans who had been working for the Queensland government. Kirchner had lived in Australia for many years, and had managed the migration of thousands of Germans to Australia. In 1873 he was working for Richard Daintree, the Queensland Agent General in London. The Queensland government wanted to break their contract with Kirchner, and Kirchner was willing to expand his business to New Zealand.

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[64] Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1981), pp.46-47; AJHR, 1874, D1, pp.10-11.
[65] AJHR, 1874, D3, p.13.
[66] AJHR, 1874, D3, p.28.

Featherston travelled to Geneva to meet Kirchner in December 1873. Kirchner was willing to procure 4000 migrants for New Zealand but insisted that Sloman's ships be used. Featherston only agreed to this on condition that Slomans agreed to transport the remainder of the migrants due on the uncompleted Louis Knorr and Co. contract. The remainder of Kirchner's contract with Queensland would be transferred to New Zealand and Kirchner would take over the remainder of the Louis Knorr contract, and arrange with Sloman to ship the Queensland migrants. It is unclear if the migrants due on the Knorr contract or the Queensland contract had actually been organised and were now being inherited by Kirchner and redirected to New Zealand or if they were merely target numbers. Now that New Zealand was offering free passage without the need for migrants to enter into debt, any legal obstacles were removed and Sloman was happy to sign on again. Featherston informed Wellington that he hoped to complete these negotiations by early 1874 and he predicted that he would deliver 1500 migrants under the Louis Knorr and Co. contract, 1500 under the Queensland contract and a further 4000 under Kirchner. Under the new arrangements, Kirchner proposed to increase recruitment in Switzerland and Northern Italy in order to avoid the increasing legal restrictions on emigration in the German Empire.[67] Featherston, meanwhile, had already begun promoting migration to New Zealand in central Europe. One of his London staff had written a promotional pamphlet, *Notes from New Zealand*, and Featherston arranged for it to be translated into German and distributed at the New Zealand pavilion of the Great Exhibition in Vienna, the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[68]

The Hamburg ships resume sailing

Featherston had reason to be optimistic. Ships would begin sailing from Hamburg in spring, and it was agreed that Scandinavians enroute to New Zealand would travel through Hamburg instead of London.[69] He visited Hamburg in May of 1874 to confirm the new arrangements. The *Reichstag* sailed on 10 May and the contracts themselves were signed a few days later.[70] Featherston sent a note to Vogel briefly explaining that Robert Sloman had agreed to resume sailings to New Zealand, completing the contract between New Zealand and Louis Knorr and Co. The previous contract with the Queensland government to provide 1600 statute adults had also now been transferred to the New Zealand government. Kirchner

[67] AJHR, 1874, D3, p.28.
[68] AJHR, 1874, D3, p.12.
[69] AJHR, 1874, D3, p.39.
[70] AJHR, 1874, D3a, p.5.

had agreed to send a further 4000 migrants on a commission basis as soon as the first two contracts were completed. Sloman had agreed to carry these passengers at the rate of £14 per adult migrant. Ships began leaving for New Zealand almost immediately and Featherston promised to send the full contracts as soon as he could.[71] The contracts Featherston signed would eventually become the subject of a long dispute, but at the time all parties were pleased with the deal. The new contract was a big boost for Sloman, whose fleet included ten sailing ships capable of transporting migrants to the South Pacific. The long distances involved, plus the requirement to locate and load cargo for a return voyage, meant that he needed to acquire new ships in order to move the number of migrants required for his Australasian business. He bought two English steamships and converted them to sail for use as long-range migrant ships. One, the *Fritz Reuter*, was ready to sail by the end of the year and was immediately prepared for a voyage to New Zealand.[72]

The contract itself was signed on 14 May. Robert Sloman and Frederick Loesener, trading as Sloman and Co., agreed to convey 1615 migrants to New Zealand within eighteen months, for payment of £7 per statute adult passenger.[73] The contract described Wilhelm Kirchner as "the agent for the New Zealand Government on the continent for the time being". In an undated letter, Featherston also offered Kirchner a salary of £400 plus expenses to act as the New Zealand migration agent on the continent. Kirchner was to be paid a salary of £400 to manage the remaining migrants on his previous Queensland contract and the Louis Knorr and Co. contract. When these were completed, Kirchner would be paid a £1 commission per adult, for a further 4000 migrants.[74] These terms would remain in force until the completion of "[Featherston's] contracts with Messrs Louis Knorr and Co., or their successor, for the conveyance of respectively 2,000 and 1,615 emigrants". After these contracts were completed, Featherston promised Kirchner the same commission for a further 4000 migrants.[75]

Copies of these documents were not sent to New Zealand until January 1875 and some letters exchanged that week were not sent to the government at all.[76] These missing documents would cause major problems later on. The agreements were fairly clear that the three contracts would come into force consecutively but did not define what would happen if delivery of migrants was late. The process

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[71] AJHR, 1874, D3a, p.5.
[72] Burmester, pp.19-20.
[73] AJHR, 1875, D2, pp.68-70.
[74] AJHR, 1875, D2, p.69.
[75] AJHR, 1875, D2, p.69.
[76] AJHR, 1877, D2, p.62.

of engaging a migrant took many months. A prospective migrant would book a passage on an upcoming voyage through a sub-agent in their local area. They would then need to make arrangements including selling property, resigning from their job and making their way to Hamburg. Travellers arriving before the advertised departure of the ship would have to find accommodation until the departure date. Then they would be approved by Kirchner or his agent Mathei, and examined by the medical officer before being confirmed on the ship's passenger list. Kirchner booked ships months in advance on the basis of his ticket sales, which all parties, including Featherston, understood. No one thought it necessary to detail what would happen in the event of a disagreement.

Four ships sailed from Hamburg in 1874 carrying a total of 1472 passengers: the *Reichstag* and the *Humboldt* to Wellington, the *Gutenberg* to Canterbury, and finally the *Fritz Reuter* made its first New Zealand voyage to Napier. Groups of continental migrants continued to arrive in the main New Zealand ports on board English migrant ships too. Featherston's figures for 1874 showed the number of continental immigrants included 770 Germans, 276 Danes, 765 Swedes, 27 Norwegians, 43 Russian, 42 Swiss and 636 other Europeans, a total of 2559 people. This compared with 21,369 English, 5810 Scots, and 6831 Irish.[77]

Kirchner produced a January 1875 report on his first year as New Zealand emigration agent. He had made good progress on completing the Louis Knorr and Co. contract, sending 1386 migrants to New Zealand, with another 453 remaining, before the second agreement (under the Queensland contract) for 1611 adults came into force. When these were completed, he proposed a reorganisation of the migration agencies and agents under his control. He summarised German emigration figures for 1874 and blamed a reduction in numbers on dissatisfaction with conditions in the United States, rather than German opposition to emigration itself. Small farmers in Germany were being squeezed by large landowners and preferred emigration to taking up wage work in Germany. Kirchner reported that males between the ages of 18 and 28 were still prohibited from leaving Germany, but he had managed to obtain passports for some men from that age group, provided they were travelling with their families and had not yet joined the army. Scandinavian migrants were still available and many workers wished to emigrate from Italy and Switzerland. Kirchner pointed out that many could not afford to travel to

[77] AJHR, 1875, D2, p.78.

Hamburg, and suggested offering credit, land or a job offer, to induce them to travel. Alternatively, he suggested, the Government might consider basing migrant ships in Trieste.[78]

Vogel arrives in London

Back in New Zealand, Cabinet decided to send Vogel to London to negotiate a £4,000,000 loan to fund public works, and reorganise the Agent Generals Office. Vogel and his family made a leisurely trip to Europe and arrived in London in January 1875.[79] While Vogel was supposed to cooperate with New Zealand officials in London while negotiating the loan, his arrival managed to upset all of them, including Featherston, provoking criticism from his political opponents back in New Zealand.

Vogel and Featherston shared the Agent General's office until April. The relationship was often tense, and immigration officer Charles Rooking Carter was convinced that Vogel was planning to replace Featherston. While Vogel made some useful improvements to the office, he also criticised many of the procedures which had been developed over the years.[80] Vogel produced a detailed list of instructions for Featherston, in which he critiqued almost every aspect of Featherston's operation.[81] Vogel wanted to abolish free passages and reintroduce promissory notes, changes that would not comply with German migration laws, but Vogel believed that recruiting European migrants was no longer cost effective. As he wrote:

> I do not see why we should be unable to obtain from the United Kingdom the number of immigrants we require. The expenses of dealing with Germans and Scandinavians on their arrival in the colony, and the disadvantages arising in many cases from the foreign shipping arrangements, make me think it would be better on the whole, to end these contracts.[82]

Vogel pointed out that while the Queensland government had decided that Germans were no longer required, Featherston had not only taken over the Queensland contract, but he had extended it. It was "intolerable", Vogel wrote, "that our own countrymen should have to pay for reaching New Zealand, while we were conveying foreigners thither entirely at our own expense". Featherston was instructed to consult the government solicitor in London, with the aim of ending the Kirchner contract if possible.

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[78] AJHR, 1875, D2, pp.88-89 (Kirchner's Emigration Report is dated 31 Jan 1874 but this is a typo, it should read 1875)
[79] Dalziel, *Julius Vogel*, pp.196-198
[80] Dalziel, *Julius Vogel*, pp.200-201.
[81] AJHR, 1875, D1a, pp.1-7.
[82] AJHR, 1875, D1a, p.5.

Vogel was still in London two months later when he received a telegram from New Zealand, asking that free immigration be reinstated. He withdrew his instructions regarding promissory notes but reminded Featherston that the rest of his instructions still applied.[83] Soon after instructing Featherston that continental migrants were no longer required, Vogel became ill and decided he needed a holiday in Germany, not returning to London until later that year.[84]

It is unclear whether Featherston made any attempt to extract himself from the contracts in 1875. He claimed that he notified Kirchner of the April instructions and together they travelled to Switzerland, Tyrol and Italy "for the express purpose of informing [Kirchner's] local agents that [Featherston] will not guarantee free emigration after the close of the current season".[85] In Hamburg, the migration scheme continued, with six New Zealand bound ships leaving Germany in the 1875 sailing season. Sloman needed to charter the *Terpischore* from a rival company. Winter ice came to the Elbe early so the *Gutenberg* was forced to leave Hamburg and load its passengers from Bremerhaven instead.[86]

The cancellation of the Hamburg contracts

On 17 January 1876, a telegram from New Zealand instructed Vogel to "stop foreign emigration, except engaged and nominated".[87] Vogel had already left for New Zealand, but Featherston forwarded the news to his German partners, informing them that free migration to New Zealand had ceased and ships were no longer required. Confusion about the contracts Featherston had signed were about to become a problem. Dozens of letters and telegrams flew back and forth between London, New Zealand and Hamburg for the next few months, as every participant argued their view of the contracts and the dispute. Featherston's secretary Cashel Hoey compiled a detailed summary of the dispute. According to his account, Kirchner was well aware that continental emigration could be cancelled at any time. Kirchner had written to Featherston multiple times asking for fair treatment for himself and his sub-agents and warned Featherston that Sloman would be difficult to deal with in the event of a cancellation. However, in January 1876, Kirchner informed Featherston that "having no further instructions from you", he and his agents were proceeding with recruitment for the 1876 season and

[83] AJHR, 1875, D1b, p.1.
[84] Dalziel, *Julius Vogel*, pp. 202-203, p.207
[85] AJHR, 1877, D2, p.2.
[86] Burmester, p.16.
[87] AJHR, 1876, D1, p.5.

expected that the third contract (4000 migrants) would come into force soon. Kirchner visited London in February and it was here that he was shown the telegram ordering a stop to all emigration.[88]

When Kirchner returned to Europe, he consulted his sub agents and wrote to the government setting out his claim. He was already committed to sending at least four ships to New Zealand in 1876. Many of the migrants he had engaged had relatives in New Zealand and refused to accept alternative destinations. His sub agents were worried they would be financially ruined if the agreements they had made were not upheld, and Kirchner added that cancellation would cause a major political scandal in the German press. Finally, Kirchner complained that he had expected at least six months' notice of the cessation of emigration.

Featherston replied that Kirchner had ample warning that emigration was about to end and should not have committed himself to continuing to recruit migrants. However, Featherston had not issued any formal instructions before the telegram arrived and was well aware that Kirchner oversaw a network of sub-agents who recruited migrants before sending them on to Hamburg. Kirchner had authorised his sub agents to engage 1500 emigrants for free passage to New Zealand, and by January 1876 applications had exceeded that number. Featherston argued these migrants had not yet been personally approved by Kirchner and therefore were not eligible for inclusion. Kirchner then provided paperwork showing how he and his agents had accepted 558 adults before he received notice that emigration was to end. [89] Kirchner had already booked two ships to carry these migrants, but informed Featherston that if numbers before the sailing date dropped, he might be able to fit them all onto one ship. He wrote

> I sincerely hope you will allow me to forward the above emigrants. … My position would not only be terrible and involve me in ruin and disgrace, but the poor emigrants who trusted to me, would also be plunged into unspeakable misery, as they have broken up their homes and sold their little property at a great sacrifice.[90]

The constantly changing numbers made Featherston suspicious and the more he heard from Kirchner the more determined he was that emigration should cease immediately. He instructed both Sloman and Kirchner that no ships should be chartered in 1876. Kirchner protested, arguing that he had kept the government informed at every stage and the telegram he had received in January had only instructed

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[88] Ibid.
[89] AJHR, 1877, D2, p.12.
[90] AJHR, 1877, D2, p.12.

him to suspend emigration "as far as possible". It was not until February 1876 that Kirchner was told that assisted emigration was definitely over. At the London meeting, Featherston had assured him any emigrants already engaged would be accepted. Kirchner claimed similar assurances had been given to Sloman. When Kirchner had notified his sub-agents, they had complained vigorously and informed him of several hundred more emigrants whom they had already engaged. Kirchner would need to approve each of these, as per his contract, and expected some of them to fail his examination or drop out. This, Kirchner argued, explained the varying numbers he had quoted to Featherston. Featherston responded that he had confidence in his case and was prepared to defend it in court. He ended by pointing out that Sloman had failed to fulfil the Queensland contract, therefore all other proposed agreements were void.[91]

In Robert Sloman's opinion, Kirchner had acted as an employee of the New Zealand government when he had booked the *Fritz Reuter* and *Humboldt*. Sloman appealed to Featherston to allow these two ships to sail before ending the New Zealand contract. Sloman and Featherston argued back and forth by letter, with Featherston refusing liability for any migrants not already personally approved by Kirchner himself, and arguing that Kirchner lacked the authority to charter ships on behalf of the New Zealand government. Finally, Featherston argued that the Queensland contract had not been completed within the specified time, therefore any and all contracts were now void. Sloman took legal advice and met with Featherston in London, but the two men could not agree.[92]

When Sloman returned to Hamburg, he wrote to Kirchner, demanding payment for the two chartered ships before they sailed. [93] Kirchner advised that he could not pay and had himself been ordered to appear before the 'Hamburg Emigration Board' to explain the situation. It appears likely that some of the prospective passengers had complained that Kirchner was about to break his contract with them. All migration agents operating in Hamburg were required to pay a bond to the Hamburg police as part of their licence and the court ruled this bond would be forfeited it the ships did not sail. The bond in question, 12000 marks in the name of Charles Mathei, had actually been paid by Slomans. Robert Sloman was not prepared to lose this money, and decided the ships would sail. Of the emigrants who had been bound for New Zealand, 416 ticket holders would sail on the *Fritz Reuter* and the remainder would be diverted to Brazil on the *Humboldt.*[94] The *Fritz Reuter* left Hamburg on 17 April 1876, bound

[91] AJHR, 1877, D2, pp.12-14.
[92] AJHR, 1877, D2, pp.16-20.
[93] AJHR, 1877, D2, p.15.
[94] AJHR, 1877, D2, pp.14-15.

for Wellington with 510 passengers in steerage and a Sloman family representative in the first-class cabin.

Featherston never saw the resolution of the dispute. As his health deteriorated in London, he realised that he was unable to continue, and resigned his position as Agent General in June 1876. He died by the end of the month.[95] In the meantime, the *Fritz Reuter* continued its voyage to New Zealand with an unauthorised cargo of prospective settlers.

The arrival of the Fritz Reuter

After 110 days at sea, the *Fritz Reuter* anchored outside Wellington harbour on 4 August 1876. The *Evening Post* reported the vessel carried "no Government immigrants, but has nearly 500 souls on board ... who were ready to come out when orders were given to discontinue the shipment of foreign immigrants".[96] The arrival "caused a complication that at one time had threatened to be rather awkward". The government "declined to receive or recognise them, declaring their shipment wholly unauthorised". Friedrich Krull, the German Consul in Wellington, intervened and arranged for the migrants to be unloaded and placed in the immigration barracks "without prejudice to any future proceedings in the matter between the government and the agents".[97] The *New Zealand Times* printed a summary of the dispute in its pages on Tuesday 8 August. The paper reported that Featherston refused to accept the emigrants, but the ship had sailed anyway, and that "The question of who is to pay for their passages will have to be settled in Europe". The passengers were unloaded from the ship that day after four nights in the harbour. Featherston's reputation was tarnished by the controversy, which impacted a meeting held by his friends to set up a memorial fund in his name. The meeting was held on Wednesday evening, a day after the *Fritz Reuter* passengers were unloaded. According to the *Evening Post*, fewer than twenty people attended and "the hall presented a deplorable, empty and deserted aspect".[98]

The *Fritz Reuter* brought more bad news for the government. The Sloman family representative on board, Robert S. Sloman (possibly the son of the company boss) brought with him copies of an agreement signed by Robert Sloman and Featherston on 11 May 1874, which committed the government to 4000 emigrants. German Consul Krull forwarded the document to the Minister of

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[95] Dalziel, *Diplomacy*, p.48.
[96] EP, 5 August 1876, p.2.
[97] EP, 5 August 1876, p.2.
[98] EP, 10 August 1876, p.2.

Immigration, who was caught by surprise. Atkinson described the contract as "a document of considerable importance, which certainly should have been sent to the government".[99] "There is now little doubt", the *Otago Witness* wrote, that the government was liable for the costs of the *Fritz Reuter* and its passengers and damages owed to Sloman.[100] The *Star* criticised the government's refusal to pay the usual gratuities owed to the captain, ship's doctor and other officers. Their correspondent also noted the appearance of the 1874 agreement and government's apparent lack of knowledge about it.[101]

The document in question was an agreement made between Featherston and Sloman before the signed official contract of May 1874. A copy of the letter in the Hamburg Archives is dated 11 May 1874, a few days before the formal contract was signed. In it, Robert Sloman outlined the terms of a verbal agreement made in Hamburg. Sloman agreed to "herewith engage and bind ourselves to convey from Hamburg to New Zealand … four thousand Statute adults(sic) passengers to be shipped at such times and at such ports as may be appointed by Mr W. Kirchner your Agent on the Continent … within four years of the present date". Continuing, the letter requested "that you will kindly acknowledge that the above are terms of a verbal agreement entered into". Featherston replied the next day "I herewith confirm the above agreement".[102] The letters confirm Sloman's argument that Featherston had committed the government to importing 4000 further migrants.

The dispute dragged on with letters back and forth for another year, until the government decided to settle out of court and pay compensation to Slomans and to Kirchner. The government legal advice stated "there can be no question that Dr Featherston regarded the contracts which Mr. Kirchner and Messrs. Sloman and Co. as to the 4000 to be absolutely dependent on the Queensland contract being fulfilled in due time". The problem was that when the Queensland contract had expired in November 1875 without being completed, Featherston did not notify either Kirchner or Slomans that the contract had therefore come to an end. In fact he did not inform them of the end of emigration until February 1876. The lawyers advised that any engagements or business carried out by Sloman or Kirchner before February might be claimed as eligible for compensation.[103]

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[99] AJHR, 1877, D1, p.4.
[100] *Otago Witness*, 12 August 1876, p.10.
[101] *Star*, 19 August 1876, p.3.
[102] Hans Burmester, *Vertrage und Schriftverkehr, Material zur Schiffartsgeschichte*, 741-14, pp.10-12, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[103] AJHR, 1877, D2, pp.57-63.

Conclusion

The arrival of the *Fritz Reuter* in Wellington harbour in August 1876 signalled the end of New Zealand's largest continental European immigration project. The scheme, never clearly planned by the government, had begun as a pilot project in 1871 to recruit small groups of Scandinavian couples. As New Zealand's first Agent General, Isaac Featherston was under pressure to supply settlers as fast as he could and he made a series of short-term decisions in response to these pressures. He found it easy to negotiate the recruitment of large numbers of European migrants with the established migration agents on the continent. However, he did not fully understand the complexities of the European migration business and failed to carefully define the business relationships into which he had entered. Communication delays and conflict between Featherston and Vogel added to the difficulty. By 1875 it was becoming clear that continental migration to New Zealand was more trouble than it was worth to the New Zealand government, but as Featherston moved to cancel the arrangements, a messy legal dispute became inevitable. Featherston lacked control over the details of the continental migration process as the New Zealand government discovered after he died in June 1876.

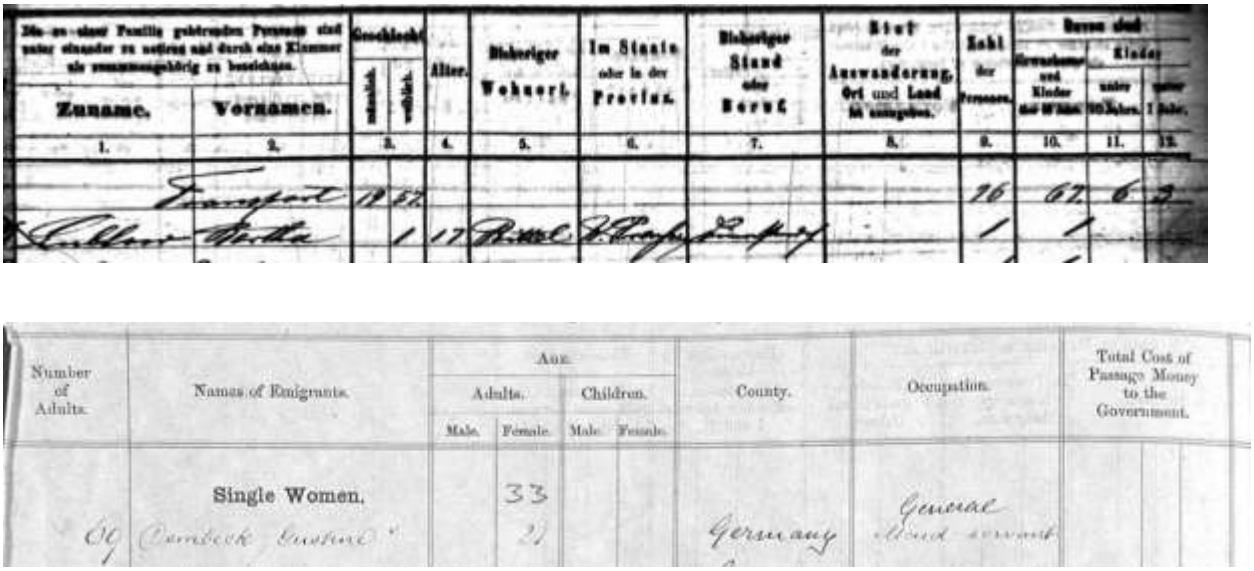
More than 7000 European assisted immigrants arrived in New Zealand while the scheme operated from 1871 to 1876. They were a small part of the New Zealand governments assisted immigration scheme and even smaller part of the massive movement of Continental migrants who left Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, but for better or worse they all became part of Vogel's plan to transform colonial New Zealand. These migrants will be profiled in the next chapter.

Chapter Two. Who were the migrants who left Europe for New Zealand?

This chapter will profile the European migrants who came to New Zealand as assisted immigrants between 1871 and 1876. A database containing information on 7090 individual migrants was created specifically for this project. The information gathered on these individuals came from a range of sources and allows us to examine the age, gender, family status and occupations of the migrants. Detailed information on the origins of many of the migrants allows us to examine the regional origins of many of the migrants in fine detail. Profiling migrants from these regions can help us understand how regional economic and social factors caused migration patterns to differ around Europe. The chapter begins with an overview of the New Zealand bound European migrants and moves into country specific sections beginning with the single largest national group, the Danish migrants, before moving to Norway and Sweden. Next, migrants from within the German empire are examined. The Empire was made up of a range of territorial administrations ranging from large provinces to small city states with multiple languages and ethnicities. Finally, the chapter will look at those migrants who originated in regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the small number of French Italian and Swiss migrants.

The New Zealand bound migrants

The continental assisted immigrants who boarded ships bound for New Zealand between 1871 and 1876 had their biographical details recorded by governments in Europe and in New Zealand. The Hamburg State Archives hold information on New Zealand bound migrants in the passenger departure lists which are digitised on Ancestry.com. New Zealand assisted immigration passenger lists provide a further 2945 migrants. Most of the New Zealand passenger lists are available on *FamilySearch* but passengers for two voyages were obtained from other archival sources. A total of 7090 continental Europeans were identified and information on them was entered into a database. The information from the passenger lists includes name, age, marital status and occupation, as well as country of origin for all the migrants, and in the case of those who left from Hamburg, information on the last place of residence.



Number of Adults.	Names of Emigrants.	Age: Adults. Male.	Age: Adults. Female.	Age: Children. Male.	Age: Children. Female.	County.	Occupation.	Total Cost of Passage Money to the Government.
	Single Women.		33					
69	Dembeck Gustine		21			Germany	General Hand servant	

Figure 2.1 The upper picture is an example of the Hamburg Passenger Records. Columns 1 to 7 read: Surname, First name, gender, age, previous place of residence, in the city or province, previous status or occupation. The passenger listed here was Bertha Lublow. She was seventeen when she boarded the *Friedeburg* in Hamburg in 1872. Her last place of residence was listed as Rittel in West Prussia and her occupation as 'dienstmädchen' (domestic servant). The second picture shows an entry from a New Zealand passenger list from the same voyage, listing Gustine Dembeck, female, 21 years old, with her place of origin listed as simply Germany.

The nature of the sources used for this study makes an exact count difficult. The Hamburg lists often contain hand-written notes with last minute additions and corrections to the lists which are difficult to interpret. The Hamburg lists are emigration records compiled before the ship departed. When the European migrant ships arrived in New Zealand, immigration officials recorded passenger details but these were often hand-written lists on notepaper. Many of the migrant ships which left Hamburg or other European ports did not carry the New Zealand government logbook, and on arrival in New Zealand immigration officials compiled a hand-written passenger list. These lists are included in the New Zealand arrival records but they are often incomplete and of varying quality, having been compiled by an official who did not speak the language of the new arrivals or the ship's crew. The last place of residence information collected in the Hamburg records is far more detailed than the equivalent records in the New Zealand lists and allows us to determine the origins of migrants who left from German ports in far greater detail that those who travelled from other ports. For these reasons, where available, the Hamburg data has been preferred. Names and placenames are often incomprehensible. The passenger lists for New Zealand bound migrant ships from London are recorded in log books which sailed with the

ship and therefore contain additions to record births and deaths on the voyage. The method for recording these additions varied and is often unclear.

Passenger lists for four voyages carrying Scandinavian migrants were not included in the official passenger records and were found in a range of archives.[1] Altogether, 7090 individuals were identified in the records as being assisted migrants who travelled to New Zealand from Europe between 1871 and 1876. A small number of individuals may have decided not to travel at the last minute, or died on route, or have been recorded incorrectly, but the size of the sample means these errors are statistically insignificant. Although the continental migration scheme ended in 1876, small numbers of nominated migrants from Europe continued to make their way to New Zealand via London in the years that followed. The details of these migrants are not included in the following analysis.

A profile of the European assisted immigrants

The Vogel migration scheme actively recruited rural labourers, craftsmen and builders, and offered free passages to single women with experience in domestic service.[2] The European assisted immigrants had a similar profile to the assisted immigrant population from the British Isles, with eight out of ten male migrants listing their occupation as either labourer or farm labourer.

The gender balance of the New Zealand bound continental assisted migrants mirrored that of the existing New Zealand Pākehā population. Of the 7090 migrants who left Europe for New Zealand, 4057 (57.2%) were male, and 3033 (42.8%) were female. For comparison, the 1871 census recorded the Pākehā population as ratio of 58.6% male and 41.4% female. Continental European born residents in 1871 were overwhelmingly male; 5105 (86%) compared with 849 (14%) women.

Unsurprisingly, most of the adult European Vogel migrants were between 20 and 40 years of age. Married couples with children made up the majority of migrants. Most of those over fifty-five years of age were elderly single parents travelling with younger relatives. The oldest was eighty-four year old German man Conrad Sander, who travelled as part of a group of two families from the same village near Hanover, and was the father of one of the married women.

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[1] See Appendix for details.

[2] Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland, 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), p.42

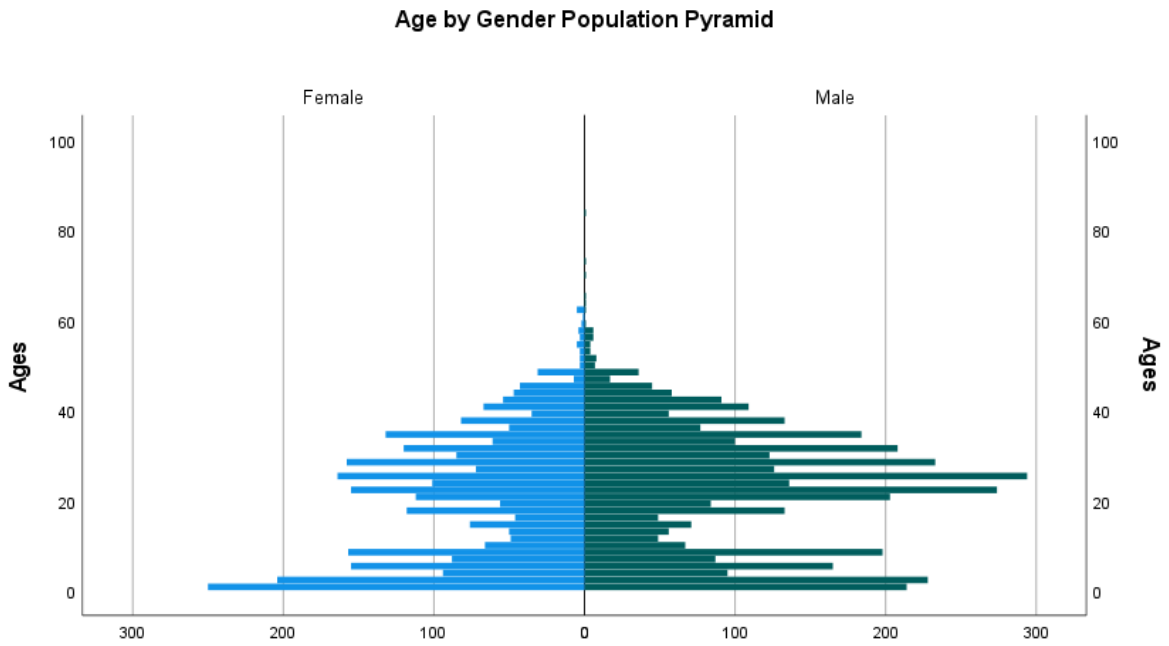

Figure 2.2: European Assisted Immigrants to New Zealand 1871 -1876, Ages by gender. Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

Despite the New Zealand governments preference for single women, single male migrants outnumbered single females by more than two to one, and the remaining migrants were almost all young married couples with or without children. The solo parents included fourteen single fathers travelling with children and six single mothers. There were four widows listed.

Table 2.1: Family status of continental assisted Immigrants, 1870-1876.

child male	1236	17.4%
child female	1193	16.8%
single male	1644	23.2%
single female	656	9.2%
married male	1163	16.4%
married female	1174	16.6%
solo parents and widows	24	0.2%
Total	7090	100%

Note: children defined as up to and including 15 years

Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

Occupations were recorded for 4429 passengers as they boarded. Of the 1598 female adults, 72% were married. The vast majority of the remainder were single women classified as domestic servants, with a small number classified as farmers or farm labourers. The twenty-four who gave other occupations included two nurses, a milliner, a dressmaker, a seamstress, one factory worker, one dairy worker and a governess. It is likely the many rural women, both married and single, were skilled in dairying and other farm work.

Table 2.2: Adult Female occupations

Married	1166	72.97%
Domestic Servant	393	24.59%
Farm or Farm Labourer	15	0.94%
Other	24	1.50%
Total	1598	100.00%

Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

Of the 2807 adult males, 2656 had their occupation listed, and the majority were labourers or farm labourers. Many labourers came from rural areas and were likely to have been as experienced at farm work as the men listed as farm labourers. The fifty-nine men listed as 'Farmer' were mostly from Scandinavia. It is not clear whether this meant that they had previously been landowning farmers as opposed to farm labourers, or if they were just recorded differently. The next most significant occupational categories were carpenters, miners and tailors. Bootmakers and shoemakers made up the next largest category, followed by gardeners and blacksmiths. There were fifteen sugar bakers, all from Germany. The 'Religious' category included Edward Nielsen, listed as a Swedish priest (he was a

Norwegian-born Wesleyan Pastor) and a group of five German missionaries.[3] The last category, 'Other' included 24 labourers who listed a second skilled occupation such as tailor or shoemaker, half a dozen mechanics and engineers, sailors, soldiers, and two Norwegian chimneysweeps.

Table 2.3: Adult male European assisted immigrant occupations

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Labourer	1078	40.59%
Farm Labourer	1021	38.44%
Farmer	59	2.22%
Carpenter	58	2.18%
Miner	36	1.36%
Tailor	36	1.36%
Blacksmith	34	1.28%
Bootmaker or shoemaker	30	1.13%
Gardener	21	0.79%
Baker	16	0.60%
Business/White Collar	16	0.60%
Sugar Baker	15	0.56%
Painter	11	0.41%
Masons	11	0.41%
Servants	10	0.38%
Engineer	9	0.34%
Religious	6	0.23%
Other	189	7.12%
Total	2656	100%

Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

The majority of the passengers, numbering 4148 (58.5%), travelled direct from Hamburg, where the authorities collected detailed information on the last place of residence of each passenger. The phrase 'last place of residence' may have been interpreted in a variety of ways, but the information does provide us with detailed data on the geographical origin of the migrants which is unavailable elsewhere.

[3] Edward Nielsen, 1877/4121, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

The chart below shows how the number of migrants recruited and the regions they were recruited from, changed over the five-year recruitment period. Immigration in the years 1872 and 1873 was dominated by Scandinavians, with Germans being the only other significant group. When Wilhelm Kirchner took charge of recruiting for New Zealand in 1874, he looked further afield, including central and southern Europe. Overall, migrant numbers increased but Scandinavian recruitment remained relatively steady until dropping sharply in 1876.

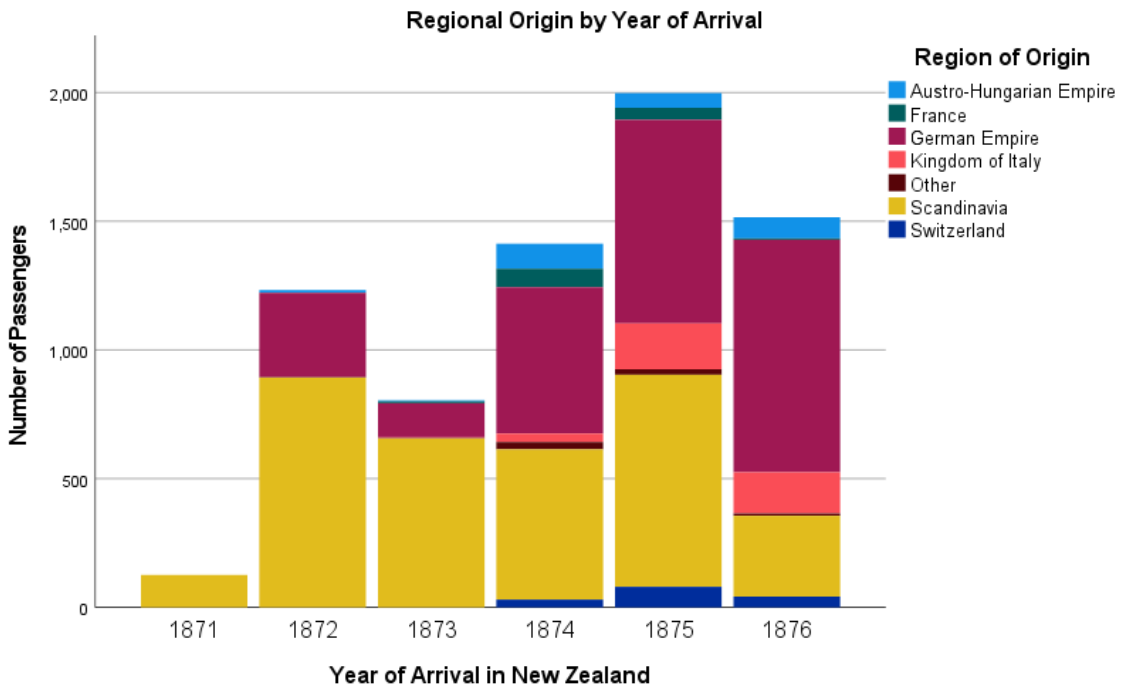

Figure 2.3: European assisted immigration to New Zealand by region and year. Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

The Scandinavians

Nearly half the European migrants in the dataset were Scandinavian, and the majority of the Scandinavian migrants were Danish. The original 1871 experiment had brought 126 Scandinavians to New Zealand, and the signing of new contracts in October that year meant migration agents began recruiting in Norway and Copenhagen for the 1872 sailing season. Of the 1234 Europeans who sailed for New Zealand in 1872, 893 (72%) were Scandinavians. The *Høvding* sailed direct from Christiania carrying

Norwegians and both the 1872 Hamburg voyages included Scandinavian passengers. Three ships sailed from England with large numbers of Scandinavians onboard too. Winge and Co. of Christiania had agreed to supply 3000 Norwegian migrants by October 1873, but only 814 sailed in the 1872 and 1873 seasons. Most of those travelled direct on the two voyages of the *Høvding*. Direct recruitment of Norwegians ceased by the end of 1873.

Table 2.4: Scandinavian Migrant Origins 1871 to 1876

	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	Total
Norway	49	533	281	21	57	56	997
Denmark	50	334	345	402	613	223	1967
Sweden	27	16	30	162	154	35	424
	126	883	656	585	824	314	3388

Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

In 1874 Wilhelm Kirchner had taken over migrant recruitment, and the proportion of German migrants increased. Wilken Horneman continued to supply Danish migrants, who made up the majority of Scandinavian migrants between 1874 and 1876. Only 134 Norwegians arrived in New Zealand in the following three years. Swedish recruiting remained low until 1874 when 162 boarded ships, most of those travelling by way of England. Most of the 154 Swedes who travelled in 1875 passed through Hamburg.

The gender ratio for the entire dataset shows 57.3% of the migrants were male and 42.7% were female. The ratio for the Scandinavians was similar but examining the totals by country suggests that the 997 Norwegians were split almost evenly, but men were over-represented in the Denmark (58%) and Sweden (61%) groups.

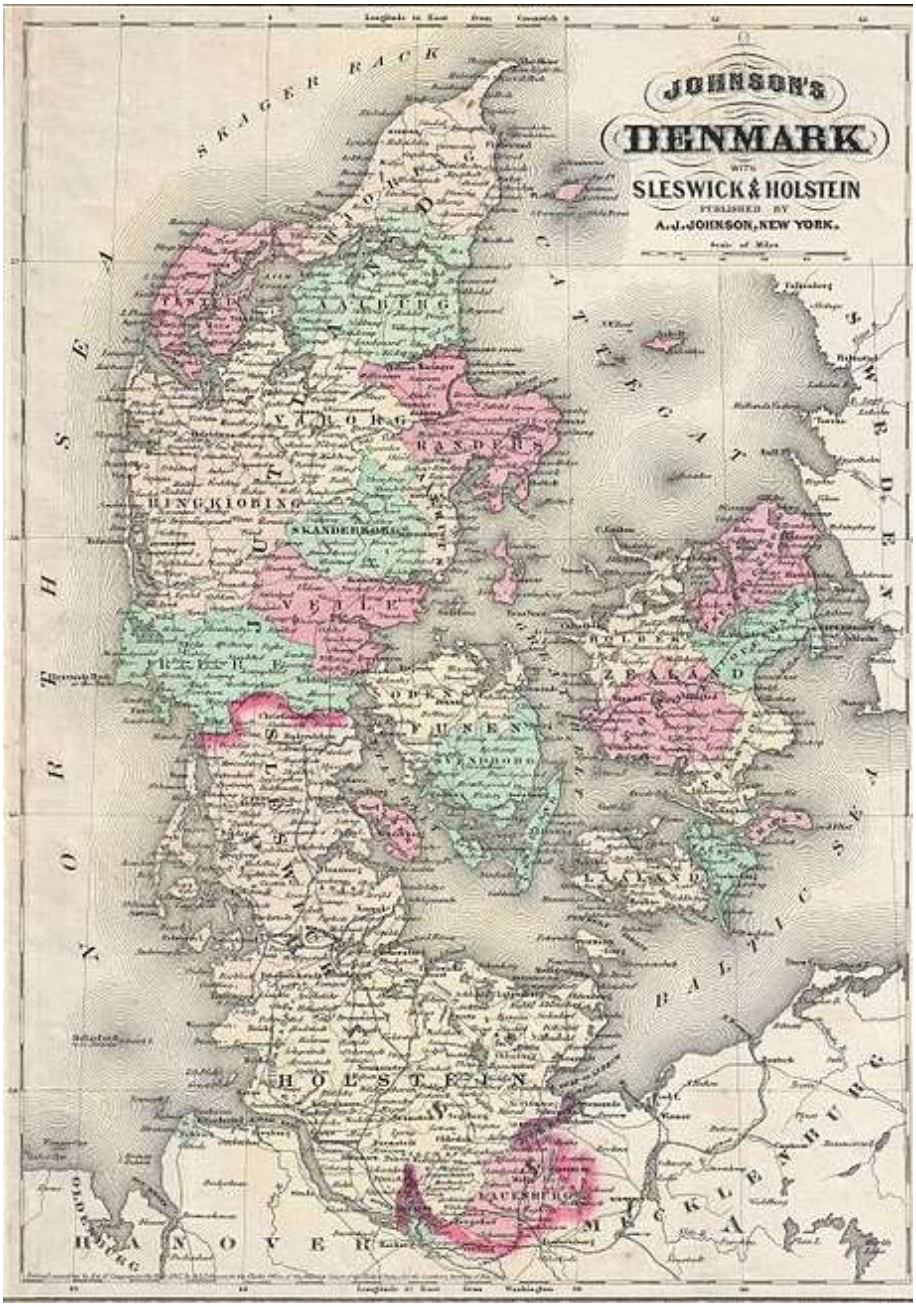

Figure 2.4: Denmark in 1870. Johnson, A. J., *Johnson's New Illustrated Family Atlas* (1870 A. J. Johnson edition). Wikimedia Commons.

Denmark

Danes made up the single largest nationality among the European assisted immigrants to New Zealand in the 1870s, making up 1967 (28%) of the emigrants in the dataset. Denmark supported a dense population on flat and productive farmland on the Jutland peninsula and several large islands. The

climate was slightly warmer than that of Norway and Sweden.[4] In the first half of the nineteenth century Denmark was an absolutist monarchy whose king also ruled the independent duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to the south of modern Denmark until 1864. The Danish transition from absolutist monarchy to a parliamentary system was entwined with the fate of the two duchies, which contained a mixed population of ethnic Danish and German residents. These regions will be discussed in detail in the section on the German Empire.

Early in the nineteenth century the Danish government took steps to prevent rural poverty by outlawing any attempts to create landholdings of less than 20 acres. This led to the creation of a large class of independent small farmers who became a powerful political force in Denmark.[5] As a series of revolutions and uprisings spread throughout Europe in 1848, German liberals in Holstein demanded a constitution and the right to join the German Confederation. Copenhagen's liberal middle class also wanted a constitution but they preferred Schleswig to remain part of the kingdom. Fearing the King would compromise by granting Holstein a constitution without them, they organised mass rallies which successfully demanded the resignation of the government. The King agreed to a transition to a new parliamentary constitution which described itself as "restricted monarchy". From 1849 to 1864 the new parliament was dominated by the Copenhagen-based urban liberals via the National Liberal Party.[6]

Denmark's political system was upended in 1864 when the Liberals led the country into a disastrous war. The Danish Cabinet proposed a new constitution which absorbed Schleswig into the Kingdom, leaving Holstein as part of the German Confederation. This new constitution broke several international treaties, angered most of the great European powers, and provided the ambitious Prussian government Minister President Otto Von Bismarck with the perfect excuse for a war.[7] As the diplomats argued, the Danish king died in Copenhagen. The new king, Christian IX, was opposed to the new constitution and the impending war, but reluctantly signed the document into law on 18 November 1863, only two days into his reign.[8] Hoping for a new conservative government, the King forced the cabinet to resign, but the incoming Prime Minister, Bishop D.G. Monrad, had no interest in finding a compromise and fully supported the new constitution. Worse, Monrad appeared to have suffered from bi-polar disorder and

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[4] T.K. Derry, *A History of Scandinavia: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1979), pp.3-5.
[5] Knud J.V. Jesperen (trans. Ivan Hill), *A History of Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.8, 143.
[6] Jesperen, *A History of Denmark*, pp. 58-64.
[7] Tom Buk-Swienty (trans. Annette Buk-Swienty), *1864: The forgotten war that shaped modern Europe* (London: Profile, 2015), pp. 115-120.
[8] Buk-Swienty, *1864*, pp. 136-137.

was unable to function effectively under stress.[9] In February 1864 a combined Prussian and Austrian army marched into Schleswig. By October, Denmark was forced to give up Schleswig, Holstein and the duchy of Lauenburg. All three duchies became part of the German Federation, and later, the German Empire. The war resulted in Denmark losing half its land area and population. The National Liberals were disgraced, and Prime Minister Monrad resigned and moved to New Zealand.

Primary production made up more than half of the Danish economy until 1870, when industry and urban populations grew rapidly. The Danish rural economy was based on grain production, but the expansion of European railway networks enabled the transportation of grain for long distances at low costs, putting small countries at a disadvantage. Denmark was forced to reorganise its rural economy and turned to dairy products and meat. Viable dairy exports required large herds and specialised machinery, so the bigger estates were the first to profit from the new dairy industry, but by the 1880s, smaller farmers began banding together and setting up dairy cooperatives.[10]

Kristian Hvidt analysed the Danish police emigration records between 1868 and 1900 in Denmark and found that emigration was roughly proportional to the population of each region. He examined Danish migrant origins to county level, demonstrating that the south-eastern areas of Denmark had the highest concentrations of migrants.[11] The highest concentrations of migrants were in the capital and Viborg, a central Jutland province. Hjörring at the northern tip of Jutland also had a high emigration rate. Around 10% of the population of these three districts emigrated in the years 1868-1900. The regions with the highest rate in those years were the islands of Lolland and Falster in the south east and Bornholm, the easternmost island in Denmark. These islands lost 115 or more people per thousand in 1868-1900.

Of the 1967 Danish migrants to New Zealand, 835 (42%) had their regional origin recorded in passenger data, allowing us to classify them according to the same county boundaries Hvidt used (see Table 2.7). Although the New Zealand bound migrants are a small part of the overall picture, the numbers are broadly consistent with the trends Hvidt uncovered. The exceptions are the islands of Lolland and Falster, and Bornholm, which are underrepresented in the New Zealand statistics. Only nine people from Bornholm and nineteen from Maribo on Lolland are in the sample.

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[9] Buk-Swienty, *1864*, pp. 140-141.
[10] Jesperen, *A History of Denmark*, pp. 147-151.
[11] Kristian Hvidt, *Flight to America: The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York: Academic Press, 1975), pp.39-41.

Copenhagen provided the largest number of migrants and many of these may have migrated to the city from other regions before deciding to leave the country. The most significant place of origin was the province of Vejle in central Jutland. Of the 197 New Zealand bound migrants from Vejle province, 104 came from Vejle city itself, and 47 came from Horsens, a town in the north of the province. A group of 100 Vejle area migrants came on a single ship, the *Reichstag*, in 1874. Thirty-one came from the town of Thisted, in northwest Jutland.

Table 2.5: Danish migrant origins in New Zealand, from 1871 to 1876

District	Migrants	Percent
Copenhagen	203	24%
Vejle	197	24%
Others	66	8%
Hjörring	57	7%
Odense	44	5%
Thisted	42	5%
Svendborg	31	4%
Møn	27	3%
Randers	24	3%
Rinköbing	24	3%
Aalborg	22	3%
Maribo	19	2%
Ribe	19	2%
Aarhus	16	2%
Praesto	16	2%
Soro	15	2%
Haderslev	13	2%
Total	835	100%

Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

The 1935 Danes who travelled to New Zealand were all recruited by Wilken Horneman, one of the first fulltime emigration agents in Denmark. The son of a Lutheran minister, Horneman had been educated in Germany and England. A Liverpool steamship company paid the security deposit necessary for his licence to operate, and transatlantic ticket sales continued to be his main business, with the recruitment of New Zealand settlers a side project. Horneman's office was in Nyhaven, a street on the Copenhagen

waterfront where emigrants congregated while waiting for a ship.[12] He also employed a few dozen local sub agents in the provinces, who would have been supplied with shipping company sales materials.[13]

Danes had a variety of reasons to migrate to New Zealand. Some, like eighteen year old Ole Viggo Rasmussen, had relatives in New Zealand. The son of a village schoolmaster, Rasmussen grew up in Western Jutland. He began working at age fifteen at the local mill, and took labouring jobs. His older brother had gone to New Zealand in 1870, and when Viggo heard the New Zealand government was offering assisted passages, he decided to join him, making his way to Hamburg where he boarded the *Gutenberg* in 1874.[14]

Others knew almost nothing about their destination. Thorvald Alpers was forty with a wife and two children, and the equivalent of 14 pounds in his wallet. Emigration was a chance to start afresh in a new country and New Zealand provided an affordable destination. Thorvald had heard vague stories of recent wars with Māori, as well as rumours of easily accessible gold nuggets. The family caught an overnight steamship to Lübeck, then took a train to Hamburg, before sailing to New Zealand.[15]

The Danish authorities often considered emigration to be a public benefit, particularly if the emigrants were drunks, convicts or paupers. A local parish might get rid of a local drunkard by buying him or her a one-way ticket to America and Danish police often used the same technique to rid themselves of habitual criminals. Paying for a transatlantic passage was seen as cheaper than supporting a pauper for years. The central government did not officially endorse these policies, as they caused embarrassment when authorities in the destination country discovered that unwanted Danes had their tickets subsidised by the Danish state. However, local officials continued the practice, believing it helped improve social conditions in Denmark.[16] Two convicted thieves were among the first Danes to arrive in New Zealand. The Danish police escorted Thorvald and Caroline Olsen to the Copenhagen docks in 1871 and they eventually sailed on the *England* to New Zealand. The other passengers were unimpressed, as were Wellington immigration officials when they discovered migration agent Horneman had accepted

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[12] Kristian Hvidt, 'Emigration Agents: The development of a business and its methods', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vo.3, no.3, 1978, pp. 180-181
[13] Hvidt, 'Emigration Agents', pp.185-186.
[14] Niels Peter Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen- A New Zealand Immigrant writes Home' in Henning Bender and Birgit Larsen (eds.), *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Aalborg: Danes Worldwide Archives, 1990), p.61.
[15] O.T.J. Alpers, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Auckland: Whitcomb and Tombes, 1930), pp. 3-4, *New Zealand Electronic Text Collection.*
[16] Hvidt, *Flight to America*, pp.20-22.

them for the Scandinavian settlement scheme. Ironically, the New Zealand government was so outraged by the Danish policy that it decided to get rid of the problem couple by paying their passage to Sydney.[17]

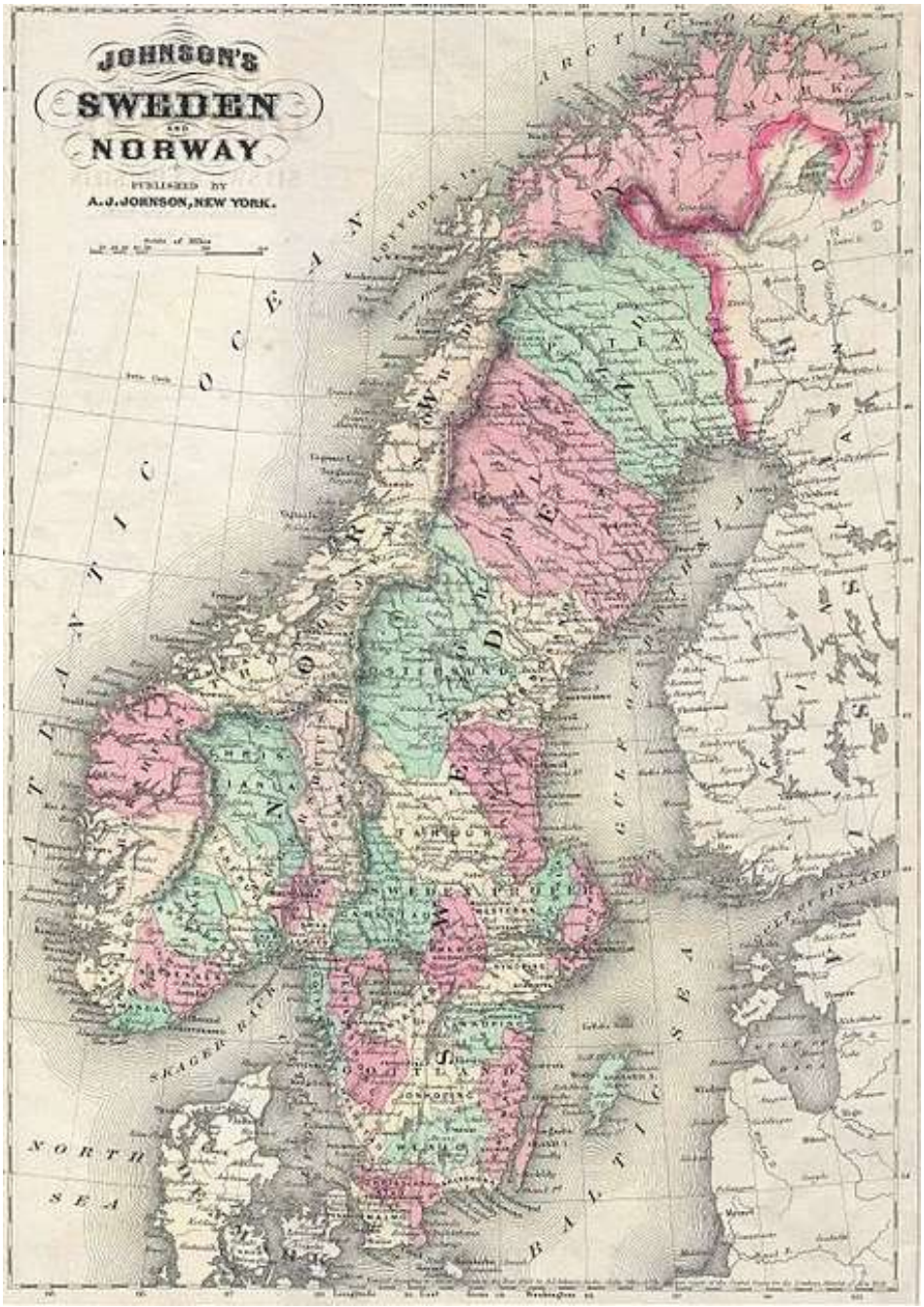

Figure 2.5: Norway and Sweden in 1870. Johnson, A. J., *Johnson's New Illustrated Family Atlas*. (1870 A. J. Johnson edition). Wikimedia Commons.

[17] Burr, *Mosquitos & Sawdust*, pp. 92-93.

Norway

Norway is a long strip of coastal land with long fjords and mountains, with most of the population and fertile land concentrated in the south. In 1865, only 20% of Norwegians lived in towns or cities. While the urban population gradually increased to over 35% by 1900, the majority of Norwegians continued to live in rural areas.[18] Norway had been ruled by the Swedish monarchy since 1814. Previously part of the Danish kingdom, sovereignty had been transferred as part of a complicated set of international negotiations which saw the Swedish king become ruler while recognising a Norwegian parliament and constitution.[19]

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Norwegian government invested in a programme of road building, followed by railway construction. Private investors set up a coastal steamship industry and the Norwegian postal service was modernised, making communications cheaper and easier. New factories were built, some in rural areas and others around the capital Christiania (Oslo). The demand for housing in the cities expanded and the government began building apartments for labourers until housing became profitable for private capitalists.[20]

The economy was changing in rural areas too. During the 1850s many farmers, particularly in the eastern counties, modernised and moved into commercial crops.[21] In the 1860s, a combination of cheap grain imports, poor harvests and increasing debt caused bankruptcies and economic stagnation.[22] At the same time, the population grew rapidly, from 1.7 million in 1865 to over 2 million in 1890.[23] As families grew, farms were broken up into smaller and smaller plots and the children of poor farmers found it difficult to make a living on the land.[24] The lack of large urban centres meant rural workers seeking better opportunities often chose an overseas destination.[25]

Norwegians had the highest overseas emigration rate in Europe between 1850 and 1910, with an annual average of 6.6 people per thousand leaving in that sixty-year period.[26] Most migrants leaving Norway

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[18] Odd S. Lovoll, *The Promise of America: A History of Norwegian-American People.* Rev. ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p.35.
[19] T.K. Derry, *A History of Modern Norway 1814-1972* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp.4-16.
[20] Karen Larsen, *A History of Norway*, (New York: Princeton University Press, 1950 reprinted 2016), pp.427-429.
[21] Lovoll, *The Promise of America*, p.24.
[22] Lovoll, *The Promise of America*, p.24.
[23] Lovoll, *The Promise of America,* p.32.
[24] Larsen, *A History of Norway*, p.430.
[25] Lovoll, *The Promise of America*, p.32.
[26] Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1992, 2003), pp.148-149.

headed for the Americas. Migration to North America began when a group of religious dissenters sailed to New York in 1825. Emigration, or 'America fever', continued throughout the nineteenth century, often centred on a single region at a time.[27] Emigration increased massively in the second half of the century, with 110,896 Norwegians leaving home between 1864 and 1873, mostly for the Americas. Numbers decreased again in 1874, no doubt due to news of an economic crisis in the United States.[28]

Nearly 1000 Norwegians came to New Zealand during the Vogel migrations, most of them in the first years of the scheme. 998 came to New Zealand, split almost evenly between male and female, but the single adult men were outnumbered by unmarried women, with 181 single Norwegian women. More than half arrived in 1872 including 377 on the first voyage of the *Høvding* to Napier. Both South Island bound Hamburg ships that year had groups of Norwegians aboard. 265 Norwegians sailed on the *Høvding* in 1873 too. Fewer than 100 Norwegians per year left for New Zealand in the following three years, but it is unclear if this was driven by the reduction in Norwegian migration generally, or simply reflected the end of Featherston's contract with Winge and Co.

Sweden

Sweden is the largest of the Scandinavian countries, and in 1870 nearly half its land was covered in forest. While most of the country faces eastward to the Baltic Sea, the main west coast port, Gothenburg provides access to the North Sea.[29] The country traditionally had three 'lands'. Norrland, the northernmost area with 60% of the land area, was sparsely populated. Svealand in the centre and Götaland in the South had slightly more people but were still sparsely populated compared with other European countries. The rural population was concentrated on the plains of Götaland and Svealand where they lived in small villages. The forested uplands were unsuited to crop farming due to poor soil. The mining district of Bergslagen north west of Stockholm had been an important industrial centre since the Middle Ages and the iron mined there had long provided Sweden's biggest export earnings.[30] Sweden lagged behind as the industrial revolution spread into western Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. The economy remained agricultural with only minimal industrial development and small cities.[31] Before the nineteenth century, the largest proportion of the population were peasant

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[27] Lovoll, *The Promise of America*, pp.10, 14-16.
[28] Lovoll, *The Promise of America*, p. 26.
[29] T.K. Derry, *A History of Scandinavia: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979), pp.2-5.
[30] Carl Johan Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden' in Janken Myrdal and Mats Morell (eds.), *Agrarian History of Sweden 4000BC to AD2000* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011), pp.120-121.
[31] Lennart Schön*, An Economic History of Modern Sweden* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), p.26.

farmers. Some owned their own land and others were tenants of the Crown or the nobility but all three groups had a similar lifestyle. Rural households consisted of a married couple with children and a live in servant or two. Servants were usually young single adults who would go on to become peasant farmers themselves after marriage. Each household was self-sufficient and farmers engaged in a range of crafts as well as forestry and construction work alongside traditional farm work.[32]

The Swedish monarchy had directly owned almost a third of the land in the kingdom in the sixteenth century but as the country modernised this land had been sold, mostly to former tenants, so by 1850 more than half of Swedish farm land was owned freehold by peasant farmers.[33] Those peasant farmers who lived on large estates were less fortunate. As large estate owners transformed their land from feudal estates to more profitable capitalist ones, they gradually evicted their peasants and other leaseholders, forcing them to becomes rural wage workers with no land rights at all.[34]

The Swedish population expanded rapidly too, growing from 2.5 million in 1810 to 3.5 million by the middle of the century. Growth was concentrated in rural areas, where most farming families were close to self-sufficient and farms often included hunting, fishing and forestry rights. Those who did not own land were forced to rent a small plot of land or simply work for a landowner.[35] While the number of landowning peasant farmers grew, nearly half of rural households were landless by 1870.[36]

Industrialisation accelerated in the second half of the nineteenth century. The number of people employed in the Swedish manufacturing sector began increasing quickly from 1850. Between 1870 and 1890 the number of workers employed in factories and mills more than doubled. From 1850 the construction of railways around the country and technological improvements in agriculture drove rapid industrialisation in rural areas. All these developments increased the rate of internal migration. Railway construction required a permanent workforce supplemented by seasonal workers in summer. In northern Sweden the forestry and sawmilling industry boomed and attracted migrant workers from the south. Swedish labourers became highly mobile, often working in railways, sawmills and in urban factories throughout the year. One in three industrial workers was female, mostly concentrated in the

[32] Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden', pp.129-134.
[33] Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden', p.136.
[34] Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden', pp. 138-139
[35] Derry, *History of Scandinavia*, pp.225-226.
[36] Gadd, 'The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden', p.142.

textile industry, and child labour was common until the 1860s when mechanisation replaced children in factories.[37]

Crop failures and famine in some districts in 1867 and 1868 triggered a rise in rural emigration over the next five years, including to overseas destinations. Records show that 32,000 Swedes left for North America in 1869, and by 1873 at least 103,000 had emigrated. As many migrants left without registering with officials, the total may be even higher.[38] Numbers were highest in districts with a long tradition of emigration, not necessarily the districts that were hit hardest by famine. The highest migration rates were recorded in parts of Småland, Örebro and Östergotland, all in central Sweden.[39]

Only 423 Swedish migrants arrived in New Zealand. They included fifty-six married couples, 142 single men, and forty-five single women. The Swedish group contained relatively few single women compared to Norway and Denmark. Of the 229 Swedes who travelled through Hamburg and therefore left details of their origins, 112 came from Malmö or the surrounding region during 1875. This may indicate a particularly active sales agent in the city, or it may be evidence of Swedes disguising their origins. Swedish men avoiding conscription were known to travel via Malmö to Copenhagen, where they could leave the continent without Swedish travel permits.[40]

The German Empire

The German Empire, formed in 1871, was the dominant state in Europe until the end of the First World War. With a population of 43 million in 1875, it was second only to the United Kingdom in providing migrants to North America. Before the formation of the empire, the Kingdom of Prussia was the dominant state in a number of German-speaking kingdoms and city states that had been known as the German Confederation since 1815.

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[37] Schön, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, pp.111-113.
[38] Sten Carlsson, 'Chronology and Composition of Swedish Emigration to America', in Harald Runblom and Hans Norman (eds.), *From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1976), p.120.
[39] Carlsson, 'Chronology and Composition of Swedish Emigration to America', pp.121-123.
[40] Hivdt, *Flight to America*, pp.88-89

Figure 2.6: The German Empire, 1871-1918. Encyclopædia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/place/German-Empire/images-videos#/media/1/230756/1792

Between 1820 and 1928, six million people left the German territories, and 90% of those settled in the United States. Migration records for the period are not exact but between 1871 and 1880 between 500,000 and 700,000 Germans left for North and South America. The German ports of Bremen and Hamburg provided the route for Germans and non-Germans living east of the Elbe to cross the Atlantic.[41]

Migration rates differed greatly across the German Empire, but in the late nineteenth century, the north-eastern provinces of Pomerania, East and West Prussia and Posen provided the most migrants. Population density in these areas was relatively low, but changes in the agricultural economy drove

[41] Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 63-65.

wages down, making migration an attractive option. Many large estates replaced their permanent workforce with transient labour, including migrant workers from Russian and Austrian Poland.[42] Rural industry was an important part of the eastern provincial economies until it collapsed in the global recession of the 1870s. Until then, items such as textiles, tools and shoes were manufactured locally. In Mecklenberg, Brandenberg, Pomerania, Posen and West Prussia, industrial employment rates dropped and flax production for textiles declined rapidly. Existing migration streams from these areas grew, with workers leaving for the cities of West and South Germany and increasing numbers travelling to North America.[43] In contrast, provinces like Silesia and Alsace had manufacturing and mining centres which provided employment for locals and migrants.[44]

From the 1870s through to 1914, German migrants tended to be young rural workers, and just over 55% were male.[45] The German migrants who came to New Zealand were similar, with 2727 people listed as German in the Vogel migrant lists. Of those, 1216 (44.6%) were female and 1511 (55.4%) were male. The number included approximately 500 married couples with 1075 children under 16. The remainder was made up of 188 single females and 452 single males.

The German Empire has been described by one historian as "an 'unfinished' nation-state".[46] A large number of the 2727 German subjects listed in the New Zealand bound passenger lists were Polish Catholics who did not see themselves as German at all, but defining exactly who was Polish and who was German cannot be done with statistics alone. Passenger lists were generated by German (or New Zealand) officials who categorized people according to which government had jurisdiction over them, not by how individuals may have seen themselves. At a time when nationalist ideas dominated the politics of most European states, the German Empire ruled over territories that contained several national minorities, the largest of which was the Polish population, numbering 2.87 million in 1890.[47] Schleswig had only fallen under German rule a few years earlier and had a mixed population of Danish and German speakers. Although emigration documents do not record the ethnicities, religion or primary languages of passengers, these factors often played a part in the decision to migrate.

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[42] Nugent, *Crossings*, pp.66-67.
[43] Moch, *Moving Europeans*, pp.123-125.
[44] Nugent, *Crossings*, p.67.
[45] Nugent, *Crossings*, p.70.
[46] Mark Tilse, *Transnationalism in the Prussian East: From National Conflict to Synthesis, 1871-1914* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.177.
[47] Tilse, *Transnationalism*, p.177.

The Polish-speaking minorities in the Empire were largely concentrated in the Eastern states, which are now part of modern Poland. Both Polish and German communities used linguistic difference to define themselves but religion was significant too, so much so that Polishness became associated with Catholicism. The German state attempted to collect statistics on minorities within its borders but had difficulty quantifying exactly who was German and who was Polish. Nineteenth-century Prussian statistician Richard Böckh argued that language was the defining characteristic of nationhood. While an individual was capable of changing nationality, Böckh thought that he or she could not belong to more than one nation at a time. Bilingualism complicated Böckh's theories, so he refused to accept that individuals could be equally competent in two or more languages.[48]

Statistics he published show the population of West Prussia and Posen in 1861 in Table 2.8.

Table 2.6: Populations of the *Regierungsbezirke* (Governmental District) of Posen and West Prussia by nationality in 1861

	West Prussia		Posen	
	Danzig	Marienwerder	Bromberg	Posen
German	71.9	62.6	53.7	41.5
Polish	28.1	37.4	46.3	58.5

Source: Modified from table in Mark Tilse, *Transnationalism in the Prussian East; From National Conflict to Synthesis, 1871-1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p.23.

Other statistics suggest a more complicated ethnic situation. Language data collected in Posen showed at least 20% of the population was bilingual in the 1861 survey. After unification in 1871, statisticians took a much narrower view of bilingualism, forcing people to pick a primary language. German statisticians managed to reduce official bilingualism in the same areas to below 2% in 1890. In reality, the main factor leading to bilingualism, German/Polish intermarriage, remained fairly constant, so functional bilingualism continued to be common despite the statistics.[49] The more thoughtful officials admitted it was extremely difficult to classify accurately many bilingual families in the region. Some individuals adjusted the spelling of their name in order to appear German one day and Polish the next if necessary.[50] Adding to the confusion was the tendency to regard all Catholics as Polish, regardless of their primary language. Similarly, Protestants described themselves as being of 'German religion', and

[48] Tilse, *Transnationalism*, pp.14-15.
[49] Tilse, *Transnationalism*, p.73.
[50] Tilse, *Transnationalism*, p.70.

some Poles described their language as 'Catholic'. Bilingualism was more common among Catholics, as German-speaking Catholics sent their children to Catholic schools, and attended church with their Polish neighbours.[51]

Chancellor Bismarck believed that Polish Catholicism threatened German culture, and from 1871 introduced a *Kulturkampf* (Culture Struggle) designed to promote German culture and language throughout the empire. Policies were introduced to reduce the power of the Catholic Church in the school system. A series of regulations gradually restricted Polish language instruction in schools and interdenominational schools were encouraged, until 1887 when Polish language lessons were banned entirely.[52] Local government departments, including the courts, were required to use the German language. This policy did little to assimilate Poles, instead emphasising their identity as Poles and Catholics.[53] The suppression of Polish culture and language was an additional incentive for some Poles to migrate.

So, who were the 'Germans' who migrated to New Zealand, and how many were actually Polish speaking? Pobóg-Jaworowski estimated 998 Poles came to New Zealand between 1872 and 1883 as assisted or nominated immigrants. He based his estimate on his deep knowledge of the twentieth-century descendants of the Polish migrants in New Zealand, and on his study of the New Zealand immigration passenger lists between 1872 and 1883. Passenger lists "where it was known that the Immigrants were predominantly non Polish" were not checked, but he does not describe how he knew which ones to omit.[54] He is also unclear about how he defines "Polish". He includes a group of Moravians as Polish on the grounds their names are Slavic, but he also includes West Prussians with German surnames.[55] Categorising individuals into national groups by using surnames seems as questionable as using languages. It remains impossible to define exactly how many among the German migrants identified as Polish from the available data, but Pobóg-Jaworowski's numbers remain the best estimate we have.

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[51] Tilse, *Transnationalism*, pp.86-87.
[52] Tilse, *Transnationalism*, pp. 78-80.
[53] Brian Porter-Szücs, *Poland in the Modern World: Beyond Martyrdom* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), pp.26-27.
[54] J.W. Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand, 1776-1987* (Warsaw: CHZ "Ars Polona", 1990), pp. 12-13.
[55] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, p.39.

Of the 2727 migrants who came to New Zealand from the German Empire, 1023 had no recorded place of origin in the records other than 'Germany'. Table 2.9 shows the provincial origins of the remaining 1954. Of those, 1154 (59%) originated in provinces with large Polish minorities. West Prussians made up 772 (40%) of the German migrants who gave a province of origin, and as we shall see in later chapters, a large number of them clustered in Polish Catholic communities on arrival in New Zealand. Many towns and villages in the Polish areas of the German Empire had two or more names, but were recorded in the Hamburg passenger lists in their German form. Those places which are now in modern Poland are referred to in the text below by their modern Polish names, with the nineteenth-century German names in parentheses.

Table 2.7: German Provinces (* large Polish population)

German Provinces	**migrants**	**%**
West Prussia*	772	40%
Pomerania*	362	19%
Schleswig	188	10%
Westphalia	129	7%
Brandenberg	119	6%
Saxony	105	5%
Others	92	5%
Holstein	65	3%
Hanover	54	3%
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	39	2%
Silesia*	29	1%
Total	1954	100%

Sample: 1954 of 2727 German migrants
Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

As described in the previous chapter, migration agency Louis Knorr and Co. had been contracted to recruit German migrants and send them, along with emigrants recruited by the Scandinavian agencies, to New Zealand. A total of 328 German subjects travelled in 1872. The thirty who travelled via London may have been recruited there, but the majority travelled on two Sloman company ships, the *Friedeberg* and the *Palmerston*. Of the 328 Germans, 217 (66%) originated in West Prussia, and as discussed below, most of them identified as Polish Catholics. The *Friedeburg* sailed from Hamburg to Canterbury with 292 migrants on board, including 156 from the German Empire. Of those, 109 were from West Prussia,

eighteen were from Schleswig and ten from Pomerania. Only nineteen were from central German provinces. The second ship, the *Palmerston*, sailed to Otago carrying 287 passengers. Of the 138 Germans on board, 107 were from West Prussia. Little information is available on how these emigrants were recruited to New Zealand bound ships. It is likely they had already made the decision to migrate and having travelled to Hamburg to find a ship to North America, had been convinced into sailing for New Zealand instead.

The West Prussians who migrated to New Zealand in 1872 were mostly Polish and Catholic, and included several large groups who were known to each other before they left. Many of the Poles on the *Friedeburg* originated in the area southwest of Gdansk where a Kashubian dialect was spoken, and several families encouraged neighbours and relatives to join them in Canterbury in the following years.[56] All but two of the Polish families on the *Palmerston* came from Kociewie region, south of Gdansk.[57] Of these, eight families came from the neighbouring estates of Małżewo (German: Klein Malsau) and Stanisławie (Stenzlau), and one family came from the nearby village of Rokitki (Rokittken), all just west of the Polish town of Tczew, which was then part of West Prussia and known by its German name, Dirschau.

The West Prussian Poles who settled in Otago in 1872 encouraged relatives to migrate, and by 1876, a total of 140 people had made their way to Otago from the area around Tczew. An additional sixty-two people from Małżewo (Klein Malsau) and Stanisławie (Stenzlau) moved to New Zealand. 44 people in nine families left from the nearby village of Lubiszewo Tczewskie (Liebschau) and another family from Rokitki (Rokittken). In 1876 eight families left from the town of Tczew itself. All 140 lived within walking distance of each other, and most settled in Otago when they arrived in New Zealand. The Otago Poles forwarded money to help more relatives make the trip but some were caught out when the Hamburg connection was cancelled in 1876. Peter Brzoszkowski wrote to relatives in Otago explaining that he had travelled to Gdansk to cash the cheque they had sent only to be told that assisted immigration to New Zealand had stopped. He also reported he had lost his room when his landlord or employer discovered he was planning to emigrate.[58]

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[56] Barbara Scrivens, 'Marshland', *Polish History New Zealand*, http://polishhistorynewzealand.org/marshland/.
[57] Polish Heritage of Otago and Southland Charitable Trust (POHOS), 'Polish Migration to Otago', *Poles Down South;* https://polesdownsouth.wordpress.com/in-new-zealand/early-polish-settlers/polish-migration-to-otago-southland/
[58] Peter *Brzoszkowski* to Peter Barra*, 20 June 1876,* cited in POHOS, 'Polish Migration to Otago', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.wordpress.com/in-new-zealand/early-polish-settlers/polish-migration-to-otago-southland

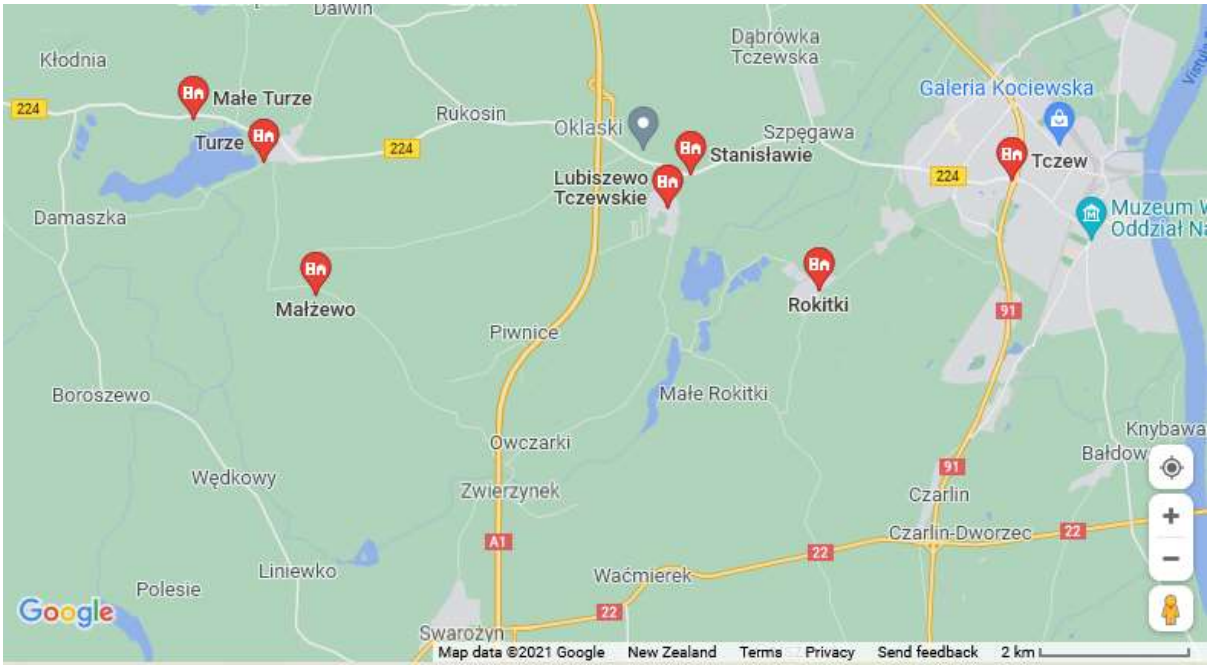

Figure 2.7: Tczew and surrounding area. Red pins show locations of villages where families left for Otago. Created using https://www.google.com/maps.

Only 156 German subjects travelled to New Zealand in 1873, all via London, so no details of their provincial origins were recorded. Direct sailing from Hamburg to New Zealand resumed in May 1874, this time with recruitment organised by Wilhelm Kirchner, whose network of agents stretched to Southern Europe. Recruitment within the Empire continued until the scheme ended in 1876.

The single largest group of West Prussians consisted of eighty-one people from fifteen families who sailed on the 1876 voyage of the *Fritz Reuter.* All came from Kokoszkowy (German: Kokoschken), a small village north of Starogard Gdanski in modern Poland. According to family histories, the group were neighbours who all owned small plots of land but supplemented their income by working for a nearby German landowner. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out in 1870, this estate owner arranged for the village men to be exempt from conscription in return for depositing the deeds to their land with him. He refused to return the deeds after the war, so in 1876 the families decided to emigrate together.[59]

[59] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, p.83.

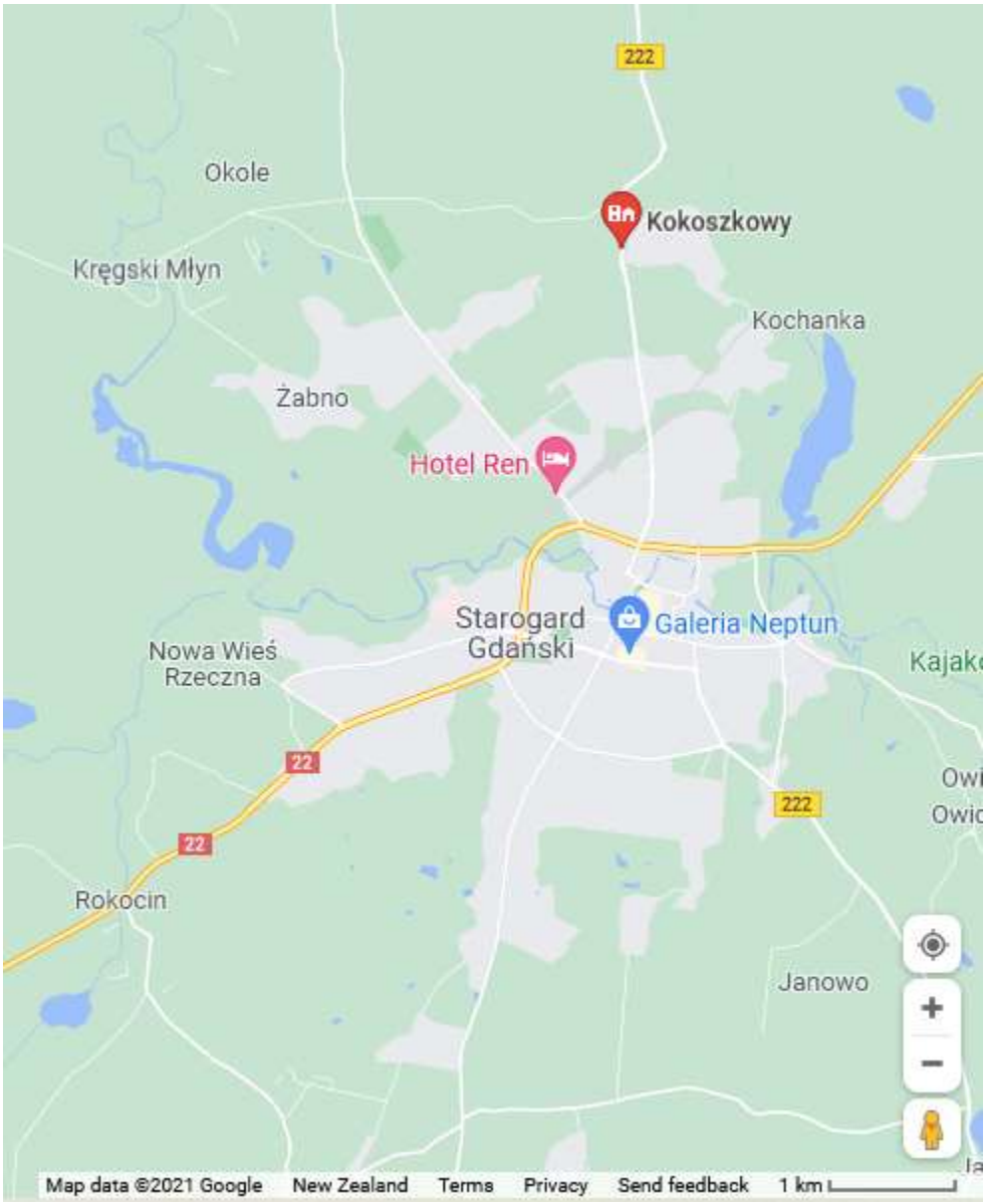

Figure 2.8: Location of Kokoszkowy, north of Starograd Gdański. Created using https://www.google.com/maps.

Only twenty-two Posen residents migrated to New Zealand. Posen was a Prussian Province named for and surrounding the Polish city of Poznań (German: Posen), which had been ruled by Prussia since the 1815 partitions. According to the 1860 census, the provincial population was 47% Polish speaking, 31% German, and 23% bilingual.[60] Although Posen had a high emigration rate for similar reasons to West Prussia, it appears there was little recruitment by Kirchner's agents. Nineteen people who arrived on British ships identified themselves as Polish, but no further details were recorded. For example, when

[60] Numbers from table in Tilse, *Transnationalism*, p.72.

Moses Mann sailed from England to Lyttelton in 1876, his origin was recorded simply as 'Poland', but later, his naturalisation papers indicate he was born in Posen.[61]

Vogel migrants numbering 362 originated from the German province of Pomerania, which stretched along the Baltic coast beginning just west of Rostock and ending just before Gdansk. West of the Oder River, the region had a mixed Polish and German population, and is now part of modern Poland. Two families from the village of Mościce (German: Blumberg) just west of the Oder, were the first Pomeranians to migrate, leaving in 1872. Twenty-two Pomeranians travelled in 1874, but the majority, 330, sailed between 1875 and 1876. There are signs of chain migration from specific districts in the larger group. In the region north of the modern city of Lebork (German: Lauenburg), several estates within walking distance of each other lost multiple families to New Zealand. Słajkowo (German: Slaikow) and Łętowo (Lantow) lost fifteen and twenty-seven people respectively, and numerous families and individuals from neighbouring villages all left for New Zealand within two years. Henry and Auguste Palenski must have seen many neighbours depart for New Zealand and may have heard news of their safe arrival before they decided to leave. The Palenskis came from Sasino (Sassin), but when they decided to emigrate with their two young sons, they gave their address as Salinko (Saulinke), an estate 15km west of their home town and surrounded by estates whose workers had left for New Zealand.[62]

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[61] Moses Mann, 1911/2652, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[62] Ron Palenski, The Palenski family', *Polish History in New Zealand*, http://polishhistorynewzealand.org/the-palenski-family/; accessed 15 Feb 2019.

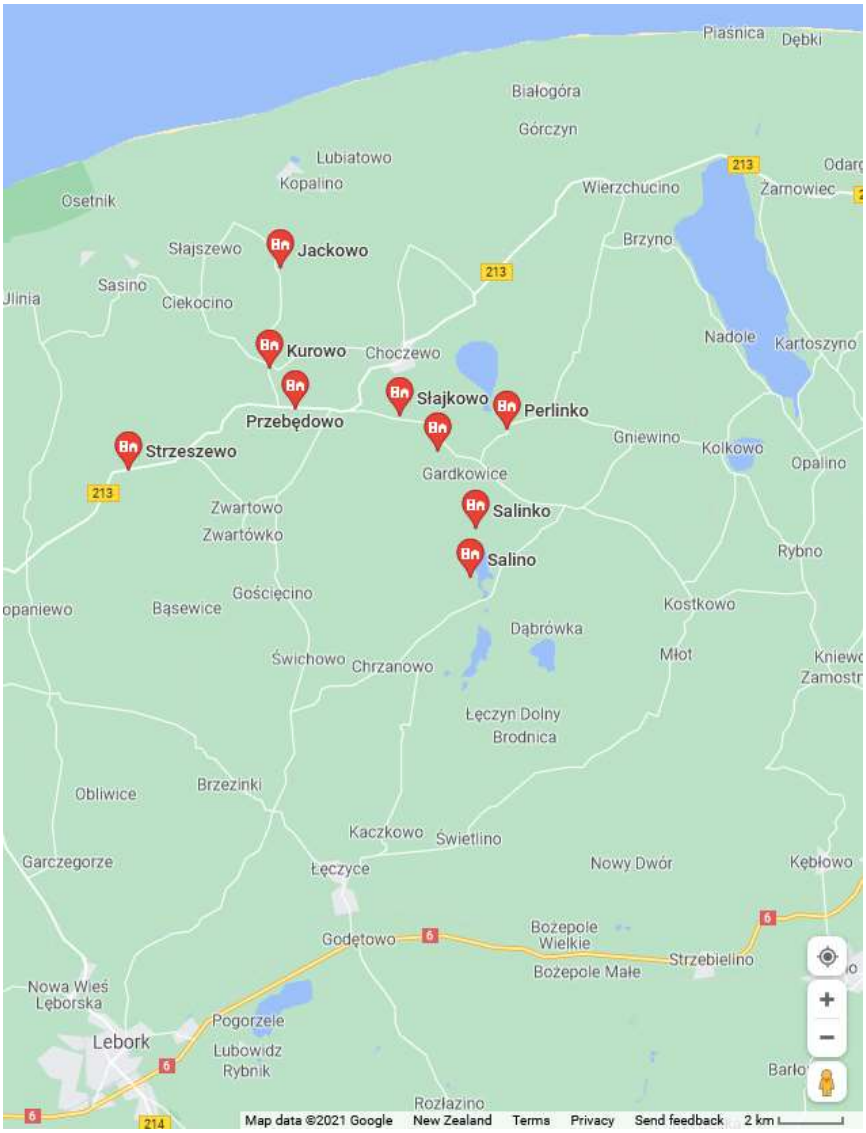

Figure 2.9: Pomeranian villages north of Lebork, Poland. Red pins show locations of villages where families left for New Zealand. Created using https://www.google.com/maps.

Schleswig was conquered by Prussia in 1864 and became part of the German Empire in 1871. Most Schleswig residents spoke Danish and many resented being part of the German Empire. 188 of the German assisted immigrants described their place of origin as Schleswig. Most appear to have been Danish. Examples include Andreas and Anna Lausten who migrated to Wellington with four children, and Jep and Marie Paulsen and their children. Both families left the rural village of Øster Højst, in the south of Jutland and sailed on the *Reichstag* in 1874.[63]

[63] *Reichstag* passenger list 1874, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 032 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg

Westphalia in North Western Germany was at the heart of Prussian industrialisation in the nineteenth century, and 129 Westphalians came to New Zealand between 1874 and 1876. Of these eighty-five came from the industrial areas of Gelsenkirchen and Bochum. Of the seventy-four male adults, seventy-three were labourers or miners. Martin Klempel gave his occupation as labourer when he, his wife, and their four children left the Bochum district and boarded the *Terpischore* in November 1875 and headed for Wellington. Johann Adams, a thirty-three year old miner from Schalke, a few kilometres west, was on the same voyage and travelled alone.[64]

In Brandenburg province, central Germany, 119 assisted migrants left for New Zealand, including one group of fifty-one people from the town of Guben on the modern Polish German border. Among them was Heinrich Buckendahl who travelled with his wife and son in 1875. Listed as a labourer, he had previously worked as a woollen manufacturer in Berlin.[65]

From Berlin, thirty migrants sailed for New Zealand, including a pharmacist, a business man, and the only doctor among the migrants, Moritz Mark, who worked his passage as the ships doctor for the *Gutenberg* in 1874. The working-class emigrants included three families and six single men. One of the first Berliners to sail to New Zealand was Julius Berth Epstein, a sailor who migrated to Otago on the *Palmerston* in 1872.[66] The families included tailor August Schwabe, his wife Alwine, with four children. They sailed on the *Fritz Reuter*'s 1875 voyage to Napier.[67]

Prussian Saxony was a province of the German Empire, not to be confused with the Kingdom of Saxony which was a federal state which retained its own monarchy. The Hamburg passenger records often do not distinguish between the two areas. Of the 105 migrants listed as Saxons, sixty-five originated in Prussian Saxony, and the majority of those came from Altmark in central Prussia. Local chain migration saw multiple families totalling thirty-eight people migrated from the villages of Falkenberg, Lichterfelde, and Ferchlipp, all adjacent to each other in Northern Altmark. Further south in the Saxon Kingdom, twenty-six migrants travelled to New Zealand.

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[64] *Terpsichore* passenger list, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 032 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg
[65] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Wellington Provincial District)*, 1897, p.1421.
[66] *Palmerston* passenger list, 1872, , 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 027 A, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[67] *Fritz Reuter* passenger list, 1875, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire

While the majority of the non-Scandinavian Europeans were recruited from Northern Germany, a few hundred recruits sailed for New Zealand including groups from within the lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as France and Italy. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy ruled over an area of central Europe containing many different languages and cultures. The Austrian Empire was ruled from Vienna, and in 1867 it merged with the Kingdom of Hungary.

Figure 2.10: Most of New Zealand's 1870s Austro-Hungarian assisted immigrants came from the north west of the Empire, marked Bohemia on this map. 'Map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1914', URL: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/map-austro-hungarian-empire-1914, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage).

At least 251 people from these lands joined the Vogel migrations and it is likely that a proportion of the Germans recorded in the British passenger lists were also from Austria. Of the 243 whose place of origin

was recorded, 160 came from what is now the Czech Republic, and most of those were part of two large groups.

Seventy-six Vogel migrants came from Bohemia and most had connections with the Bohemians who had settled in Puhoi in the 1860s. They were all Catholics who spoke a Bavarian dialect of German at home, but many could also speak High German and Bohemian (now known as the Czech language). Most of the one hundred or so Bohemians who had settled at Puhoi, north of Auckland had come from a few small villages in Mies County, just west of the Czech city of Pilsen.[68] Many of these settlers had written home during the Vogel migrations.[69] In 1872 a group of fourteen from the Mies County villages made their way to London and boarded the *Queen Bee* sailing for Auckland.[70] A second group of thirty sailed on the *Shakespeare* in late 1875, arriving January 1876. Two families on the *Terpischore* came from the same villages.[71] Other Bohemians who came to New Zealand include Gottfried Lindauer, who was in his thirties when he left the Austro-Hungarian Empire to avoid conscription. He stayed in Germany for a year before sailing to New Zealand on the *Reichstag*. Born in Pilsen, he listed his occupation as a gardener, but he had also studied art and worked as a painter.[72]

The other large group from the Austro-Hungarian Empire came from Moravia in the west of the modern Czech Republic. Eighty-one Moravians travelled together in 1874, first to London and then on to Canterbury on the *Stonehouse.* All came from four villages in the area south west of the city of Ostrava (currently in the Czech Republic).[73] Pobóg-Jaworowski classified the *Stonehouse* migrants as Polish, based on their Slavic names. They were probably all Catholic and certainly Slavic speaking, but Moravian is a more accurate ethnic category, and they spoke the Moravian dialect of the Czech language. The motivation for this group migration to New Zealand is unknown.

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[68] Judith Williams, 'Puhoi, the Bohemian Settlement', in James N. Bade (ed.), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.66-69.
[69] D.V. Silk, *A History of Puhoi: an historical narrative of the people of Puhoi, dedicated to the pioneers living and dead* (Dunedin: Tablet, 1923), p.58.
[70] Williams, 'Puhoi', p. 69.
[71] Williams, 'Puhoi', p.70.
[72] Leonard Bell. 'Lindauer, Gottfried', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2l12/lindauer-gottfried.
[73] The villages, Frenstadt, Stramberk, Sedlnice and Kujavy are all situated along the Oder river south-west of Ostrava within a few kilometers of each other.

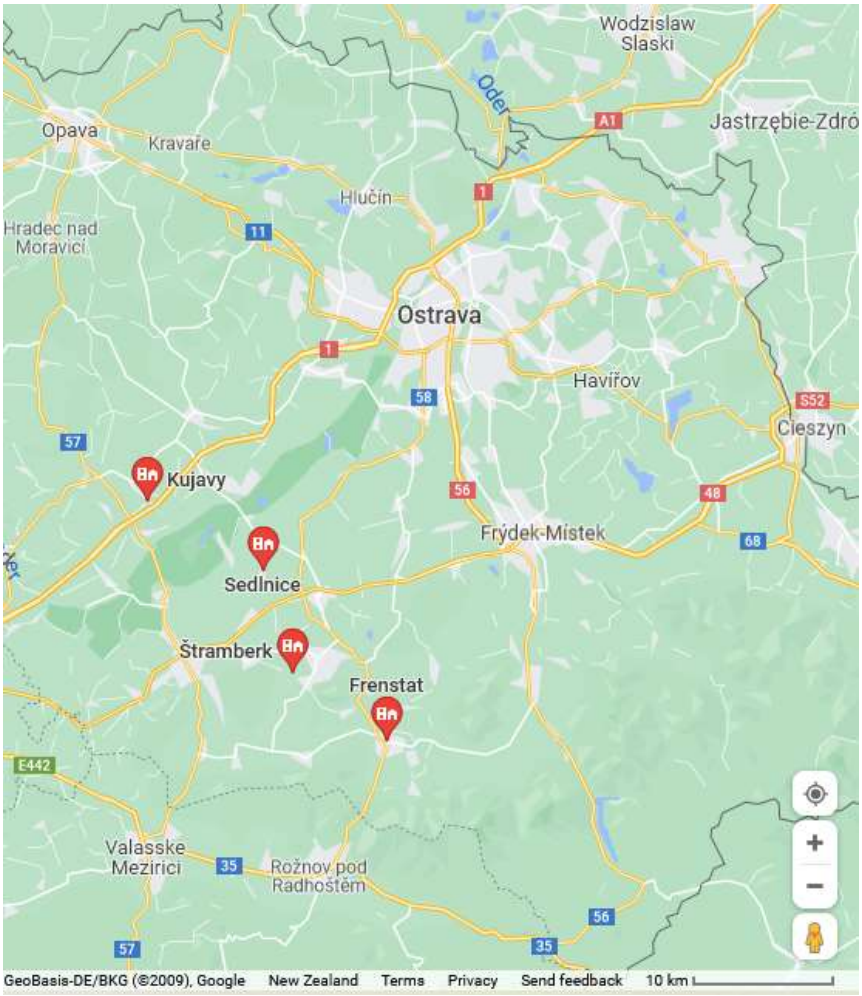

Figure 2.11: Locations of last place of residence for Moravian passengers on the *Stonehouse* voyage of 1874. Red pins show locations of villages where families left for New Zealand. Created using https://www.google.com/maps.

Twenty-four migrants came from Tyrol, the western most region of Austria. Nineteenth-century Tyrol is now split between Austria in the north and Italy in the south. Twelve came from the city of Trento in the Italian Alps. Of the 21 Hungarians, twelve were from two families with German surnames who came from the town of Andau, currently on the Austrian border.

Italy

Migration was common in the Kingdom of Italy. In 1871 the population was 28 million. By 1914, it had increased by seven million despite a further 14 million leaving Italy. Of those who left, 44% migrated within Europe and most of the remainder travelled to North and South America via Mediterranean

ports. At the beginning of the 1870s, most Italian emigrants were leaving from the North West of Italy, and the majority of these were young men.[74] A total of 374 Italians migrated to New Zealand. A family of three came via England in 1873, with another 29 made the indirect voyage after them, but the majority sailed from Hamburg beginning in May 1874, and were recruited by Englishman John Glynn, a former restaurant owner and theatrical agent living in Livorno on the Tuscany Coast.[75] Little is known about Glynn but he appears to have been Kirchner's main sub-contractor in Italy. The Italian migrants who came to New Zealand were from the northwest, specifically Tuscany and Lombardy, and 166 stated their residence as Livorno, where Glynn was based. All but eight of the Livorno migrants travelled in late 1875 on the *Herschel* and the *Shakespeare*. The remaining eight were part of a group of fifty-four Italians on board the final journey of the *Fritz Reuter*. Most of the other Italians on board this voyage were from Florence.

In contrast to most assisted immigrants, many of the Italians were urban workers and craftspeople, and they claimed that Glynn had promised them well-paid jobs in New Zealand.[76] Wellington officials accused Glynn of deception and incompetence when they discovered that he had recorded many migrants as labourers despite clear evidence of other occupations on their Italian documents.[77] The government agreed to pay return fares for several who had been misled.[78]

The Italian migrants included Marco Fosella of Florence. Born in 1846, he worked as a commercial traveller in Paris for seven years. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out in 1870, he had enrolled in the ambulance corp. After the war he became a sergeant in the French Republic military.[79] It is not known whether he was recruited by Glynn, but in 1875 he boarded the *Gutenberg* in Bremerhaven bound for New Zealand. The passenger list recorded him as a labourer.[80] Two Italian 'labourers' on the *Fritz Reuter* were highly skilled stonemasons and sculptors. Tomasso Sani and Luigi Del Vescoro

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[74] Nugent, *Crossings*, pp.95-96.
[75] Sarah Patricia Hill, 'Italiani agli antipodi: Italian Immigrant Identities in New Zealand' in Graziella Parati and Anthony Julian Tamburri (eds.), *The Culture of Italian Migration: Diverse Trajectories and Discrete Perspectives* (Madison NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011), p.128.
[76] Hill, 'Italiani agli antipodi ',p.128.
[77] AJHR, 1876, D1, p.15.
[78] AJHR, 1876, D1, p.16.
[79] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Wellington Provincial District)*, 1897, p.1112
[80] Gutenberg passenger list, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 A, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

established a studio in Wellington and were asked to sculpt a marble bust of Isaac Featherston after his death.[81]

Switzerland

Swiss assisted immigrants to New Zealand numbered only 153. Most sailed direct from Hamburg and all arrived in 1874 or later. 111 (72.5%) were male, 42 (27%) were female. The first group of fourteen boarded the *Reichstag* in Hamburg as part of the first shipment of migrants to sail under the new Kirchner contracts in May 1874. A group of twenty-two travelled to Taranaki on the *Halcione*. They had been recruited by Felix Hunger, a Swiss blacksmith who had left his home to join the Australian gold rush. He moved to Otago in 1863 and eventually ended up in Halcombe, South Taranaki. In 1874 he returned to Switzerland to find a wife and convinced a number of friends and family to return to New Zealand with him. The group included seven of his relatives and the family of his future wife.[82]

France, Belgium and the Netherlands

France remained unconnected to the trans-Atlantic migration system of the nineteenth century and what little French emigration occurred was directed towards North Africa.[83] The population grew by only 55% in the nineteenth century, a much slower rate than most large European countries.[84] It is no surprise then, that only 132 French migrants joined the Vogel scheme. All came to New Zealand on British ships, and typically made up only half a dozen or less of the several hundred passengers on each ship. The passenger records do not contain any information on their origins, other than one married couple who came from Alsace, a French territory which had been annexed by Germany in 1871. The largest group were thirteen passengers who arrived in Auckland together on the *Queen of the Age* in 1874. The six married men in the group claimed to be blacksmiths, an engineer, a plumber, a bricklayer and a bootmaker. Within days of arriving the men and their wives put on a dance performance at Auckland's Prince of Wales Theatre, causing the Immigration Department much embarrassment.[85] "La Troupe Parisienne" appeared be a substandard cancan dance troupe which received bad reviews even before the newspapers discovered they had received free passage to New Zealand.[86] The troupe

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[81] *New Zealand Times (NZT)*, 11 Sep, 1876, p.2; and NZT, 7 Dec 1876, p.3.
[82] Hans-Peter Stoffel, 'Swiss Settlers' in James N. Bade (ed), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.95-96.
[83] Nugent, *Crossings*, pp.41-42.
[84] Moch, *Moving Europeans*, pp.108-109.
[85] AJHR, 1874, D1, pp.28-29.
[86] *Auckland Star*, 12 March 1874, p.3.

appears to have moved on to Australia as soon as the shows were over. The more respectable French settlers included Auguste and Marie Soufflot, who arrived in Wellington in 1874. Auguste had been educated in Paris and the Channel Islands, and although listed as a labourer, he later trained as a surveyor in Wanganui.[87]

Only fifteen Belgians came, and three of those were part of the fraudulent French dance troupe on the *Queen of the Age*. Eight Dutch migrants arrived, a labourer from Amsterdam with his family, and four single men. Fourteen Russians arrived, all on British ships, including a family of seven. A sailor with his wife and son were the only Finns to arrive. Finally, two single men arrived from Gibraltar.

Arrival in New Zealand.

The arrival of these new immigrants in New Zealand between 1871 and 1876 had a significant effect on the European minority population of the colony. The European Vogel immigrants were demographically distinct from the earlier continental Europeans in New Zealand, who were largely male and transient. Census records document the number of continental Europeans in New Zealand before the Vogel migrations and illustrate how the population changed when the Vogel Scheme began. The 1871 census provides data on the European population in New Zealand before the Vogel migrations. On the night of the census, 27 February 1871, the only Vogel migrants who had arrived were the 52 Scandinavians on the *Celaeno*. The non-Māori population was 256,393 people (150,356 male and 106,037 female). The 1878 census showed that the non-Māori population had increased to 414,412, which included up to 100,000 assisted immigrants who arrived under the Vogel scheme. The continental European born population numbered 5954 in 1871, and 12189 in March 1878, an increase of 6235.[88]

Table 2.8: New Zealand Census data on European born settlers

Country of Birth	27 Feb 1871	3 March 1878	Increase 1871-1878
France	551	737	186
Germany	2416	4649	2233
Other European countries	2987	6803	3816
Total	**5954**	**12189**	**6235**

Source: NZ Statistics, NZ census 1871 and 1878

[87] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Wellington Provincial District)*, 1897, p.1460.
[88] 1871 and 1878 census data.

Immigration department numbers record the arrival of 7340 assisted immigrants between November 1871 and June 1877.[89] Data compiled for this project were based on searching passenger arrival records and collected information from 7090 individual arrivals between 1871 and 1876, which excludes at least 500 who arrived as nominated migrants between 1877 and March 1878. Although my data and the AJHR totals differ slightly due to the different date ranges used, the discrepancies indicate up to 1000 continental Europeans had left the country by the time of the 1878 census. This may be the best estimate of return migration we have.

Table 2.9: AJHR statistics for continental assisted migrants, November 1871 to June 1877

French	275
Germans	2952
Danes	1935
Norwegians	684
Swedes	667
Others	529
Italians	298
Total	7340

Source: AJHR 1874, D6; 1875, D4; 1876, D5; 1877, D5

Conclusion

Analysis of the European Vogel migrant passenger records reveals that they were much more diverse than previously thought. Historians of Europeans in New Zealand have over-emphasised nationalism and national identity, either by design or simply by relying on data collected by national governments. The borders of the German and Austro-Hungarian empires included large numbers of national minorities who appear to be overrepresented in the emigrant population. Many migrants came from clusters of villages which produced chain migration over the five year period of the Vogel scheme's operation in Europe.

The Vogel migrants were not the first continental Europeans to settle in New Zealand but they contained a much higher proportion of families and married couples than previous settlers. They were almost all rural labourers who chose to leave their homes during periods of economic and social change.

[89] Compiled from *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1874, D6; 1875, D4; 1876, D5; 1877, D5. The difference in totals is caused by the omission of 13 Germans and 5 Danes in the cumulative totals in AJHR, 1874, D6, p.3.

Migration was a logical response to the disruptions brought by economic changes, and rural labourers became accustomed to more frequent and longer journeys in search of work. The sources do not reveal how many of the migrants deliberately chose New Zealand as their destination before they left home. Many of the earlier migrants may have arrived at an emigration port planning to go to North America, before being tempted by the cheap or free passage being offered for a longer journey to an unknown destination.

These connections stretching across the globe were only possible due to the rise of industry and international trade. The same forces that disrupted established ways of life across Europe allowed migrants to travel around the world to a far greater extent than before. The new settlers were barely aware that the factors that disrupted life in Europe were at work in the new country, and that they would themselves play a part in building a new society which disrupted and transformed the existing local economies in New Zealand.

Chapter Three: Arrival in New Zealand

This chapter focuses on the process of receiving and distributing the European assisted immigrants who arrived in New Zealand ports in the 1870s. Newly arrived European were subject to the same reception regime as other assisted immigrants, but as non-English speakers they were at a disadvantage when looking for work and accommodation, and they relied more on local officials. The first section analyses immigration and census statistics to determine as far as possible the numbers and initial distribution of European immigrants in the 1870s. Nearly all the European assisted immigrants entered the country through ports at Napier, Wellington Dunedin and Lyttelton. About 5000 of the 7000 entered the country via Wellington and Napier with most of the remainder entering the two South Island ports. Only a few hundred disembarked in Auckland and all via London. Next, the chapter will outline how European migrants were managed by officials, beginning with the first groups of Scandinavians to arrive in 1871 and early 1872 who were forwarded to Palmerston North in a process overseen by Wellington Immigration Agent Arthur Follett Halcombe. As the assisted immigration scheme grew, Scandinavians arrived in much larger numbers and were assigned to special settlements in the area known as Seventy Mile Bush to establish a settler presence and infrastructure between Napier and Wellington. In 1872 Lyttelton and Dunedin each received a voyage direct from Hamburg carrying hundreds of European migrants. During the following year only one direct voyage from Norway arrived but several hundred Europeans arrived via London. Voyages from Hamburg resumed in 1874 and most of these docked in Wellington. Settlers who arrived in this period were placed in Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and the Manawatū as part of the drive to colonise the lower North Island. Several hundred European settlers were sent to the West Coast of the South Island, where a special settlement had been established at Jackson Bay.[1] Officials soon realised that Europeans faced disadvantages compared to English-speaking settlers, and thought further special settlements would boost the prospects of the Europeans. Government funding was not forthcoming though. Many of the later European migrants were sent to Jackson Bay but the settlement was isolated and neglected by authorities. Within a few years these settlers were relocated and Jackson Bay abandoned. By 1878 European-born assisted immigrants were living all over the country but most were concentrated in Taranaki, Manawatū and Hawkes Bay in the North Island, and Canterbury and Otago in the South Island.

[1] Formerly spelt Jacksons Bay or Jackson's Bay, the location is now officially known as Jackson Bay / Okahu.

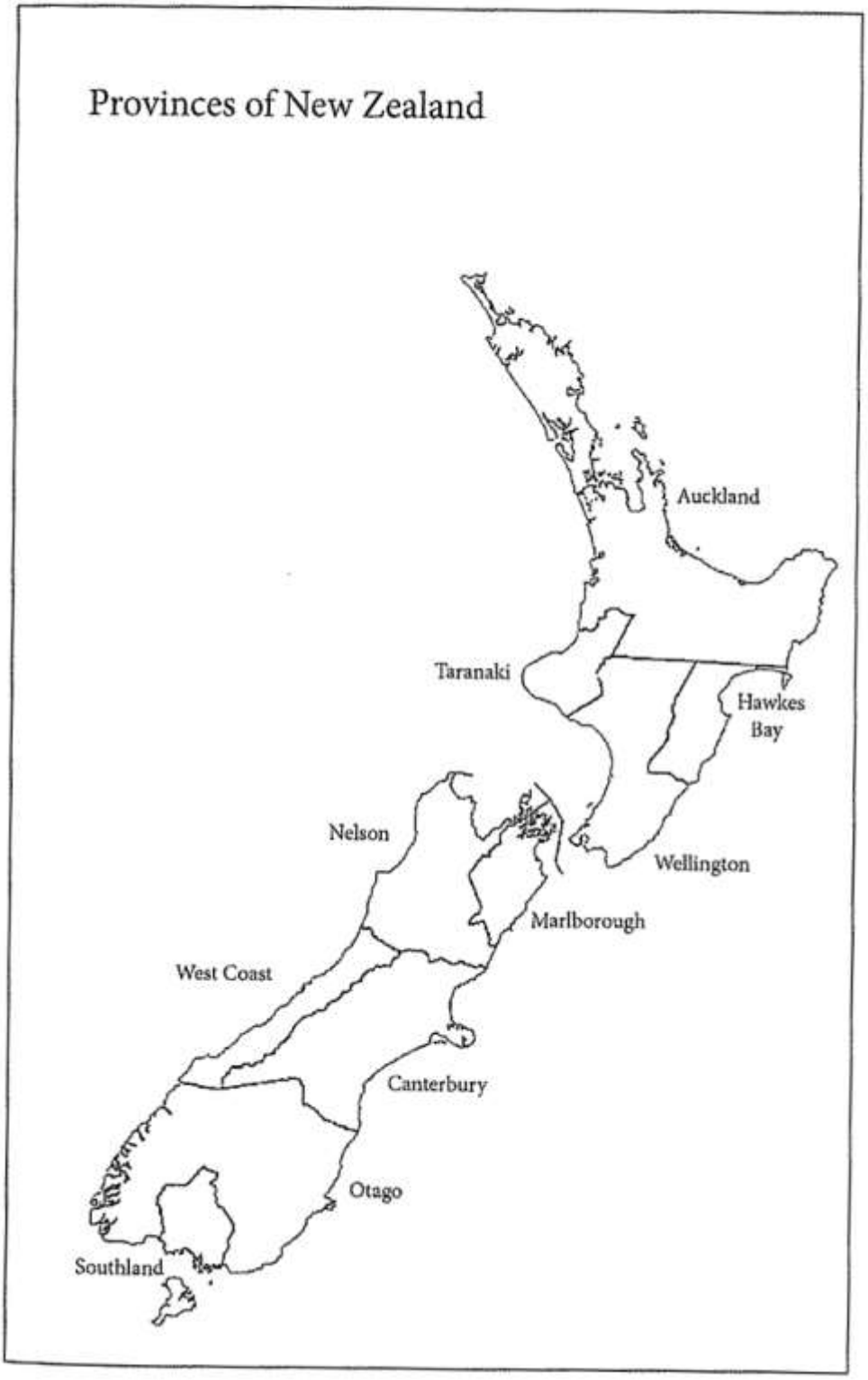

Figure 3.1: The ten provinces of New Zealand. Source: Rebecca Lenihan, *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand's Scots Migrants 1840-1920* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015), p.13.

Arrival Policy

All assisted immigrants arriving in New Zealand in the 1870s regardless of origin went through the same process. When migrant ships dropped anchor at their destination harbour, they were boarded by local officials including the immigration officer, a health officer and the harbourmaster. If the passengers showed any sign of illness everyone on board was offloaded onto a quarantine station; most ports had a station on an island in the harbour. Passengers would remain there until all infections had cleared. If the ship passed the medical inspection, officials would make a detailed inspection of the ship, including interviewing passengers about food, drink and conditions during the voyage. Local reporters would also board the ship hoping for news and reporting the occupations of the newly arrived migrants and any cargo onboard.[2] Passengers would be offloaded onto the immigration barracks found in every port. There, they would be provided with accommodation, food and drink. Immigration officers listed the skills of the new arrivals in newspaper advertisements and arranged for employers to visit the barracks. Immigration officers oversaw job interviews, ensuring fair wages and conditions were offered. Usually, all migrants would be employed within days or weeks, leaving the barracks empty in time for the next voyage to arrive. Employers snapped up single men and women, and families with young children often spent longer periods in the barracks before finding work.[3] Groups of migrants were often forwarded from the main arrival ports to smaller towns. Immigration officials transported migrants on coastal steamers to small town immigration depots that often consisted of newly built cottages.[4]

Newly arrived continental migrants usually had very little knowledge of colonial society and very few could speak English. As a result, during their first days and weeks in the colony they relied on provincial immigration officials for accommodation, work and information about New Zealand. Each colonial province had different priorities and interests, and the experience of the European settlers differed according to the aims of provincial immigration officers. The first groups of Scandinavian migrants were immediately placed in government-sponsored special settlements, but as the migration flow increased many new arrivals found themselves in the barracks competing for jobs with British and Irish migrants.

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[2] David Hastings, *Over the Mountains of the Sea: Life on the Migrant Ships 1870-1885* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006), pp.228-230.
[3] Hastings, pp.237-128; Rollo Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1981), p.242.
[4] Rollo Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, pp.239-240.

Here, new immigrants were fed and housed until they found work and permanent accommodation. European arrivals often found themselves at a disadvantage, being unfamiliar with English or local customs and society. Labourers were always in demand though and provincial officers managed to place most new arrivals regardless of occupation or skill.

In his July 1872 annual report, Immigration official Arthur Halcombe described how, in the South Island, "the work of the Immigration Department consists chiefly in aiding the different settlements to enlarge themselves, in the North Island it principally assumes the form of founding a number of small new colonies on lands where Europeans have hitherto been prevented from carrying on even the first ruder processes of colonization". [5] Only thirty years had passed since the first organised colonisation schemes, and large parts of the North Island remained unknown to settlers. Memories of bloody warfare were still fresh and many Māori lived in independent villages well beyond the reach of the colonial government. South Island provincial leaders were less concerned about Māori, but they too were eager for state funded economic development.

[5] *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1872, D16, p.3.

Where did the Europeans disembark?

European settlers arrived in most of the major immigration ports in New Zealand between 1871 and 1876, but a compilation of migrant destination port statistics shows that nearly half the European migrants disembarked at Wellington. The capital received the earliest Scandinavian shipments in 1871 and 1872, as well as eight voyages from Hamburg carrying passengers from around Europe. Napier-bound migrants made up the second highest total, followed by Lyttelton and Dunedin. Two direct voyages each from Christiania (Oslo) and Hamburg had sailed to Napier, while Lyttelton had received two Hamburg ships, and Dunedin one. Auckland received comparatively few European immigrants.

Table 3.1:
New Zealand arrival ports 1871 to 1876

	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	Total
Auckland		20	10	242	26	28	326
New Plymouth					26	1	27
Napier		456	265	201	766	4	1692
Wellington	126	174	176	422	1073	1466	3437
Picton					5		5
Nelson				17	2	8	27
Lyttelton		318	328	325	25	7	1003
Timaru					2		2
Dunedin		287	26	210	75	2	600
Total	126	1255	805	1417	2000	1516	7119

Source: Continental Assisted Immigrant data compiled from Archives New Zealand (ANZ), Passenger Lists, 1839-1973, and Hamburg State Archives, Staatsarchiv Hamburg. *Hamburg Passenger Lists, 1850-1934*.

Agent General Isaac Featherston aimed to direct migrant ships to provinces in proportion to the demand, but passengers who had a preferred destination were placed on a ship to the nearest port, if possible. Nevertheless, even those migrants who had a specific end destination usually found work in their arrival province, even if only temporary employment. Unsurprisingly, the three provinces that received the most European arrivals showed the largest increases in European population.

We cannot be clear exactly which provinces lost population to internal migration, but we can make estimates by analysing census data. As only 126 Scandinavian assisted immigrants had arrived in the country when the February 1871 census was taken, this census is a good starting point. The 1878 census counted the population after the European migration scheme had ended. Each census collected data on

the birthplaces of residents, and continental Europeans were grouped into three categories: French subjects, German subjects and "Other Europeans". The data show an increase of 6235 European born residents in that time period. 2233 (36%) were of German origin, with 3816 (61%) in the 'other' category. Only 3% were French. The majority of the new arrivals were concentrated in Wellington, Hawkes Bay and the South Island. Officials transferred at least a few hundred Wellington arrivals to Jackson Bay, or other South Island destinations. Wellington's European-born population increased by 2396 to make up 5.37% of the provincial populations (excluding Māori), and Hawkes Bay increased by 1298 to 9.18% of the Pākehā population in 1878. Wellington Province included the Scandinavian settlements in the Manawatū as well as Wairarapa. The third province, Canterbury, gained 1202 continental born residents despite only 1002 disembarking at Lyttelton. Of these, 776 were "Other Europeans", which may have included Scandinavians and Italians. Otago also had an increase of 337 in the same category. Nelson province recorded a decrease in European born residents, most of whom were "Other Europeans". Likely reasons for moving south included better opportunities available in the more populous South Island provinces. Auckland Province, which in the 1870s covered the entire upper half of the North Island north of Taranaki and Hawkes Bay, had 1045 European born residents in 1871 and 1324 after the Vogel migrations, which still represented only 1.6% of the total Pākehā population in the province.

Table 3.2: French born residents in New Zealand

Provinces	**1871**	**1878**	**Increase**	**Percent**	**Total**
Auckland	108	165	57	0.20%	82661
Taranaki	7	12	5	0.13%	9463
Wellington	28	115	87	0.23%	51069
Hawkes Bay	21	46	25	0.31%	15015
Nelson	100	62	-38	0.25%	25128
Marlborough	6	8	2	0.11%	7557
Canterbury	110	141	31	0.15%	91922
Westland	81	54	-27	0.32%	16932
Otago (incl Southland)	90	133	43	0.12%	114469
Chatham Islands	0	1	1	0.51%	196
Total	551	737	186	0.18%	414412

Source: NZ census, 1871, 1878

Table 3.3: German born residents in New Zealand

Provinces	1871	1878	Increase	Percent	Total
Auckland	423	373	-50	0.45%	82661
Taranaki	12	238	226	2.52%	9463
Wellington	74	963	889	1.89%	51069
Hawkes Bay	22	222	200	1.48%	15015
Nelson	427	412	-15	1.64%	25128
Marlborough	56	62	6	0.82%	7557
Canterbury	456	851	395	0.93%	91922
Westland	451	621	170	3.67%	16932
Otago (incl Southland)	491	902	411	0.79%	114469
Chatham Islands	4	5	1	2.55%	196
Total	2416	4649	2233		414412

Source: NZ census, 1871, 1878

Table 3.4: Other European born Residents in New Zealand

Provinces	1871	1878	Increase	Percent	Total
Auckland	514	786	272	0.95%	82661
Taranaki	5	198	193	2.09%	9463
Wellington	246	1666	1420	3.26%	51069
Hawkes Bay	37	1110	1073	7.39%	15015
Nelson	674	400	-274	1.59%	25128
Marlborough	63	101	38	1.34%	7557
Canterbury	188	964	776	1.05%	91922
Westland	657	634	-23	3.74%	16932
Otago (incl Southland)	599	936	337	0.82%	114469
Chatham Islands	4	8	4	4.08%	196
Total	2987	6803	3816		414412

Source: NZ census, 1871, 1878

Table 3.5: Total Continental Europeans born in New Zealand

Provinces	1871	1878	Increase	Percent	Total
Auckland	1045	1324	279	1.60%	82661
Taranaki	24	448	424	4.73%	9463
Wellington	348	2744	2396	5.37%	51069
Hawkes Bay	80	1378	1298	9.18%	15015
Nelson	1201	874	-327	3.48%	25128
Marlborough	125	171	46	2.26%	7557
Canterbury	754	1956	1202	2.13%	91922
Westland	1189	1309	120	7.73%	16932
Otago (incl Southland)	1180	1971	791	1.72%	114469
Chatham Islands	8	14	6	7.14%	196
Total	5954	12189	6235	2.94%	414412

Source: NZ census, 1871, 1878

The first Scandinavian arrivals

The settlement of the Scandinavian migrants who arrived in 1871 had been supervised personally by Wellington Provincial Secretary Arthur Follet Halcombe, who had escorted them to the Manawatū and assigned blocks of land to the new settlers. The two groups of Norwegians and Danes found themselves in a region that had been almost unknown to Pākehā less than ten years earlier. The earliest Pākehā to settle in the Manawatū were missionaries and traders who lived at the mouth of the Manawatū River and traded with local Māori. After an earthquake in 1855, the Pākehā traders moved to the river mouth and the new settlement of about 100 people was named Foxton. After protracted negotiations, Rangitāne Māori sold the 250,000-acre Te Ahu a Tūranga block to the government in 1864 for £12000, and the town of Palmerston was planned for a large forest clearing in the area, known as Papaioea.[6] By 1867 Palmerston was ready for subdivision and several farmers bought sections near the site. Just south of the future town, former Danish Prime Minister Ditlev Gothard Monrad had built a homestead at Karere in the 1860s. In the summer of 1869, as Titokowaru's guerrilla army was at the height of its powers in Southern Taranaki and Whanganui, Monrad and most of his family decided to return to Denmark. However, his two sons and a number of Danish employees remained in New Zealand, and this group returned to Karere after the threat had passed.[7]

[6] Peter Meihana and Hone Morris, 'Tangata Whenua', in Margaret Tennant, Geoff Watson and Kerry Taylor (eds.), *City at the Centre: A History of Palmerston North* (Massey University Press, 2021), pp.37-38.
[7] M.J. Holcroft, *The Line of the Road: A History of Manawatu County, 1876-1976* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1977), pp.2-5.

When the Scandinavian settlers arrived in early 1871, the future town of Palmerston North barely existed. A few dozen Pākehā farmers lived in the "town", with a store and one or two houses built in 1870.[8] The nearest services were 30 km away at Foxton. The mostly Norwegian *Celaeno* settlers were offered sections at Awapuni, near the Monrad family home at Karere, but within weeks many had lost all their possessions due to flooding. In March 1871, they abandoned their land and moved into tents next to the Palmerston hotel.[9] Forced to rely on credit from the two general stores in Palmerston, they obtained some potatoes, pigs and fruit from local Māori but everything else the town needed had to be transported by canoe up the Manawatū River.[10]

When the Danish and Swedish passengers from the *England* arrived a month later, they found the Norwegians still living in tents.[11] The new arrivals were taken to land north of the town, at Stoney Creek/Whakarongo, where the married couples were assigned forty-acre sections and single men given twenty acres.[12] In Awapuni, the Norwegians asked Viggo Monrad to contact the government on their behalf and ask for assistance. Halcombe agreed the flooding was a major setback and took steps to find them more suitable land.[13]

The male settlers were employed on public works, with the *Celaeno* men working on the Foxton to Palmerston tramway near Karere, and the *England* men working on the Manawatū Gorge Road. The first sawmill opened in Palmerston that winter, allowing the Scandinavians to build small two bedroom huts for their families. By October the weather had improved, and new buildings and roads sprung up around the town. The first Scandinavian language church service was held in February. Halcombe even gave the families extra time to pay the first payments on their land.[14]

Despite the problems, Halcombe's first official report on the Scandinavian settlements was optimistic. He admitted that the first year was difficult, as the only road into the Palmerston settlement was impassable for the winter, and the only access was by canoe. The settlers had managed to clear small patches of land and build weatherboard houses but work on clearing their sections had barely begun. Halcombe declared the settlement a success, despite the "exceptional difficulties". He wrote that

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[8] T.L. Buick, *Old Manawatu, or the Wild Days of the West* (Palmerston North: Buick & Young, 1903), pp.289, 295.
[9] Val Burr, *Mosquitos and Sawdust: A History of Scandinavians in early Palmerston North & surrounding districts* (Palmerston North: Scandinavian Club of Manawatu, 1995), pp.18-19,30.
[10] Burr, *Mosquitos and Sawdust*, pp.30-33.
[11] Burr, *Mosquitos and Sawdust*, p.21.
[12] Burr, *Mosquitos and Sawdust*, p.28.
[13] Burr, *Mosquitos and Sawdust*, p.19.
[14] Burr, *Mosquitos and Sawdust*, pp.30-33.

government investment in similar special settlements based on family groups would provide a reliable source of labour to future employers and investors, and were therefore "a most important branch of present colonizing operations".[15]

Hawkes Bay and Wellington

Provincial leaders in Hawkes Bay and Wellington were among the first to take advantage of the proposed special settlements scheme. They had been pushing for the construction of a road between the two provinces for some time, and the two provinces cooperated to lobby for both assisted immigrants and public works schemes aiming to advance Pākehā colonisation and economic development of the Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa regions. Connecting the two provinces would require a road through the forest stretching from Takapau in the north to just north of present day Masterton, known as Tapere-nui-a-Whātonga (the great food basket of Whātonga) to local Māori, or Seventy Mile Bush to Pākehā.

In August 1871, interim Minister of Public Works William Gisborne produced the first annual report of the Immigration and Public Works Department. He noted that the Seventy Mile Bush purchase was the first that government made under the Public Works Act for the purpose of provincial settlement. The report also indicated that officials in Hawkes Bay and Wellington were cooperating to obtain land further south in the Wairarapa. Gisborne summarised the deal by saying "The acquisition of this fine territory, and its occupation by immigrants, will give an incalculable impetus to the colonization of the North Island".[16]

Within months, plans had been compiled and sent to Featherston in London.[17] Gisborne instructed Featherston to recruit Scandinavians for three small settlements to be formed along proposed road through the Seventy Mile Bush. He thought that 300 young families, 100 single men and "such young women as choose to accompany their relations" would be required. Gisborne suggested that two of the settlements could be Norwegian and one could be Swedish. Danes were presumably less desirable. Each settlement would be located on a 5000-acre block of thick bush and would include a village centre with ten-acre sections and reserves for a school and a church. Each settler family would be offered a twenty acre section for £20, to be paid in monthly instalments within three years, with the option for the purchase of a further twenty acres adjacent to the first, on the same terms in the fourth year. The

[15] AJHR, 1872, D16, p.6.
[16] AJHR, 1871, D4, p.1.
[17] AJHR, 1872, D1, pp.4-5.

government would provide wages for three or four days of road construction work per week for the men, and they would be free the rest of the week to develop their own sections. Featherston was authorised to offer the migrants up to a year's wages on the above terms, if necessary, but to avoid committing the government to any guaranteed work if possible. Featherston would decide how much to charge for passage, but the government did commit to transporting the settlers from Napier to the forest and providing them with one or two weeks of rations while they started work in their new forest homes.[18]

[18] AJHR, 1872, D1, pp.4-5.

Figure 3.2: Map showing the locations of the proposed Scandinavian settlements (marked as black boxes) in Arthur Halcombe's first annual report, July 1872. AJHR 1872, D16.

In December 1871, Arthur Halcombe was promoted to head of the Wellington Immigration Office and personally took charge of selecting the settlement sites in Seventy Mile Bush. In the first half of 1872 he made two trips through the forest, but as most of the land still remained in the hands of Māori, he was

able to select only one of the three sites he had planned south of the Manawatū Gorge. He chose a 4000-acre site for the first settlement, which became known as Mauriceville.[19]

In March 1872 the *England* returned to Wellington harbour with 91 Scandinavians on board. Halcombe assigned these settlers to the new site at Mauriceville, but their arrival was significantly delayed. Several passengers had died on the voyage due to smallpox, so the entire group was quarantined on Somes Island until they were declared well. Once released the men were supplied with tools and large tarpaulins for shelter and marched across the Remutaka range to Masterton, at the time the northern-most town in the Wairarapa. They pushed on to the edge of the forest a few miles further north and began constructing temporary huts. Ten days later, when the camp was ready, a convoy of wagons transported the men's wives and children to the site.[20] The cluster of crude barracks made of wooden slabs and tents at the edge of the forest (Kopuaranga) became known as the Scandinavian Camp. The families would remain in these huts, cooking on open fires, for two more years.[21] The Mauriceville site itself was six miles north in thick forest and had not yet been surveyed, so the men were given contract work clearing the bush along the line of the future road. Each family was promised forty-acre sections at the future settlement, for £1 per acre to be paid back within two years.[22]

Meanwhile, as the flow of assisted migrants increased, the expected migrant ships were due in Hawkes Bay. On 15 September 1872, two ships entered Napier harbour: the *Høvding* carried 376 passengers from Norway, and the *Ballarat* arrived from England with a further 77 Scandinavians among its 285 migrants. The arrival of more than 600 people in one day stretched the town's resources. Most families were assigned to the immigration barracks, but single women and the remaining families were placed in the military barracks. Single men were accommodated in a hotel.[23] The eighty-four families were assigned to the Seventy Mile Bush settlements, and the remaining Scandinavians found work locally within a fortnight of arrival. Sixty-eight single Scandinavian women obtained employment locally as domestic servants, and ten men were temporarily employed on railway construction.[24]

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[19] AJHR, 1872, D16, p.5; Kay Flavell (ed.), *Rainbows Over Mauriceville: Early Days in a Scandinavian-Kiwi Community* (Mauriceville: Friends of Mauriceville Inc, 2013), p.8.
[20] AJHR, 1872, D16, pp.4-5.
[21] George Conrad Peterson, *Forest Homes: The Story of the Scandinavian Settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (Wellington, A.H. Reed, 1956), pp.22-26.
[22] AJHR, 1872, D16, pp.4-5.
[23] *Hawkes Bay Times*, 17 Sept 1872, p.2.
[24] J.G. Wilson, *History of Hawkes Bay* (Wellington: AH and AW Reed, 1976), pp.302-303; Matthew Wright, *Hawkes Bay: The History of a Province* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994), p.106.

Halcombe greeted the arrival of the ships and met with Bror Erik Friberg, who had returned to New Zealand on the *Høvding*. Friberg led the eighty-four married men into the forest, while their wives and 180 children remained in Napier for a few weeks until the first rough houses had been built in the forest.[25] The route south through Seventy Mile Bush was a bridle track which enabled horses, cattle and sheep to access the Tahoraiti station. The expedition took three days to reach a clearing near the future site of Norsewood.[26] There, Halcombe and Friberg oversaw the ballot for sections, and some of the Danes decided to take sections at the second and more distant location.[27] Although it had been suggested to Featherston that he allow the settlers to choose the names for the settlements, it appears the names were selected by officials before the settlers arrived. Norsewood was probably named by Friberg, the name being chosen as the site was populated mostly by Norwegians. The second, Danish, settlement was named Dannevirke.[28] Before he left, Halcombe, translated by Friberg, spoke to the assembled Scandinavians. He informed them that a store would be established at each settlement which would provide goods on credit, and that the men would be provided with four days' paid roadbuilding work a week. He also stated that they would need to repay the cost of passage to New Zealand within a year.[29] Sixty-three Norwegian families were assigned to Norsewood, while thirteen Danish and eight Norwegian families chose sections at the Dannevirke site fourteen miles further into the bush. A fortnight later, when the initial shelters were built, Halcombe personally led the convoy of women and children into the forest to join the men, before continuing alone through the bush track back to Wellington.[30] The settlers who had chosen Dannevirke sections were delayed at the Norsewood site for a further two weeks.[31]

The first year in Norsewood was difficult: the men worked on roading contracts most of the week and the women and children cooked over campfires and washed clothes and utensils in streams. The nearest doctor was forty kilometres north at Waipawa, and several settlers died through accident or illness in the first year. The government provided some seeds for vegetables and the settlers supplemented their

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[25] AJHR, 1873, D1, pp. 8-10.
[26] J.G. Wilson, *History of Hawkes Bay* (Wellington: AH and AW Reed, 1976), pp.302-303; Matthew Wright, *Hawkes Bay: The History of a Province* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994), p.106.
[27] Rob McDonald, *Dannevirke: The Early Years* (Hastings: Rob McDonald, 2002), p.43.
[28] George Conrad Petersen, *Forest Homes: The story of the Scandinavian Settlements in Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. Reed, 1956), p.44-45.
[29] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, p.43.
[30] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.10
[31] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, p.44.

monotonous diet by hunting pigeons and wild pigs.[32] Bad weather led to a lack of work, and the men earned an average of less than £3 each in February 1873, down from more than £6 the previous month.[33] Up to seventy school age children lived in Norsewood in the first years. A school was set up in 1873 but many children were required to work at home and support the family, so few attended.[34] The nearest township to Norsewood was the small farming village at Waipawa. The only other neighbours were run holders, some of whom had built hotels and stores on their properties, and a few small Rangitāne Māori communities in the bush.[35]

Further south, the Dannevirke settlement was smaller and more isolated than Norsewood. The new settlers had a late start building houses from totara slabs and clearing space for their gardens, but most families had completed this work by November. Friberg supplied seeds and potatoes so settlers could establish gardens. The nearest neighbours lived a few kilometres south at Tahoraiti, a scrubby clearing in the forest with two small Rangitāne kainga, and a small shack which provided alcohol, gambling and music to passing travellers. By 1873 the shack was upgraded to a purpose-built hotel. Stables, a post office and a general store followed. These few facilities nonetheless ensured that Tahoraiti, not Dannevirke, remained the administrative centre for the district.[36] Māori at Tahoraiti supplied oat seed for the horses, and wild pigs could be hunted for meat. Anything else needed to be ordered through a local store run by a government contractor who brought supplies in by packhorse. The Dannevirke men were employed on government contracts four days a week to build the road south of the village, and later north towards Norsewood.

These contracts failed to provide sufficient income to support a family, and by the winter of 1873 most local men were looking for work elsewhere. Private contractors took over the road works. Some Dannevirke men found work with them, but most became unemployed. Most families owed between £30 and £50 to the government storekeeper who expected repayments of £1 per month without fail.[37] Desperate residents wrote to the Scandinavian Consul in Wellington for assistance. Friberg was deeply offended and blamed the Dannevirke residents for their failures. Residents sent a second petition to Ormond six months later, asking for the original debt for passenger fares to be forgiven. Ormond passed

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[32] A.L. Andersen, *Norsewood: The Centennial Story: A History of the District of Norsewood* (Dannevirke: A.L. Andersen, 1972), pp.12-16.
[33] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.61.
[34] A.L. Andersen, *Norsewood*, p.18.
[35] J.G. Wilson, *History of Hawkes Bay*, pp. 266-267.
[36] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, p.57.
[37] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, pp.46-49.

the petition on to central government, which refused to assist, fearing that it would create a precedent with many more settlers. Friberg became very unpopular in Dannevirke. Originally the translator and advocate for the Scandinavians, he was responsible for collecting the government debt and had publicly maligned the Dannevirke settlers. They saw him as neglecting their interests in favour of Norsewood, where he had business interests and lived among the Norwegians he had brought to New Zealand.[38] The Dannevirke men were forced to find work far from their homes, and as many were away for months at a time, Dannevirke became a town of women and children.[39]

In the Wairarapa, the occupants of the Scandinavian camp at Kopuaranga were still working on the road north. As construction continued deeper into the forest, the workers would stay in the forest all week, returning to their families only on Sundays. Further Norwegian and Danish settlers arrived in Wellington in 1873 and more buildings, including a schoolhouse, were added to the increasingly permanent Scandinavian Camp.[40] Engineer Alexander Munro and his assistant Sam Begg oversaw the road construction work. The only continental settler in a position of authority was the unpopular storekeeper and government interpreter, Alexander Svend Dreyer. Although he spoke Danish, Dreyer was from Schleswig and allegedly fought for the Prussian Army in the 1864 war. He resigned in 1873 and translation duties were taken over by Norwegian school teacher Arthur Peterson, an ex-soldier from a wealthy background who had arrived with his family in 1872.[41]

When the initial road contracts ended many of the Scandinavians found themselves out of work. The government decided to prioritise the main road, leaving many of the side roads connecting the Mauriceville sections unfinished. Conditions in the Scandinavian camp were unhygienic and typhoid broke out later that year. Ballots were held for the Mauriceville sections and by the end of the year almost all the families had moved onto their own land. Again, rough slab huts were built, but this time with slight improvements - most homes now had glass windows.[42] Mauriceville was laid out along three main roads, North Road, West Road and South Road. A monument to the early Scandinavians has been built where the three roads meet.[43] Sections on the northern road to Hastwell were assigned to mainly

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[38] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, pp.49-50.
[39] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, p.50; interview with Maren Hermansen, *Dannevirke Evening News*, 26 Sept 1922
[40] Petersen, *Forest Homes*, pp.27, 32-33.
[41] Petersen, *Forest Homes*, pp.29-31, 33-36.
[42] Petersen, *Forest Homes*, pp.41-44.
[43] Kay Flavell (ed.), *Whispering Roads: Wellington-Napier: A Scandinavian Trail* (Masterton: Friends of Mauriceville, 2011), p.17.

Norwegian families who had arrived on the *England*.[44] The West Road was settled by families who had travelled together on the *Halcione*'s second voyage in 1873.[45]

In October 1873, Halcombe and Munro finalised negotiations with the Rangitāne people for possession of land further north and a new settlement was planned on the route of the main road. A block of 1100 acres was surveyed near the Makakahi River and given the Scandinavian name Mellemskov (or occasionally Mellam Skog in some early maps). The name translates roughly as 'heart of the forest' in Danish, but within a few years the name had reverted to Eketahuna, and more recently the spelling has been corrected to Eketāhuna, meaning 'to run aground on a sandbank'. A group of Scandinavian families who had been stuck in the Scandinavian camp for six months were assigned to the new settlement. An advance party of three families moved into a disused surveyors hut near the site and began building huts and clearing the area. Rough slab huts were built, and small gardens planted as more of the *Forfarshire* group moved to the site, and a small village grew.[46]

In December 1873 the European immigrant population of Hawkes Bay was boosted when The *Høvding* arrived in Napier with a second shipment of migrants from Christiania. The 263 migrants on board were mostly Norwegian. Immigration inspectors declared themselves pleased with the passengers but after hearing complaints about the quality of food served on the voyage, decided to charge the captain with breaching immigration law. The ship's surgeon was also charged with cruelty to a female passenger. The passengers agreed that the first mate was the only honest officer on board.[47] J.D. Ormond wrote to Vogel in Wellington describing the migrants as "a good useful class of people" who had readily found employment, but pointed out the difficulty of finding employment for people who "cannot speak a word of English".[48] Ormond and other New Zealand officials were unaware that European migration was about to stall because of the difficulties with Featherston's European agents.

European assisted immigrants in the South Island

In the South Island immigration officials had different priorities. Provincial Governments in Otago and Canterbury already had growing regional economies and saw the Immigration and Public Works Act as a

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[44] Kay Flavell (ed.), *Rainbows over Mauriceville: Early days in a Scandinavian-Kiwi community* (Masterton: Friends of Mauriceville, 2013), p.28.
[45] Flavell, *Rainbows*, p.54.
[46] Petersen, pp.64-65; Irene Adcock, *A Goodly Heritage: Eketahuna and districts 100 years, 1873-1973* (Eketahuna: Eketahuna Borough and County Councils, 1973), pp.9-11.
[47] AJHR, 1874, D2, pp.17-18.
[48] AJHR, 1874, D2, p.17.

way to attract government resources and immigrants to boost regional economies. From 1872 ships carrying assisted immigrants began arriving in southern ports and included two direct voyages from Hamburg carrying passengers from Northern Europe. The first of the Hamburg ships arrived in Lyttelton on 30 August 1872. The *Friedeburg* carried 293 passengers. The majority came from the German Empire, and 109 of the 156 Germans were from West Prussia. Scandinavian passengers included 72 from Denmark and 59 from Norway or the Norwegian Swedish border. One family came from Bohemia in the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Immigration officials greeting the ship were assisted by translators, John Ruddenklau, a German businessman, and a Mr Monson, a Dane.[49] The ship's doctor, J.D.L. Temple, reported that tensions were high on the voyage due to the recent war between Prussia and Denmark. He observed "great national dislike between Scandinavians and Germans, which showed itself in the pettiest of ways, and required constant watchfulness and care". Temple himself was not immune from prejudice: he distinguished between "true Germans", who he described as "patient, well-meaning, industrious and honest", and the Poles, who were "lazy indolent, and dirty in their habits". Temple recommended special inducements be made to attract further German migrants and that the government avoid importing any more of the "comparatively useless" Poles. His report described the single Danish women as "of a superior class" to the rest of the young women, and though the Norwegian women were "a little unruly" and therefore less suitable as domestic servants.[50] The Christchurch German society also looked down on some of the new arrivals. At a dinner held to welcome Dr Temple and Captain Kopper to the city, toasts were made to the Queen, the German Emperor, the Government and the "true German" and Scandinavian settlers who arrived on the ship. The only people not invited were the German Poles.[51]

Canterbury Immigration Officer J. Edwin March declared that the single men and women were well suited to the province and reported they found work within a week of the ship arriving. Fifty-three families also found work quickly but fourteen families remained in the immigration barracks a month later. March reported that "some of the Germans and German Poles" did not seem suitable for farm work despite being described as farm labourers in the passenger list.[52] The department eventually found work for these families in Pigeon Bay, and funded an interpreter to assist the migrants as they moved in

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[49] *Star*, 2 Sept 1872, p.3.
[50] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.8.
[51] *Star*, 6 Sept 1872, p.2.
[52] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.7.

and began working.[53] One Danish family was unable to find work until November 1872.[54] The men were employed in a range of occupations, most as farm labourers but also including a hairdresser, a tailor and a baker. Most of the sixty-one single women obtained jobs as general servants, and the remainder were employed as cooks and diary maids, two dressmakers and a needlewoman.[55] Many of the 130 Scandinavian settlers left Canterbury for jobs around the country.[56]

The second Hamburg ship arrived in Otago harbour on 6 December 1872. The *Palmerston* had left Hamburg with 286 people on board, including 138 Germans (most of these appeared to be Polish Catholics from the Kociewie area of West Prussia), 82 Danes, 58 Norwegians, and 9 Swedes. During the voyage thirteen died from typhoid and scarlet fever.[57] The *Palmerston* was one of two migrant ships to arrive in Otago harbour with scarlet fever that day and 500 passengers from both ships were quarantined, straining Otago's public health facilities. Passengers from the British ship were landed at the quarantine station first, and passengers on both ships showing visible signs of illness were hospitalised at the station.[58] Additional tents were located, and a few days later it was decided the bulk of the *Palmerston* passengers were to be housed in tents at a temporary quarantine site at the harbour entrance.[59] The ships doctor, with the backing of the *Palmerston* passengers, objected: they stayed on board until the passengers from the English ship were released. A witness reported that the English passengers were also unwilling to share the quarantine island with the continental arrivals. Later, a Dunedin drapery firm donated hats for the *Palmerston* children.[60] While the migrants were confined, the Dunedin German Society (*Deutsches Verein*) met and arranged to collect donations of fresh fruit and vegetables from local Germans and Scandinavian residents, and several boxes were delivered to the passengers.[61]

On 23 December, officials lifted the quarantine and the *Palmerston* passengers were moved to the immigration barracks. The single men and women obtained employment almost immediately, with the men obtaining positions paying £20-25 a year, and the women obtaining service jobs earning 12-15

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[53] Marsh to Wellington, 10 Feb 1873, and Hermann Cohn to Marsh, 6 Feb 1873, IM1/04 1873 101a, ANZ.
[54] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.22.
[55] AJHR, 1873 D1d, p.5.
[56] *Lyttelton Times* (LT), 10 Sept 1872, p.2.
[57] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.36.
[58] *Otago Daily Times* (ODT), 7 Dec 1872, p.2 and 9 Dec 1872, p.2.
[59] ODT, 10 Dec 1872, p.2.
[60] Lyndall Hancock, *Quarantine Island / Kamau Taurua (St Martin Island): A Short History* (Dunedin: St Martin Island Community, 2008), pp.33-35.
[61] *Evening Star*, 14 Dec 1872, p.2.

shillings per week plus food and board. The families proved more difficult to place. Colin Allan, the Otago Immigration Secretary, wrote "farmers and runholders are generally disinclined to employ men with a family of children" especially those who were "entirely ignorant of the English language". He managed to find positions on farms and high-country stations for twenty-eight families, but several Danish, Norwegians and Poles "of the poorer classes" remained in the barracks through early 1873. Allan approached the local Brogden's agent and arranged for work on the Taieri railway construction project. The families delegated two men to accompany Allan to inspect the site before agreeing to the work. Allan donated timber to construct tents and paid for the transportation of the families to the site south of Dunedin.[62] Sixty 'Germans' from the *Palmerston* began working for Brogden's in January.[63] This group included the Polish families and some Scandinavians who had arrived on the *Palmerston*, and Brogdens advertised for a German interpreter, preferably with railway experience, to help manage the workers.[64] The sixty railway labourers and their families lived in tents until the railway contract was finished. Many of the remaining Scandinavians eventually obtained farm work around the province.[65]

The *Otago Witness* criticised the expense caused by the arrival of continental migrants. Labour was in short supply "so the fact that sixty men were unable to get employment is a significant one". The paper blamed the Immigration Department. "It is all very well to send them to Wellington or Hawke's Bay, where the General Government continue their care over them after they are landed by establishing them in Special Settlements", but no such system existed in Otago. Without government aid, foreign workers were "simply a deadweight, and therefore a source of trouble and loss to all concerned".[66] Allan agreed. In his view, future European migrants would be better placed in special settlements where "their plodding habits and fertility of resources" would enable to them to succeed, and where their lack of ambition compared with British settlers could be more easily accommodated. He was not wholly negative, describing the settlers as "very industrious, and wholly willing to do anything required of them", but he thought that future European migrants would benefit from travelling on English ships with English language tutors supplied.[67]

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[62] AJHR, 1873, D1, pp.48-49.
[63] *Evening Star*, 13 Jan 1873, p.2.
[64] *ODT*, 13 Jan 1873, p.2.
[65] AJHR, 1873 D1, p.90.
[66] *Otago Witness*, 18 Jan 1873, p.13.
[67] AJHR, 1873, D1, pp.48-49.

Concerns about unskilled European migrants with no English language ability were not widespread, and most government officials had no objection to continental migration. Even Allan became more optimistic. In May, he informed Wellington that he had received positive reports from employers about the Scandinavians in Otago and had no doubt that another shipment from Scandinavia would be welcomed by employers.[68]

After this initial burst of activity in 1872, European immigration slowed the following year with only 805 arrivals in 1873. The *Høvding* made the only direct voyage; the others arrived on British ships. The majority were Scandinavians but 132 originated in the German Empire, with seventeen from Italy, France and Belgium. The *Crusader* arrived at Lyttelton in January 1873 with 55 Danes and Germans among its 175 passengers. The recent war between Denmark and Germany caused conflict onboard and immigration officers again advised that Danes and Germans should not be placed on the same ship.[69] The *Cardigan Castle* and the *Punjaub* also arrived in Lyttelton with large contingents of Scandinavians among their mainly British and Irish passengers. The *Forfarshire* and the *Halcione* carried Danes, Norwegians and small number of Italians and Germans to Wellington, and the *Zealandia* brought twenty-three mostly German passengers to Otago. By the end of 1873 the total number of Vogel scheme European assisted immigrants had reached 2168, with 721 entering the country at Napier, 474 via Wellington, 646 to Lyttelton, 313 in Dunedin and the final 30 via Auckland. Of the total, 1595 had Scandinavian origins. Ormond, knowing the continental migration contracts were under review, wrote to Vogel, then the Minister for Immigration, indicating his lack of enthusiasm for further European migrants unless land could be provided for them. As he wrote; "It would be much more difficult to provide for a shipment of Scandinavians and Germans than would be the case with immigrants from the United Kingdom" While single men were employable, Ormond thought it difficult to find suitable placements for families who did not speak English. Scandinavians made very good settlers, he wrote, but only if they were placed on their own land, rather than having to compete in the job market with English speakers.[70]

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[68] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.90.
[69] AJHR, 1873, D1, p.40.
[70] AJHR, 1874, D5, p.13.

New public works schemes planned.

In 1874 assisted immigration peaked as 32,000 new settlers arrived in New Zealand.[71] Most were British, but as Hamburg voyages resumed under Wilhelm Kirchner's contract, the new arrivals included 1417 continental Europeans. Kirchner's agents were recruiting in Central and Southern Europe, and New Zealand bound continental migrants recruited between 1874 and 1876 included families from Italy and the Austro-Hungarian empire. These continental migrants would play an important role in several of the public works schemes underway in the North Island, including road construction in Taranaki province, railway construction in the Hutt Valley, and settlements in the Manawatū and Whanganui. Some would find themselves in the South Island, most notably the settlers who were sent to the ill-fated special settlement at Jackson Bay on the West Coast.

In early 1874 Vogel made an agreement with Wellington Provincial Government to build a road from Masterton to the Manawatū Gorge and create settlements along the route.[72] In May, after a preliminary survey, officials planned the further surveying and settlement of Seventy Mile Bush. If roads and railways could be built, officials were confident that the forests could provide millions of pounds sterling in timber sales.[73] In September, Ormond informed Vogel that Hawkes Bay could absorb many more immigrants in the summer. If Scandinavians arrived, they could be placed in the Norsewood area where railway construction work was available. He asked the government to assist by providing cheap land for new immigrants in the area.[74]

Meanwhile, Taranaki provincial authorities planned a road connecting New Plymouth and Waitara with the military base at Hawera on the south coast. Trees had been felled along the route but it was not yet serviceable.[75] In 1874, Parliament allocated £20,000 to spend on opening a road from the New Plymouth area inland to Hawera in the south.[76] The province had asked for assisted migrants but had recruited only a handful. The solution: to send migrant ships direct to New Plymouth. Until then, the province needed to compete with employers in the city arrival ports. Provincial Superintendent Fred Carrington telegrammed a request for urgent assistance to Vogel in London. Vogel agreed to assign him 100

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[71] Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), p.43.
[72] AJHR, 1874, D5, p.23-24.
[73] AJHR, 1874, D5a, pp.19-21.
[74] AJHR, 1875, D1, p.4.
[75] Rollo Arnold, 'English Rural Unionism and Taranaki Immigration', *NZJH*, Vol. 6, no.1, 1972, pp.31-34
[76] B. Wells, *The History of Taranaki: a standard work on the history of the province* (1878) (Christchurch: Capper Press, 1976), p.293.

migrants from the next ship to arrive in Wellington. In June 1874, Carrington greeted the ship personally on the Wellington docks and convinced 119 English migrants to travel to Taranaki. A number of these settlers were given work clearing an area of bush on the mountain road for the future town of Inglewood.[77] A few months later, the first of the 1874 Hamburg voyages arrived in Wellington and contributed the second large group of settlers to the Inglewood community.

On the South Island, West Coast officials planned the Jackson Bay special settlement at the southern end of the West Coast. The location had the best natural harbour on the West Coast, but the area was isolated and covered in thick bush. The aim: to found a village and establish a logging industry. Pākehā had settled in great numbers on the West Coast during the gold rush only a decade earlier. The government came into possession of the area after negotiating and signing a land purchase with Poutini Ngāi Tahu in 1860, when fewer than 200 Māori remained on the West Coast. The government paid £300 for the entire West Coast with the exception of a few reserves.[78] Canterbury provincial surveyors explored the heavily forested region in the early 1860s, discovering coal and gold. By 1865 the gold rush had led the population to explode from 830 in December 1864 to 50,000 by late 1866. The Coast was separated from the Canterbury by the Southern Alps, and many residents felt closer to Melbourne and Sydney, only a week away by ship. Communication difficulties and tensions with the Canterbury provincial government led the central government to declare the West Coast a county in 1868. The new county had an elected council but was otherwise under the direct control of central government.[79]

A parliamentary select committee recommended Jackson Bay as a future settlement site in 1871, and the 1874 Public Works Act allocated 26,000 hectares for the settlement.[80] Vogel foresaw a labour shortage and thought that special settlements might absorb migrant families who might otherwise suffer a disadvantage on the job market. He met with the Westland Superintendent, suggesting a settlement of 250 families who would be assisted to establish a viable forestry industry.[81] The *Grey River Argus* attacked the idea, describing it as "impracticable, illusive and utterly unsuited to the requirements of the Province", citing the example of a recent Shetland Islander settlement on Stewart Island which

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[77] Rollo Arnold, 'English Rural Unionism and Taranaki Immigration', *NZJH*, Vol. 6, no.1, 1972, pp.31-34.
[78] Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngai Tahu Report,* Vol.1 (Wellington: GP Publications, 2015), pp.123-124.
[79] Andre Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand's Provinces, 1853-76* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), pp. 190-194.
[80] Irvine Roxburgh, *Jacksons Bay: A Centennial History* (Wellington: AH and AW Reed, 1976), p.27.
[81] AJHR, 1874, D5, pp. 17-19.

failed due to isolation and the lack of a market for their settlers' produce.[82] The Jackson Bay settlement was approved in 1874 but the newspapers comments would prove to be accurate.

The return of the Hamburg Ships

The *Reichstag* arrived in Wellington on 6 August 1874 carrying 350 migrants from the German Empire and Denmark, along with small numbers of Italians and Swiss.[83] The immigration barracks were full so the passengers were offloaded on Somes Island.[84] Prominent German citizens in Wellington celebrated the arrival of the first direct voyage from Germany with a dinner for the captain.[85] Most settlers found jobs in the Wellington province but a group of Polish families from Kociewie headed south to join former neighbours who were working on the Otago railways.[86] One group of Scandinavians was sent on to Picton.[87] The remainder stayed in the barracks and eventually found jobs in the North Island. Two weeks after their arrival, more than thirty were transported to Wanganui. These were mostly Germans and a few Danes going to Marton with Mr B. Goile.[88] A further nineteen adults were sent to the Wairarapa.[89] A large group of sixty-nine moved to Taranaki to work on the mountain road project at Inglewood.[90] They included sixteen married couples with families, and eight single men (including four Italian wine growers).[91]

The *Gutenberg* arrived in Lyttelton on 25 October 1874 with 137 migrants on board.[92] Unusually the ships' doctor was a migrant himself. Doctor Moritz Mark had worked his passage, and on arrival, he began the process of registering to practise medicine in Christchurch.[93] There are few details of the immediate destinations of most passengers, but thirty sailed south to Otago.[94] This group included

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[82] *Grey River Argus*, 15 April 1874, p.2.
[83] AJHR, 1875, D3, p.16; NZT, 7 August 1874, p.2.
[84] *Western Star*, 22 August 1874.p.4.
[85] NZT, 19 August 1874, p.2.
[86] *Wanganui Herald*, 17 Aug 1874, p.2; further details on *Reichstag* and *Sussex* families to Waihola, *ODT*, 27 Aug 1874, p.3.
[87] *Marlborough Express*, 29 Aug 1874, p.5.
[88] *Wanganui Herald*, 18 Aug 1874, p.2.
[89] EP, 20 August 1874, p.2.
[90] Rollo Arnold, 'English Rural Unionism and Taranaki Immigration', *NZJH*, Vol. 6, no.1, 1972, p.34.
[91] *Taranaki Herald*, 2 September 1874, p.2 (includes list of all names)
[92] AJHR, 1875, D3, p.26; detailed report in *Globe*, 27 Oct 1874, p.2, and *Press*, 27 October 1874, p.2; occupations listed at LT, 15 Oct 1874, p.2;
[93] LT, 18 Nov 1874, p.1.
[94] LT, 28 Oct 1874, p.2.

Polish Catholics from the Kociewie area, such as Mathias and Anna Klimek, middle-aged parents with three sons, who were following their adult daughter who had migrated earlier and was living in Waihola.[95]

Groups of European assisted migrants continued to arrive on British ships, contributing just over 900 of the 1417 Europeans who arrived in 1874. In May, the *Rooperall* brought twenty-eight French and German settlers to Auckland. In June fifty-seven Danes arrived on the *Loch Awe* and the *Miltiades* brought eighty Swedes and fifteen Germans and Austrians to Auckland. In Napier, the *Queen of the North* brought seventy-three Scandinavians and two French families in February, the *Invernene* arrived in March with sixty-seven Scandinavians and Germans, and in July, the *Winchester* arrived with sixty Europeans, almost all Swedish. In October the *Cartvale* contributed thirty-six Germans and Danes to Wellington. The *Stonehouse* arrived in Lyttelton in June, carrying 446 migrants, including eighty-one Moravians from villages around Ostrava. It appears that the Moravians were all transported to the immigration depot in Oxford, North Canterbury.[96] The *St Lawrence* brought twenty-nine Germans and Italians to Lyttelton on 29 August 1874. On the same day seventeen Germans arrived on the *Cathcart*. A few days later the *Carisbrook Castle* contributed thirty-four Germans and a Russian couple. Seventy-four Germans and French settlers arrived in Otago on the *Scimitar* in March 1874 and the *Sussex* brought seventy-seven continental settlers, mostly Germans, to Otago in October.

In 1875, migrant ships made five direct voyages from Hamburg to New Zealand. Three ships docked in Wellington and the other two sailed to Napier. The passengers included increasing numbers from central Europe. The *Humboldt* arrived in Wellington on 28 January 1875.[97] Most of the 383 migrants spent little time in Wellington, as soon as transport was available the Immigration Department distributed them to destinations around the lower North Island, including Napier, Taranaki, Wanganui and the Manawatū.[98] The ship's surgeon, Baron von Mirbach, also decided to stay on in Wellington.[99]

Two Hamburg ships sailed for Napier in 1875, adding several hundred continental Europeans to the settler population in the region, including Swiss, Italians and others. The *Fritz Reuter* sailed into Napier harbour on 30 March. The ship was quarantined overnight after reports of scarlatina on board but

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[95] POHOS, 'Klimek Family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.wordpress.com/in-new-zealand/early-polish-settlers/annis-family/k-o/klimek-family/
[96] *Star*, 20 July 1874, p.2.
[97] AJHR, 1875, D3, p.44.
[98] *New Zealand Times*, 1 Feb 1875, p.2.
[99] EP, 2 March 1875, p.2.

cleared by medical officers in the morning. Five births and thirteen deaths took place during the voyage. Mr Friberg helped with translations.[100] All who were capable of outdoor work were taken to Seventy Mile Bush and employed on construction of a tramway. Two camps were set up at Porangahau on the edge of the forest, one for the Scandinavians and one for the Germans and Poles. Accommodation was initially in tents but huts were built as soon as timber could be sourced. Ormond began urgently planning roads so the land he had allocated to the settlers would be accessible the following year.[101] The *Friedeburg* made its second voyage to New Zealand, arriving in Napier on 24 August with 292 Danes, Italians, Germans and others on board.[102]

The *Lammershagen* arrived in Wellington harbour in July 1875 with 421 people on board. Passengers included Danes, Poles, Germans, Italians and Swedes, and landing began the next day with seventy-two adult passengers transferred to a local ship bound for Westland, and fifty-nine adults bound for Taranaki. A group of ten Italian men who had previously worked together on the Mont Cenis tunnel and the Suez Canal wanted to remain together, and were hired by railway contractor Charles McKirdy.[103] The single women gained employment as domestic servants within a few days of arrival.[104] A number of *Lammershagen* passengers were sent to the West Coast, including fifteen West Prussian families who were the group of continental Europeans to settle at Jackson Bay. Others stayed in the immigration barracks at Hokitika, which for several weeks advertised the availability of Scandinavian farm labourers, blacksmiths, carpenters and domestic servants.[105] Ninety *Lammershagen* migrants were sent to Wanganui, where the local immigration officer distributed eighteen families, eighteen single men, and one single woman to towns around the district. The local newspaper commented that none spoke any English, which handicapped their chances of gaining employment.[106] A small number of Scandinavians were sent to Featherston and Masterton.[107]

The *Herschel* docked in Wellington on 23 October 1875.[108] The 248 passengers included 130 Italians, 65 Scandinavians, mostly Danes, and 35 Germans. The remainder were a small group of Croatian men and a

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[100] AJHR, 1875, D3, pp.58-59.
[101] AJHR, 1875, D5, pp.4-7.
[102] AJHR, 1875, D3, p.12.
[103] EP, 13 July 1875, p.2.
[104] NZT, 16 July 1875, p.2.
[105] *West Coast Times*, 17 July 1875, p.3.
[106] *Wanganui Herald*, 22 July 1875, p.2.
[107] *Wairarapa Standard*, 29 July 1875, p.2.
[108] AJHR, 1876, D3, p.19.

Swiss family. Three or four of the Italian passengers produced barrel organs or hurdy gurdys on arrival, provoking much comment. The loaders responsible for transporting luggage to the barracks refused to carry the mechanical musical instruments, which were regarded as a beggar's instrument, and unwelcome in Wellington.[109] Most of the passengers found work quickly, and a number of Italian men were engaged on a railway contract. The passengers included a number of nominated migrants who were despatched to their friends in Akaroa and Otago. The remainder stayed in the barracks where they were entertained by the organ grinders.[110] Wellingtonians were pleased to hear the organ grinders were taking their instruments to Wanganui.[111] Danish farmer Lars Andersen Schau described another incident in the Wellington barracks. He described how a Swedish migrant "became demented, saying he would cut the throat of all the Scandinavians". The man displayed a razor as he made the threats but the police did nothing. Eventually the man sold his razor, but "[t]hat night he stole all the Scandinavians clothes, and watches and boots".[112] John Carlsson was arrested and charged. Carlsson had spent two years in America before coming to New Zealand and spoke enough English to argue in court that he did not understand English. His defence failed and he was convicted and sentenced to six months of hard labour.[113]

The Italian railway contractors were transferred to the Featherston immigration barracks until they could be assigned to the railway incline project. The *Wairarapa Standard* disapproved, saying many were unsuitable for the work and sarcastically suggested that the Immigration Department should supply them "with hand organs and monkeys, so they may have a chance of obtaining an honest living".[114] A second large group of Italians was transferred via Nelson to the West Coast for positions in Hokitika and Jackson's Bay.[115] The *Grey River Argus* was uncertain about the need for Italians on the West Coast, acknowledging "The majority were healthy smart young men", but worrying the language difficulties would be a problem.[116] The Italians available for work in Hokitika included bakers, sailors a chemist, a telegraphist, and several stonemasons.[117]

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[109] NZT, 25 Oct 1875, p.2.
[110] NZT, 27 Oct 1875, p.2.
[111] *Evening Star*, 30 Oct 1875, p.2.
[112] Memoirs of Lars Andersen Schow, *Wairarapa Archive*, 94-42/2.
[113] EP, 2 Nov 1875, p.2; NZT, 2 Nov 1875, p.2.
[114] *Wairarapa Standard*, 4 Nov 1875, p.2.
[115] EP, 3 Nov 1875, p.2.
[116] *Grey River Argus*, 9 Nov 1875, p.2.
[117] *West Coast Times*, 15 Nov 1875, p.3.

While most continental migrants sailed directly from Hamburg in 1875, small numbers continued to arrive on British migrant ships. Notable voyages included the *Dallam Tower* which sailed to Wellington and forwarded 35 German passengers to Otago, the *Halcione*, sailing to New Plymouth, which arrived in September carrying a group of Swiss migrants recruited by Felix Hunger, and the *Clarence* which delivered twenty-one European settlers to Napier.

1876: The final year of European assisted immigration

Two ships had already left Hamburg by January 1876, when Featherston finally instructed Wilhelm Kirchner to stop the flow of migrants to New Zealand. Demand for labour was slowing, but 400 European settlers were expected to land in January. Later another 500 would arrive on the final voyage. The Immigration Department asked its officers to find work for non-English speakers. Work was available for German settlers in the Patea district, and the *Wanganui Herald* recommended that forty-acre sections be made available on deferred payment. According to the editor, Germans were a "sturdy warlike race, who were not unused to the ping of the bullet", and would provide a strong deterrent to any "native disturbances" in the district, the paper wrote.[118] In Oamaru, locals learnt that seventy labourers would be sent to North Otago as soon as the next ship from Hamburg arrived. A local paper spoke highly of Germans, describing them as "industrious, thrifty and handy servants".[119] Despite the shortage elsewhere, the West Coast had failed to obtain enough migrant labour and provincial officials predicted that they could use 100 per month, provided that they were suitable for rural labouring work. Jackson Bay had received only a few mainly German settlers, with no sign of the 150 British and Irish families the government had promised.[120]

The *Shakespeare* and the *Gutenberg* sailed from Hamburg in the winter of 1875 and arrived in New Zealand in the New Year. The *Shakespeare* arrived in Wellington on 23 January 1876 with nearly 400 Italian, German, and Scandinavian migrants confined on Somes Island for a few days before being landed.[121] The passengers were described as "healthy and robust" with the exception of the Italians and a small group of Bohemians.[122] Wanganui received several large German families, some of whom had relatives living in Marton, but one local paper complained that the group was mostly children with very

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[118] *Wanganui Herald*, 15 Jan 1876, p.2.
[119] *North Otago Times*, 17 Jan 1876, p.2.
[120] *West Coast Times*, 24 Jan 1876, p.2.
[121] *Auckland Star*, 24 Jan 1876, p.2; EP, 28 Jan 1876, p.2.
[122] AJHR, 1876, D3, pp.30-31.

few working age men in their number.[123] Another 100 settlers were distributed to Nelson, Taranaki and Auckland.[124] Another group was forwarded to the West Coast by coastal steamship. There, locals warned them about the conditions at Jackson Bay. The new settlers claimed that they had been promised work and housing and on seeing Jackson Bay they insisted on returning to Hokitika.[125]

The *Gutenberg* began its second voyage to New Zealand from Bremerhaven, as winter ice prevented loading at Hamburg. The ship arrived in Wellington carrying Germans, Italians, Danes, Swedes and Swiss passengers. The ship's doctor described the Italian men as an undesirable group of people who "caused a great deal of trouble" during the voyage. On arrival, immigration officials were also unimpressed, describing them as "undersized, and in the opinion of the inspectors "unfitted for the laborious work required of immigrants introduced to this colony".[126]

The *Terpischore* arrived in March 1876 carrying 390 immigrants to Wellington. The voyage was difficult with eight passengers dying from typhoid fever.[127] Thirty-six migrants from the *Gutenberg* and the *Terpsichore* were forwarded to Foxton on 1 April.[128] Sixty single men and women from both the *Terpsichore* and the *Gutenberg* were sent to Wanganui the following week.[129]

Vogel had returned to New Zealand in February of 1876 and would remain Premier for a few months. The European migration contracts had been cancelled and Vogel turned his mind to more pressing issues. The colonial economy was beginning to slow and the demand for labour was shrinking in some areas.[130] Vogel realised that the abolition of the provinces would bring extra costs at a time when revenue was decreasing. His 1876 budget announced reduced spending for both public works and immigration.[131]

The government's experiment with continental European migration may have been over, but the final shipment of 500 continental migrants was already on its way. When the *Fritz Reuter* sailed into Wellington harbour in August 1876, the government declined to recognise them as assisted immigrants,

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[123] *Wanganui Chronicle*, 2 Feb 1876, p.2; *Wanganui Herald*, 1 Feb 1876, p.2.
[124] *Auckland Star*, 3 Feb 1876, p.2. (Taranaki families listed in Taranaki Herald, 5 Feb 1876, p.2).
[125] *Evening Star*, 14 Feb 1876, p.2.
[126] AJHR, 1875, D3, pp.37-38.
[127] AJHR, 1876, D3, pp.40-41.
[128] EP, 1 April 1876, p.2.
[129] *Wanganui Herald*, 7 April 1876, p.2. See also *Wanganui Chronicle* advert, 8 April 1876, p.2.
[130] W.D. Borrie, *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938* (Canberra: Australian National University Demography Program, 1991), pp.75-79.
[131] Raewyn Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986), p.210.

"declaring their shipment wholly unauthorised".[132] While legal disputes between the government and the shipping company would continue for more than a year, the unwanted passengers were stuck in the harbour without food and water. The German Consul in Wellington, Friedrich Krull, stepped in to arrange for the migrants to be unloaded and placed in the immigration barracks "without prejudice to any future proceedings in the matter between the government and the agents".[133] Most were farm labourers from the German Empire, Austria, Italy and Switzerland, and the Immigration Department advertised their availability in local newspapers. Fifty were forwarded to Whanganui on the evening they disembarked.[134] Another group of fifty headed for Taranaki, and Arthur Halcombe, now living in Feilding, visited Wellington to arrange for up to twenty families to accompany him back home. He selected sixty-five migrants for Feilding, and three were sent to Foxton.[135] "A large number" were employed in Wellington and nearby districts.[136] Those who were unable to find positions were eventually forwarded to the West Coast. Twenty-two sailed to Hokitika in September,[137] and in October the remaining 100 were sent to Hokitika, with the intention of forwarding them to Jackson Bay.[138] Again, a local newspaper singled out the Italians as being particularly poorly suited for the rough conditions of the West Coast. The new arrivals included "a number of highly educated youths, fresh from college, and bringing with them certificates of the highest class as regards ability, character and education". Many spoke several European languages but no English. "It was absolutely cruelty to send men of this class out here", the *West Coast Times* wrote. "There is no opening whatever for them, and their only chance of a livelihood is by hard manual labor, for which, unfortunately they are not well fitted".[139] The 100 passengers bound for Jackson Bay arrived at Hokitika, but never made any further progress. The jetty that was deemed essential to the development of Jackson Bay had not been funded and the settlers were unable to make an independent living, with many in debt to the government store. The migrants who had arrived in Hokitika from the *Fritz Reuter* were instead given accommodation and government work in Hokitika. The group included sixteen families, totaling eighty-one individuals from the Polish village of Kokoszkowy.

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[132] EP, 5 August 1876, p.2.
[133] EP, 5 August 1876, p.2.
[134] EP, 9 August 1876, p.2.
[135] EP, 12 August 1876, p.2; *EP*, 14 August 1876, p.2
[136] *New Zealand Times*, 15 Aug 1876, p.2.
[137] EP, 22 Sept 1876, p.2.
[138] EP, 9 Oct 1876, p.2.
[139] *West Coast Times*, 28 Aug 1876, p.2.

The *Fritz Reuter* passengers were the last shipment of the European assisted immigrants to land in New Zealand as part of the Vogel scheme, but an unknown number, probably a few hundred, continued to arrive as nominated migrants in the 1870s and early 1880s.

Jackson Bay

When the European immigration scheme ended, the settlement at Jackson Bay housed several hundred Germans, Poles and Italians, as well as a few Danes and Swedes. All had arrived since 1874 and they struggled to make a living in the isolated settlement. By November 1878 it was clear there was no future and a Royal Commission had been called to investigate the failure of the settlement. What had gone wrong?

When West Coast Superintendent James Bonar personally led an expedition to Jackson's Bay in early 1874 to survey the site, he hoped that the future settlement could process and export timber, and asked central government for assistance with the construction of a tramway to move timber to the proposed port. Bonar outlined plans for a total of 250 families or 1000 adult residents. Central government provided £20,000 for infrastructure. The first fifty families would be recruited from the West Coast and Bonar requested that most of the others be recruited in Britain, but he also advised Vogel that settlers from Pomerania in the northern German Empire would be especially suited to the region. Bonar had been in communication with a German man living on the West Coast, who had recommended Pomeranians to him and had already sailed for Europe to recruit them.[140]

The German was Pomeranian-born Julius Matthies. He was born in Trzebiatów (Trebtow) in 1830, and probably arrived on the West Coast during the gold rushes of the 1860s. He worked as a cabinet maker in Hokitika when he became a naturalised British subject in 1868.[141] In September 1874 he contacted James Bonar and suggested Pomeranian farmers from the Baltic coast would find it easy to adapt to the geography of Jackson Bay. Pomeranians would be ideal colonists as they "lead a simple and primitive life; physically they are a sturdy and healthy race, and are of the Protestant faith".[142] Matthies had planned to return to Germany to collect an inheritance when he wrote to Bonar. Acting as a recruitment agent while he was in Europe would provide a nice bonus to his income. Matthies reached Europe but never returned to New Zealand. Featherston and Kirchner both warned him not to fall foul of the German emigration regulations but he was arrested in Berlin. According to Kirchner's employees,

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[140] AJHR, 1875, D5, pp.8-10.
[141] Julius Charles Eberhart Matthies, 1868/2594, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[142] AJHR, 1875, D5, p.15.

Matthies "allowed himself to be entrapped by the Prussian police" and faced serious charges, probably for operating as an unlicenced migration agent. The stress apparently killed him. "It is supposed that the excitement produced apoplexy by pressure on the brain".[143] He died at his mother's house in Pomerania before the trial began.[144] Kirchner's agents were unaware of any migrants Matthies had recruited before his sudden death.[145]

In January 1875, twenty-two West Coast locals were landed at Jackson Bay to begin constructing houses and roads. Donald McFarlane was appointed to run the government store and oversee the public works. By June, he was able to report that sixty men, twenty-five women and seventy-two children resided in the settlement. When not working for the government on road and drain construction, the men were free to build houses and improve the sections they had been allocated. MacFarlane supplied equipment, tools, and seeds at cost price through the government shop. McFarlane praised the natural resources in the area and the potential for industry, but his report highlighted the lack of capital in the settlement. "The principal industries available at present, in which capitalists are likely to invest, will be the erection of sawmills for the manufacture of timber, the establishment of brick and pottery works, and the manufacture of lime for export and home consumption". McFarlane believed that employers would not invest in the town until an infrastructure was in place, and advised officials to pay for the construction of a light railway, a jetty and a road to Haast, without which the economy would stagnate.[146] A month later, the first of group of European assisted immigrants were sent to Jackson Bay. By March 1877 there were 367 people in the settlement. At Jackson Bay itself, the resident government agent managed a shop and supervised public works employment. There was a blacksmith shop and twenty cottages housing English, Scots, Irish and German settlers. Seven Scandinavian families built slab huts at the Waiatoto river mouth north of the village. Further north again at Okura, the Italian families lived in a cluster of cottages and tents where they planted crops in relatively clear country. The Polish families settled in the bush at Smoothwater Bay to the west of the main settlement.[147]

Life in the settlement was hard, and without a jetty or other means to export goods, most settlers depended on the government agent for food and wages. The Italians at the settlement were clearly having the most difficulty. In May 1876 the Italian Consul asked two Italian settlers named Ferderli and

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[143] AJHR, 1876, D2, p.3.
[144] *Grey River Argus*, 2 Oct 1875, p.2.
[145] AJHR, 1876, D2, p.3.
[146] AJHR, 1875, D5, pp.18-19.
[147] Roxburgh, *Jacksons Bay*, p.52.

Corrado to report to him on conditions at Jackson Bay. The two men had arrived in Lyttelton on the *Gutenberg* in 1874 where they were listed as labourers. They were clearly educated and well connected and in May 1876 they travelled to Jackson Bay and talked with the Italian families there, returning to Wellington in June. Their report, which was forwarded to the Wellington newspapers, admitted that the Italian settlers were unsuited for pioneer life, but was generally positive about progress at the settlement. They found that the Italian residents had been misled by emigration agent John Glynn. Many had expected to obtain work in the cities at their own trades and had no ability or experience of bush craft or farming and found the work difficult and demoralising. Despite this, Federli and Corrado were enthusiastic about future Italian settlement and proposed land and funds be put aside for a further 200 Italian families to migrate to New Zealand.[148] The alleged unsuitability of many of the Italian migrants had become a public issue and led to discussion in Parliament. The conduct of the Italian recruiting agent John Glynn was condemned and the Minister of Immigration advised that Featherston had been instructed to "expose and punish if possible" the agent responsible.[149]

By March 1877 the population of Jackson Bay reached 367, but increasing numbers of residents were giving up and leaving for better opportunities. A high birth rate among the young families increased the population to 402 by June 1878, but morale remained low and residents were quick to believe any rumours that confirmed their feeling there was no future in Jackson Bay. Despite the efforts of the settlers, it was impossible for them to make a living without government support. In August Superintendent Bonar gave into calls for a Commission of Inquiry into the future of the Settlement.[150] A Commission of Inquiry was ordered in November 1878 with the task of determining the future of the settlement. In the meantime, a sawmill was constructed which employed twenty men. By February 1879 the men had 78,000 metres of timber ready for sale. Unfortunately, without a jetty, the ship chartered to move the timber was unable to get close enough to load the cargo. The timber was eventually loaded with the help of a smaller steamer, but the extra cost made the entire enterprise unprofitable.[151] When the Royal Commission visited the settlement in March 1879, they found it almost deserted. There were a few people remaining but most of the buildings, including the brand-new sawmill, had been abandoned.[152]

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[148] *New Zealand Mail*, 3 June 1876, p.12.
[149] *Press*, 30 June 1876, p.3.
[150] Roxburgh, *Jacksons Bay*, pp. 52, 62-68.
[151] Roxburgh, *Jacksons Bay*, pp.68-69.
[152] Roxburgh, *Jacksons Bay*, pp.70-71.

The settlers who left Jackson Bay needed to begin again and spread themselves around the country wherever they could find work. Many of the Polish settlers on the West coast including those at Smoothwater Bay and the families who stayed in Hokitika ended up moving to Taranaki together. Carl and Augusta Bielawski lived at Jackson Bay for two years. Their neighbours Franz and Barbara Zimmerman had travelled with them to New Zealand on the *Terpischore* and both families took their children from Jackson Bay to Taranaki in December 1878.[153]

Conclusion

While the European migration scheme ended in 1876, Vogel's Public Works and Immigration scheme continued and eventually transformed the country, with Pākehā settlements spreading into the interior of the North Island and roads and railways connecting towns and cities up and down the country. More than 7000 European-born migrants had been brought to New Zealand between 1871 and 1876 and they all played a part in this transformation. They had arrived in New Zealand during a period of intense state-planned colonisation, but the situation they found themselves in on arrival varied considerably. Those who disembarked in Hawkes Bay and Wellington were often transferred immediately to special settlements deep in isolated forests where they were the first Pākehā settlers in the area. Despite the hardship and isolation, they had steady employment and a good chance of obtaining their own land. The close-knit communities they formed were probably an advantage in the early years. Others had arrived in towns and cities with thriving economies. Employment was available but with no knowledge of English they were at a disadvantage.

Later, where special settlements and public works contracts were available, European families and single men could do well, but these schemes were not as widespread, and usually not planned with continental migrants in mind. With the exception of the Scandinavian settlements, provincial governments made no plans for continental migrants and as British assisted migration grew, continental settlers came to be seen as a liability. Although there were instances of prejudice and discrimination, these were isolated events. Continental migrants were not subjected to ongoing official or public opposition. Assisted immigration from mainland Europe had evolved accidentally with no-one in central government making any long-term plans and it ended the same way. Small numbers of Europeans continued to arrive after 1876. Like all assisted migrants, continental settlers could nominate friends or relatives to join them in New Zealand. Exact figures are difficult to calculate but fewer than 200

[153] AJHR, 1879, H9a, pp.73-74.

nominated continental migrants arrived between 1876 and 1880. The March 1878 census showed a total of 12,189 European born residents living in New Zealand.

The assisted migrants of the 1870s had boosted the European born population to nearly 3% of the Pākehā population across the country, but the concentrations of nationalities varied widely in each local area. By 1879, nearly 100,000 assisted immigrants arrived in New Zealand, the vast majority from England, Ireland and Scotland.[154] The continental Europeans remained small minorities in most local regions and adapted to life in the new colony in a range of different ways. The following chapters will explore these communities in detail.

[154] Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*, p.42.

Chapter Four: Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa

The remainder of this thesis focuses on the lives of continental European settlers in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Each of the remaining four chapters focuses on a region which was home to a population of European-born assisted immigrants from the Vogel period. Each chapter will give an overview of the settlements and communities formed by first generation European-born assisted immigrants. The overview will outline the region as it was when the continental Europeans arrived and show where and how the Europeans settled in the region. Each chapter includes a closer look at one or more local European immigrant communities in the region. For each community, naturalisation records were searched to compile a sample of residents in that community who were born in continental Europe before 1880. Where possible these records were linked to passenger records gathered for this research. Probate records were then searched to identify probate information from individuals in the sample. The probate samples are smaller than the corresponding naturalisation samples as not all names could be matched. In some cases, where an individual's probate could not be found, probate data from members of their immediate family were added to the sample. Both sets of data were used to build a profile of the settlers in these communities. Short biographies of community members illustrate the individuals behind the data, followed by a discussion of the development of each community from the 1870s to the turn of the twentieth century.

Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa

This chapter focuses on the predominantly Scandinavian settlements of Hawkes Bay and the Wairarapa. These settlements were founded by the provincial governments of the region in order to open up and settle a route between the two districts through a forested region known as the Seventy Mile Bush. The first settlers placed in the region in the 1870s came from Scandinavian countries and they were followed by hundreds more from Norway, Denmark and Sweden as well as some German immigrants. English speaking settlers followed and made up the majority of the region's Pākehā population by 1878, but the Scandinavians and other Europeans remained a substantial minority of the population for many years. The 1878 census showed nearly 10% of the Pākehā population had been born in mainland Europe. Most had originated in the Scandinavian countries but German-born settlers were also significant, particularly in Masterton and Carterton. The customs and culture of the various European settlers in the region will be examined, as will the establishment of the Lutheran Church.

Finally, the chapter will take a closer look at the European-born population of Norsewood. Initially populated by Norwegian migrant families who established the town in the middle of the forest in 1872, naturalisation and probate data reveal that European migrants in the town included Danes and Swedish settlers as well as a number of German migrants. By the end of the century the region had been transformed. Continental settlers played a key role in the colonisation and clearing of the forests in the region. As they transformed the land, they were themselves being transformed, from European migrants to colonial New Zealanders.

Figure 4.1: Seventy Mile Bush. Carl Walrond, 'Scandinavians - 1870s: assisted migration', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/133/the-seventy-mile-bush

Demographics of the region

The Pākehā settlement of the Seventy Mile Bush was one of the more successful Vogel period colonisation projects. By the end of 1873, colonial officials had allocated Scandinavian settlers to small villages at Norsewood, Dannevirke, Mauriceville and Eketāhuna. These early arrivals included 648

Norwegians who had arrived on two voyages from Christiania and contributed to the greater proportion of Norwegians in the Scandinavian population of the Hawkes Bay.

Further European migrants began arriving after 1874 when Ormond had advised the government that he could provide employment for Scandinavians on the Napier railway extension. He asked the government to set aside land for further small settlements in Hawkes Bay for the new arrivals and existing settlers who had so far been unable to procure a section.[1] Migrant ships carrying European passengers continued to arrive at Napier until 1876, and many of the European immigrants arriving in Wellington crossed the Remutaka Ranges to the Wairarapa. The later migrant ships carried significant numbers of German-born settlers alongside Scandinavian passengers. Some of the new arrivals joined friends and relatives in the Scandinavian villages, while others worked on railway and road construction around the region. Others still were employed by English-speaking farmers and businesspeople. Nominated migrants and paying passengers from Scandinavia and Germany continued to arrive throughout the decade, with one author estimating a total of 4000 Scandinavians arriving in Napier by 1880.[2] The port of Napier received 6011 assisted immigrants between 1871 and July 1877. Of those, 1692 were continental Europeans.[3] Passenger records show that 76% of the European settlers to arrive in Napier were from the three Scandinavian countries and 19% were from the German Empire. The remainder were from Austria and Italy. The largest group of Scandinavians (40% of the total) were Norwegians, followed by Danes (29%), and Swedes (7%).

How many of these 1692 European arrivals settled permanently in the Hawkes Bay? Census data demonstrate that the European born population of the province grew from 80 individuals in 1871 to 1378 in 1878, making up 9.18% of the provincial population. The increase of 1298 people indicates that the majority of the new arrivals remained in Hawkes Bay. The vast majority of continental Europeans living in the Bay in 1878 were Scandinavians, with 508 Norwegians, 393 Danes and 155 Swedes constituting over 7% of the total Pākehā population. Germans had increased from 22 to 222 to make up nearly 1.5% of the provincial population. The few hundred who left the province appear to have been evenly spread among the Norwegians, Danes and Germans, but the Swedish population rose to 155, 38 more than had arrived as assisted immigrants. Males made up 57% of the Pākehā population and the

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[1] AJHR, 1875, D5, pp.2-3.
[2] Matthew Wright, *Hawkes Bay: The History of a Province* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994), p.107.
[3] Total assisted immigrants 1871 to July 1877, from *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1877 D5, p.3. Continental migrant numbers are to 1876, Around 60 Scandinavians came to NZ as nominated migrants in 1877, and Napier may have received a small number of these.

same gender imbalance was reflected in the continental European populations, with the exception of the Norwegians. The Norwegians, many of whom had arrived direct from Norway on the *Høvding* voyages, had a near equal gender ratio with males making up 52% of the residents. However, the Swedes were 57% male, the Danes 58%, and the Germans 59% male.

Table 4.1: Continental European assisted immigrant arrivals at Napier 1871-1876

Nationality	Migrants	Percent
Norway	683	40%
Denmark	486	29%
Germany	316	19%
Sweden	117	7%
Austro Hungarian Empire	33	2%
Italy	30	2%
Other	27	2%
Total	1692	100%

Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

Analysing the Wairarapa population is more challenging as this area was included in the figures for the larger Wellington province. Of the 3320 European assisted immigrants to arrive in Wellington, 1255 were Scandinavian, and the vast majority of those were Danish. Many of those Danes went across the ranges to Wairarapa, while others went north to Palmerston North and the surrounding area. Wellington province had a population of 51,069 Pākehā in 1878, of whom 55% were male. European born minorities totalled 2744 people, or 5.37% of the provincial population. As shown in Table 4.3 the minority groups were more male dominated than the majority Pākehā population. 963 Germans were recorded in 1878, with 60% of them male. 749 Danes (61% male), 256 Norwegians (57% male). The 302 Swedes and 160 Italians were predominantly male (75% and 74% respectively).

Table 4.2: Continental European assisted immigrant arrivals at Wellington 1871-1876

Nationality	Migrants	Percent
Germany	1526	46%
Denmark	948	29%
Italy	321	10%
Sweden	171	5%
Norway	136	4%
Austria Hungarian Empire	108	3%
Switzerland	90	3%
France	20	1%
Other	15	0%
Total	3320	100%

Source: Combined Continental Assisted Immigrant data 1871-1876 compiled from various sources, see Appendix One for full details.

To discover how many of the Wellington arrivals settled in the Wairarapa we need to examine the county and borough level population data, which was collected for the first time in the 1878 census. Unfortunately, these data separate national origin into just three broad categories: French, German and 'Other'. We might assume that almost all in the last category were Scandinavians. The county data in Table 4.3 reveal that the combined Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa region had a population of 23,352 Pākehā, of whom 2,143 (9.18%) were of continental European origin in 1878. Continental European minorities were concentrated in Waipawa County and Wairarapa West. Waipawa County included the towns of Dannevirke and Norsewood, and south to Woodville. Wairarapa East stretched from Woodville south to Palliser Bay and contained the Ekatahuna and Mauriceville settlements. 129 Germans were recorded as living in Waipawa County and Scandinavians made up the majority of the 757 other Europeans. Along with 7 French residents, these totalled 893 European born residents, making 18.92% of the county population. In Wairarapa West, 565 European born people were recorded - 10.29% of the district's recorded population. Most were Scandinavians, with 463 recorded as 'other' and a significant minority of 81 Germans. 21 French residents completed the total.

Napier had a population of 5415 in 1878, of whom 288 (5.32%) were European born residents. Of those, 56 were German and 20 were French. The remaining 212 others were almost certainly Scandinavians, with 108 male and 102 female residents. The rural regions around Napier had 104 continental males and 52 females. The majority were Scandinavian but 24 were German.

The largest town in the Wairarapa was Masterton, recorded as a borough, with 1673 residents, including 166 (10%) Europeans. Of those, 84 were Germans, three were French and the 79 'other', were probably Scandinavians. The 38 German males were outnumbered by 46 females. Everywhere else, there were more men than women, both as a ratio of the general population and in every other national category or county population.

Table 4.3: Combined Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa Counties and Boroughs populations

	European born	Total Pākehā Population	%
Hawkes Bay	156	4144	3.76%
Wairoa	15	809	1.85%
Wairarapa West	565	5490	10.29%
Wairarapa East	60	1100	5.45%
Waipawa	893	4721	18.92%
Masterton	166	1673	9.92%
Napier	288	5415	5.32%
Total	2143	23352	9.18%

Source: New Zealand Census, 1878.

Seventy Mile Bush in the 1870s

The 1870s were a decade of isolation and hardship for the Scandinavian settlers of Seventy Mile Bush. Although the settlers had been awarded land and a limited amount of paid contract work, they found themselves isolated in a forest far from the social and economic centres of the province. Married and single men spent large periods of time in exclusively male bush camps, while their wives and children lived in the villages. Schools, churches and other community resources were non-existent, but the settlers did what they could to make life bearable.

Family groups who had been awarded land discovered their sections were marked only by survey pegs in the bush. Clearing the bush required labour from the entire family. While a husband might be away earning income on public works contracts, his wife and older children would use light axes to clear undergrowth and scrub from the family section. Younger children and babies would be supervised by an older sibling in a safe place away from the work. Larger trees would be left until experienced men could fell them in the weekends. The fallen trunks and branches would be left in place over summer and then burnt off. In February and March thick smoke would rise from the forest, and families would work long hours piling more branches onto the fire while keeping the flames away from their homes. Afterwards, the ground would be covered in burnt stumps and black ash. Cocksfoot and clover were planted and by

autumn the ground was green again. Once a few acres had been cleared and sown, a family could bring in a cow or some sheep to produce dairy products and wool for the family.[4]

Both single and married men spent time far from home working on road and railway contracts. The large and constantly moving pool of single men working on nineteenth-century road and railway construction work formed a distinctive 'crew culture', with its own work habits, language and social values. The men employed on public works projects were grouped into crews of ten to fifteen men who were assigned a stretch of road or rail to construct. They worked long hours in strenuous and dangerous jobs and at the end of the day they returned to tents, or huts, or a barracks if they were lucky. Most men were single and those who were married spent long periods among the single men, only seeing their wives and children during infrequent home visits. Food consisted of large quantities of meat (preserved or hunted) and very few vegetables.[5] The majority of continental settler men worked in similar conditions, encountering and taking part in this colonial crew culture. Their lack of English meant Europeans tended to work in crews with their own countrymen: an overseer could issue instructions through a translator and then leave a crew to complete the work without further communication. European crews may have contained a higher proportion of married men than usual, possibly tempering the worst behaviour of the younger men.

Less than three years after the settlers had arrived, small villages had emerged. In January 1875 one unnamed visitor described Norsewood. "The houses, most of which are neat little buildings, are almost all surrounded by clearings on which one sees flourishing crops of oats and potatoes. Some of them have little flower gardens in front of them. Altogether the village presents a flourishing and prosperous appearance. The settlers have a good many cattle which do very well in the bush".[6]

Sixteen kilometres further south, Dannevirke consisted of about twenty small slab huts and gardens scattered along a two-mile stretch of road in the middle of the bush. The only communal facilities were a small schoolhouse and the general store, managed by the town's first non-Scandinavian resident,

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[4] George Conrad Petersen, *Forest Homes: The story of the Scandinavian Settlements in Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (Wellington: A.H. Reed, 1956), pp.56-57.
[5] James Belich, *Making Peoples, A History of the New Zealanders: from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996), pp.424-436
[6] Quoted in Rob McDonald, *Dannevirke: The Early Years* (Hastings, Rob McDonald, 2002), p.54.

James Allardice. Born in England but of Scottish ancestry, he and his family moved to Dannevirke in 1873 to work in the store and later owned the store themselves.[7]

At the Wairarapa end of the forest, settlers had finally moved out of the Scandinavian camp and established similar small settlements on their bush sections at Mauriceville and Eketāhuna. An 1876 report prepared for the Immigration Department showed that 3327 acres of the 4000-acre Mauriceville site had been occupied by seventy-nine settlers (including families). A total of 750 acres had been cleared and planted in grass, an average of ten acres per section. Families grew enough produce to feed themselves, and the Immigration Department was informed that each settler family "occupies a good sized, comfortable and neatly constructed cottage" and possessed three to ten cattle, as well as sheep and horses. The settlement still lacked a school, despite more than eighty children living in the district. Many settlers had fallen behind in payments to the government because they had been neglecting paid work to instead improve their own land. Those who had sought work were often forced to travel to other districts due to the shortage of public work contracts near Mauriceville. Residents needed to use a rough track to connect to the nearest main road and the report recommended that the government pay locals to work on improving the road.[8] The government agreed and employed Mauriceville men to construct a decent road. Unfortunately for the sixteen Danish settlers living in the western end of the settlement, the new road did not extend to their sections. Their only access to the rest of the settlement remained a bush track until some years later, when they did the work themselves without pay.[9] Further north, all twenty-four sections at Eketāhuna had been occupied. Of the 1000 acres surveyed, 300 had been cleared by mid-1876. Eketāhuna was on the main road and public work was plentiful, so the settlers had no trouble paying instalments on their land.[10] A Swedish settler, Gustav Bengston, opened a general store and donated land for the first schoolhouse, built in 1877.[11] Bengston arrived in New Zealand in 1874 but paid for his own ticket. He does not appear on the assisted immigrant lists.[12]

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[7] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, pp.52-54.
[8] AJHR, 1876, D6, pp.6-7.
[9] Petersen, *Forest Homes*, p.60.
[10] AJHR, 1876, D6, pp.6-7.
[11] Irene Adcock, *A Goodly Heritage: Eketahuna and districts 100 years, 1873-1973* (Eketahuna: Eketahuna Borough and County Councils, 1973), p. 12.
[12] Sten Aminoff, *Svenskarna i Nya Zeeland: den svenska utvandringen till Nya Zeeland fram till 1940* (Vaxjo: Publisher Not Identified, 1988), p.137

Rural work: from government projects to sawmilling

Government road and railway contracts continued to provide a valuable source of income for many forest families but logging and sawmilling also became important. Norwegian and Swedish rural workers often had forestry experience and it was easy for them to earn an income from logging. At first trees were felled and sawn in the forest using the pit sawing method. A six-foot-deep trench was dug into a hillside below a stand of trees. A rough wooden frame was built above the pit so the newly felled trees could be rolled onto the frame. A charcoal-soaked cord was used to mark a straight line on the log. A large two person saw then cut the log lengthwise. One man held the heavy end of the saw above the log, and the other guided the saw from the pit below. Planks could then be marked off and cut from each half of the log. It was hard physical work but experienced pit saw workers could produce up to 300 feet of planks in a day.[13]

Manual pit sawing fell out of favour as the railway lines were laid through the Seventy Mile Bush and steam powered sawmilling became profitable. Moving the large volume of timber produced by steam powered sawmills required access to railway transport. The railway line and accompanying sawmill reached Norsewood and the other northern forest towns in the late 1870s. The line reached Dannevirke in 1884 and the town's first sawmill opened as soon the trains arrived. In the south of the forest, the establishment of railways and sawmills began later, in the 1890s.[14]

The advent of refrigerated shipping in 1882 triggered the growth of meat and dairy exports. Many settlers started with a few dairy cows and from the mid-1880s the scale of dairy production grew. Cheese factories were established in Norsewood and Woodville, and Danish settlers played a leading part in the growth of the industry. Norwegian-born Niels Nikolaisen began making a business buying butter from his neighbours in 1891, Within a few years he had enlarged the business and built a large butter factory. As dairy farming expanded, the original factories owned by individual entrepreneurs were replaced with farmer-owned cooperative factories.[15] In the early twentieth century, a dairy farm in the Dannevirke area was typically 100 acres and had up to thirty-five cows. The land was higher and

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[13] Petersen, *Forest Homes*, 1956, pp.52-53. A.L. Andersen, *Norsewood, The Centennial Story: A History of the District of Norsewood* (Norsewood: A.L. Andersen, 1972), pp. 24-25.
[14] Wright, *Hawkes Bay*, pp.111-112; A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: an historical excursion* (Masterton: Hedley's, 1976), p.462.
[15] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, p. 116.

drier than the ideal dairy farmland in Taranaki, which supported twice as many cows on the same area, but it was still profitable.[16]

Danish labourer Lars Anderson Schau (who sometimes spelt his surname Schow) left one of the few first-hand accounts of daily life for a European settler in the Wairarapa. Schau was 40 years old in 1875 when he arrived in Wellington with one pound in his pocket. He spent two weeks in Wellington as he had to appear as a witness in the court case of the Swedish man who had stolen his clothes. After the court case he and three other men travelled to Masterton together and his memoirs describe the hardships of his first days in the Wairarapa. They received no breakfast and when they stopped in Featherston, Schau spent his money on bread for himself and his three penniless mates. The four men spent a week in Masterton looking for work and decided to walk back to Featherston to take up railway labouring. On the way one of the men nearly drowned crossing the river near Greytown. He lost all his possessions including his trousers. The group continued through heavy rain and that night Schau gave his last half crown to a man who allowed the group to shelter in his house and dry their clothes by the fire. When the men arrived at Featherston, work was not due to start for two days. Schau offered his watch to a shopkeeper in exchange for provisions, but she declined. He managed to borrow ten shillings from a fellow worker and started work on the railways a few days later. On his first payday he bought himself a tent. His luggage had been forwarded to Masterton and he was unable to pick it up until Christmas night. He walked to Masterton after work, picked up his box and walked back in time for work the next morning. After six months of long hours on the railway works Schau had saved enough money to buy a third share in a forty-acre section in Mauriceville.[17] The other shareholders are unknown.

Schau described a world of bad weather, dangerous river crossings and little shelter. He often loaned money to friends and had to borrow from friends or the government store at times. His memoirs related a life of moving from contract to contract, working with unreliable or dishonest mates and above all, constant bad weather.[18]

Schau continued to work for wages on the railways after he bought land at Mauriceville. His memoirs describe a two-week period where he lived and worked with a workmate whom he feared was going to rob and kill him. Schau could not leave until payday and slept with a bottle in his hand in case of attack. Back in Mauriceville he fell ill for two months and was unable to work. “For a long time I was so weak I

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[16] McDonald, p.118.
[17] Memoirs of Lars Anderson Schow, Lars Anderson Schow papers, *Wairarapa Archive*, 94-42/2.
[18] Ibid.

could not even fell a tree, but I did get better, and I was able to fell 10 acres" he wrote.[19] Schau recovered and found work in Wellington. The Mauriceville sections had been sold on condition that the buyers improve the land within two years. Still in Wellington, Schau needed to hire his Mauriceville neighbour to build a house on his land before he lost it.

In the summer of 1878 and 1879, Schau worked for the Hutt City Council, helping to build the road between Hutt Valley and Waikanae. The contractors had underestimated their costs and in January 1879 they ran out of money and abandoned both the project and their sub-contractors.[20] The labourers were not paid for the final two weeks of work and Schau was among the men who complained to the council. The council refused responsibility, saying it "declined to interfere between contractors and men".[21] Schau was disgusted, writing "It's no wonder socialism gets strong when Councils treat their workers that way".[22] The life of a single man working on road and rail contracts was difficult and often dangerous but Schau had become a landowner within a few years of arriving in New Zealand. It would take many years of hard work but that first small plot of land would set Schau on his way to eventually become a prosperous farmer. He eventually bought out the co-owners of his Mauriceville section, selling it and moving to a nearby farm.[23]

Entertainment and social life

Life was not all work and despite the lack of resources the Scandinavians maintained familiar social and religious traditions in the forest as best they could. The biggest change was adjusting traditional holidays to the southern seasons. In Europe Christmas took place in mid-winter when farmers had little work to do. In the new colony the date fell in mid-summer, a busy period for many farmers.[24] Like many British settlers, Europeans must have found it strange and unsettling to be celebrating Christmas in the summer heat.[25] Mid-summer Christmas parties were major occasions in the early years of the Seventy Mile Bush settlements. In Dannevirke Christmas was celebrated in Allardice family stables. The Allardice family also assisted with catering for the primarily Scandinavian event, with occasional guest entertainers from

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[19] Ibid.
[20] NZT, 15 January 1879, p.3.
[21] NZT, 12 February 1879, p.3.
[22] Memoirs of Lars Anderson Schow, Lars Anderson Schow papers, Wairarapa Archive, 94-42/2
[23] Kay Flavell, (ed.), *Rainbows Over Mauriceville: Early days in a Scandinavian-Kiwi Community* (Mauriceville: Friends of Mauriceville, 2013), pp.40-41.
[24] Alison Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007), p.17.
[25] Clarke, *Holiday Seasons*, pp.40-41.

Napier.[26] In Mauriceville, Christmas and other social events were held in a small forest clearing on Gundersen's farm. A wooden stage was built and lights were hung from the trees. The summer dances would often carry on to sunrise.[27] A central feature of Scandinavian and German Christmas festivities was the decorated Christmas tree. Although the Christmas tree had long been a central feature of Scandinavian and German Christmas festivities, most British settlers were unfamiliar with the custom, which was only just beginning to appear in the homes of wealthy settlers or in some churches.[28]

As soon as Danish settlers could afford horses, they revived a medieval Danish tradition called the Ring Rider festival, held annually each summer. The event was centred on young men and their horses and was similar to English "tilting at the ring" events, but in Denmark it became a folk festival. The competitive part of the day involved a row of posts being set up in a field with a wire ring hanging from each. Young men on horseback would compete to spear as many rings as possible with a lance. Whoever ended the day with the most rings on his lance was declared champion and taken to a dancing area where he was blindfolded and encircled by a ring of young women. The first he touched would become his dance partner for the night. The Mauriceville Danes organised annual folk festivals for a time but they eventually lost their Danish character and became one among many competitions held on sports days.[29]

Religion

Celebrations like Christmas were easy enough to organise in the bush but more formal religious occasions including christenings, marriages and funerals required clergy and churches. The European immigrant communities found familiar religious institutions were unavailable in the Seventy Mile Bush. The Scandinavians and many of the Germans were Lutherans, but there were no churches of any kind in the Seventy Mile Bush, let alone Lutheran ones. The most prominent Scandinavian clergyman in New Zealand, Bishop Monrad, had returned to Denmark in 1869 before the main body of assisted migrants settled in the Seventy Mile Bush.

The first recorded preacher to attend the Scandinavian assisted immigrants was Danish-born Abraham Honore. He had arrived in New Zealand in 1848 to work for the North German Mission Society, an interdenominational group which sent its first mission to New Zealand alongside the German colonists

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[26] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, p.61.
[27] Petersen, *Forest Homes*, pp.75-77.
[28] Clarke, *Holiday Seasons*, pp.60-62.
[29] Petersen, *Forest Homes*, 1956, pp.74-75; https://www.visitsonderborg.com/ln-int/sonderborg/tilting-ring).

who settled in Nelson. Honore was an assistant to German missionary J.F.H. Wohlers. Wohlers ran a longstanding mission among the Ngāi Tahu people on Ruapuke Island in the far south. Honore was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1869 and began working in the Manawatū where his Danish language ability was in demand among the Scandinavian settlers there.[30] Honore was elderly but made an effort to reach outlying Scandinavian communities and baptise children where he could, making occasional trips to Seventy Mile Bush where he was welcomed by the Danish-speaking settlers.[31] Another early visitor to the Scandinavians in the forests was Norwegian born Edward Nielsen from the Methodist Scandinavian Mission who visited Dannevirke in the early years and later founded Wesleyan churches in Palmerston North and Mauriceville.[32]

The Scandinavian Lutheran church in New Zealand was founded when newly ordained Danish pastor George Sass (Jorgen Johanssen Sass) and his wife moved to Norsewood in 1878. Sass had left Denmark when he was nineteen and sailed to Australia, where he had worked as a bushman and farm worker before being ordained into the Lutheran Church.[33] As the only Lutheran pastor in the region, Sass travelled widely, making frequent trips to Napier, Palmerston North and Mauriceville from his home in Norsewood. He also travelled to Wellington or New Plymouth on occasion.[34] Sass worked hard for his congregation but he found that they were unused to the idea of funding the church. At home, the Lutheran Church was a state-funded institution, and in Sass's opinion, this had made many Scandinavian Christians lazy. In 1879 Sass wrote to Vilhelm Beck, the head of the Danish Home Mission, letting him know the New Zealand Scandinavian church was in financial difficulty.[35] The Home Mission was the smaller of two competing evangelical factions in the Danish Church, the larger being the Grundtvig movement, named after Bishop N.F.S. Grundtvig who led a nationalist revival movement in the mid-nineteenth century Denmark.

In 1880 Sass was joined by Norwegian-born pastor Christopher Gausted, who was assigned to the newly formed Palmerston North Parish.[36] Two years later, congregations formed in Makaretu, Napier and

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[30] Jean A. King, *The Lutheran Story: A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in New Zealand 1843-1993* (Palmerston North: Lutheran Church of New Zealand, 1994), pp.13-18.
[31] King, *The Lutheran Story*, pp.31-32; *Mauriceville West Lutheran Church*, p.7.
[32] *Mauriceville West Lutheran Church*, p.7; McDonald, *Dannevirke*, p. 82.
[33] *Mauriceville Lutheran Church*, p.9.
[34] King, *The Lutheran Story*, p.32.
[35] Dorte Christensen, '"O Lord, guide my feet". The Danish Church in New Zealand' in Henning Bender and Birgit Larsen (eds.), *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Aalborg: Danes Worldwide Archives, 1990), pp. 34-37
[36] King, *The Lutheran Story*, p.33.

Norsewood and began building churches as soon as they could. The first was a small church at Makaretu in 1879 and most of the other Scandinavian settlements had Lutheran Churches by the mid-1880s.[37]

Sass returned to Denmark in 1883 to seek financial support for the church in New Zealand. The Home Mission, as its name suggests, focused on evangelising in Denmark rather than overseas, but mission head Vilhelm Beck backed Sass, and the Mission voted to provide an annual donation to the New Zealand Churches. Rivalry with the Grundtvig movement may have been a factor in the decision: the Grundtvig faction was popular among Scandinavians in North America, and supporting Sass helped enable the evangelical movement to establish itself among the New Zealand settlers.[38] The Home (or Inner) Mission also appointed Sass director of the New Zealand Danish Mission. Back in New Zealand, Gausted felt he had been overlooked and relations between the two men deteriorated.[39]

George Sass lived in Norsewood until 1886 when he moved north to Makaretu for two years, then in 1888 he moved to Palmerston North, where he bought and moved into the privately-owned church and manse.[40] By 1888 the Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa had five Lutheran churches: Norsewood, Dannevirke, Mauriceville, Makaretu and Eketāhuna.[41] Unfortunately for the growing Church, in the late 1880s the conflict between Sass and Hausted became very public and split many North Island congregations. The dispute became public in December 1888 after Pastor Gausted presided over the official opening of the Norsewood Lutheran Church.[42] That evening Sass had apparently suggested that Gausted was not a real minister, causing Gausted to call a public meeting to discuss the incident and accuse Sass of dominating the local church.[43] Within days Gausted announced the formation of a new "Lutheran Mission of New Zealand".[44] The conflict became nationalistic, with Gausted backed by Norwegian-born followers. He approached the Hermansburg Missionary Society (a rival Lutheran missionary group operating in New Zealand) asking them to appoint another pastor to Norsewood. Johan Clausen was sent, but did not stay long. He was followed by H.M. Ries, who became pastor for Norsewood and Dannevirke.[45]George Sass returned to Denmark in 1893.[46] He was replaced by Mads Christensen, a Danish pastor who had been

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[37] King, *The Lutheran Story*, p.33.
[38] Dorte Christensen, '"O Lord, guide my feet"', pp. 34-37
[39] King, *The Lutheran Story*, p.33.
[40] *Mauriceville Lutheran Church*, p,9.
[41] King, *The Lutheran Story*, p.34.
[42] *Bush Advocate*, 18 Dec 1888, p.2.
[43] *Bush Advocate*, 20 Dec 1888, p.2.
[44] *Woodville Examiner*, 21 Dec 1888, p.2.
[45] King, *The Lutheran Story*, p.34.
[46] *Mauriceville Lutheran Church*, p,9.

ordained soon after arriving in New Zealand in 1886. Christensen began his ministry in Mauriceville but after Sass left, he moved to the Manawatū.[47]

Catholicism was very important to the Polish Catholics who had settled in Carterton, and a group of them, probably including Franz Lipinski, had met with the Catholic Bishop of Wellington as soon as they had disembarked in New Zealand in March of 1876. They asked the bishop to send a priest who spoke Polish or at least German to the region they would be settling. The Bishop, Francis Redwood, immediately thought of his old friend, Father Anthony Halbwachs. The two priests had studied together in France and Halbwachs, who was born in the Alsace region, spoke English and German. He had also studied in Ireland, so would have some experience of Irish culture too. Halbwachs agreed to the request and arrived in the Wairarapa a few months later in June 1876.[48] Father Halbwachs based himself in Carterton, the central town in Wairarapa and home of the small Polish community which had clustered around a section of land owned by the Church. The empty section had been donated in the 1860s and had remained unused, but within a few months of arrival Halbwachs had organised the construction of a presbytery and moved himself in.[49] Construction of a church began in 1877 and the Carterton Catholic church opened in April 1878.[50] When Bishop Redwood consecrated the Masterton Catholic church in 1879, Halbwachs was present along with a Polish-speaking priest, Father Gruntholtz, who appears to have been a temporary visitor to the region.[51] Halbwachs led a fundraising and expansion drive which saw the construction of five churches in the Wairarapa by 1881.[52] Halbwachs struggled to pay for the buildings and ended up in debt and forced to sell almost all his personal belongings, culminating in an embarrassing judgment against him in the Greytown court for unpaid debts. In early 1884 the Church transferred Halbwachs to the South Island where he occasionally visited the Polish congregations at Marshland, Allanton and Waihola. He left New Zealand in 1892 and took up a teaching position in a Belgium seminary.[53]

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[47] *Mauriceville Lutheran Church*, p.12.
[48] Vincent J. McGlone, *Fruits of Toil: A History of the Catholic Church in the District of the Wairarapa, New Zealand, 1845-1956* (Carterton: Roydhouse & Son, 1957), pp.15-17.
[49] McGlone, *Fruits of Toil*, pp.19-23.
[50] McGlone, *Fruits of Toil*, pp.26-28.
[51] *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 2 June 1879, p.2.
[52] McGlone, *Fruits of Toil*, pp.58-61, 71.
[53] *Wairarapa Standard*, 19 Dec 1883, p.2; McGlone, *Fruits of Toil*, pp.62, 227; J.W. Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand, 1776-1987* (Warsaw: CHZ "Ars Polona", 1990), p.65.

The Polish Catholic community remained in Carterton until a dispute with the local church saw the community disperse. In 1900 the Polish families were deeply offended when a newly appointed Priest decided to literally remove their church. The Catholic Church decided to subdivide the Wairarapa district and appointed a new parish priest for Carterton. Soon after arriving, Father Thomas Cahill decided that the church would better serve the community if it was moved to the growing town centre at the north end of Carterton. The Polish families who had lived next to the church near the corner of High and Philips Streets since it was built saw this as a betrayal by the parish priest.[54]

A public meeting was held and a letter to the Archbishop was drafted asking him intervene in the dispute and overrule Cahill's decision. 49 of the 59 signatures were Polish settlers. Carterton contractors refused to get involved and Cahill hired a Masterton contractor to do the work.[55] On the first day of work, a number of the Polish families, including children, turned out to protest when the contractors arrived. During the demonstration Father Cahill was allegedly hit in the head by one man and spat on by a woman. Work stopped and Cahill went to Wellington overnight to speak to the archbishop and obtain his backing.[56] The *Wairarapa Daily Times* reported that the Polish community would not openly defy the Archbishop, but would refuse to attend church at the new site. The Poles also denied hitting the priest, saying "he was only seized by the coat and swung round", and clarified that the woman did not spit in Father Cahill's face, but on the ground near him.[57] Work on the move resumed when Cahill returned with the backing of the Archbishop and police protection for the contractors. The Poles stayed indoors, and Cahill decided not to press charges in relation to the earlier demonstration.[58] The Church proved very difficult to move and contractors were forced to cut the church into two pieces. Moving the larger part of the building along the road took three weeks, with delays when part of the road subsided.[59] The removal of the Church signified the end of the Polish community in Carterton. One family left for the United States soon after and many of the others moved away to other parts of the country in the years after the removal of the Church.[60]

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[54] McGlone, *Fruits of Toil*, pp.106, 117-120.
[55] McGlone, *Fruits of Toil*, pp.120-121.
[56] *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 26 April 1904, p.5.
[57] *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 27 April 1904, p.5.
[58] *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 28 April 1904, p.5.
[59] McGlone, *Fruits of Toil*, pp.123-124.
[60] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand,* p.67.

Education

Scandinavians, and especially Danes, were big readers. Adult Danish settlers generally had at least seven years of compulsory education - higher literacy than the equivalent British or Irish settler - and reading for education and pleasure was an important part of Scandinavian settler life in New Zealand. The Alexander Turnbull Library holds a collection of nineteenth-century Norwegian and Danish language books, most published between 1870 and 1890. Some came from the Danish Society, others from the Dannevirke Library and others may have been brought to New Zealand by Bishop Monrad. These books are probably the remnants of several much larger collections which no longer survive. The collection includes plays, novels, school primers and religious writing by Danish and Norwegian authors, as well as translations of popular English authors. Very few titles in the collection were published after 1900, an indication that the second generation of settlers no longer read in Scandinavian languages.[61]

Surprisingly, despite the high literacy rate and the large concentration of Scandinavian settlers in the lower North Island, only one issue of a Scandinavian language periodical was known to be published in New Zealand. *Skandia* was a four-page newsletter which was published on Thursday 18 November 1875.[62] Printed in Palmerston North, the Danish and Norwegian-language newsletter was edited by Norwegian-born Hjalmar Graff, who does not appear on the assisted immigration lists but was employed by the government as an interpreter and bailiff at Palmerston North until 1881.[63] The masthead announced it would be a weekly published every Thursday and offered quarterly and annual subscriptions. The first issue contained short news items from Norway, Sweden and Denmark, a short English lesson with common English phrases and grammar, and a Births Deaths and Marriages column.[64] The front page featured a Danish translation of the first chapter of New Zealand popular novel *The Story of Wild Will Enderby,* published with the permission of author Vincent Pyke, an Otago journalist and politician. The popular novel described adventures in the Otago gold fields.[65] *Skandia* adds footnotes explaining 'swag' and 'moleskins', words unfamiliar to Scandinavian readers.

The back page was full of advertisements from businesses in Palmerston North and Wellington, including an advertisement from Danish-born architect Christian Toxward who was well known to the Wellington business community. The first issue was distributed nationally, and included a list of shops

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[61] Anne Rønning, 'The Danish Settlement in New Zealand', *Cross/Cultures*, 2010, issue 124, pp.45-46.
[62] *Skandia*, 18 Nov 1875, Larsen Mac collection, Wairarapa Archive, 90-046/11-4.
[63] AJHR, 1881, H2, p.75.
[64] *Skandia*, 18 Nov 1875.
[65] Daphne Lawless, 'Vincent Pyke (born Pike) 1827-1894', *Kotare*, Vol. 7, no.2 (2008), pp.55-64.

selling the *Skandia* which included Scandinavian-owned businesses in Dunedin, Christchurch, Lyttelton Kaiapoi and Reefton, as well as the expected Dannevirke, Napier, Masterton and Norsewood outlets. Despite the financial support from local businesses, issue two does not appear to have been published. The newspaper should have been popular with readers but advertisers probably failed to gain many customers in the cities where they were based.

Scandinavian settlers began demanding schools as soon as they arrived in the forest, and although these were provided, they had difficulty finding suitable teachers. In Dannevirke, a school committee was formed in 1873. Allardice was elected chair but the remainder of the members were Scandinavian.[66] The first schoolhouse was built in April 1873. The draughty wooden building had a small room attached for the resident teacher, but no heating. The first teacher, a Danish immigrant from Palmerston North, lasted less than a year before resigning due to ill health. Ormond recommended that the next teacher be English in order to boost the English language ability of the children, but it was 1875 before a replacement teacher was found.[67] With the passing of the 1877 Education Act, schooling became compulsory for Pākehā children and funded by Education Boards. After a series of short-term appointments, in 1878 the school found itself without a teacher once again. Only eight of the fifty eligible local children attended, so the Hawkes Bay Education Board made the decision to close the school down. The Board seemed uninterested in improving the teacher's accommodation, described by one visitor as "an ill constructed hovel" attached to the schoolhouse. There is some evidence that locals objected to any school committee that was not controlled by Scandinavians. Settlers may also have made life difficult for female teachers as they later insisted on the appointment of a male school teacher.[68]

In Mauriceville classes began in 1874. A Norwegian man called Petersen taught the children in Scandinavian languages, and he also taught English to their parents in the evenings. Parents were expected to pay a shilling a week per child to supplement Petersen's income but many could not afford the fee and attendance was poor. The Education Board built a one room schoolhouse in 1878. A decade later it was replaced by a larger schoolhouse with two rooms.[69]

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[66] *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 14 May 1879, p.3.
[67] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, pp.51-52.
[68] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, pp.55-56.
[69] *Mauriceville West Lutheran Church Centennial Souvenir Booklet, 1884-1984* (Mauriceville, 1984), p.11.

A closer look at Norsewood

The remainder of this chapter will focus on the European-born settlers who lived in Norsewood. Originally settled by Norwegians from who had migrated on the *Høvding*, by 1901 Norsewood was a small farm town with a population of 1206.[70] Norsewood was chosen as the focus of this section as only one book has been written about the history of the town but a very good genealogical source is available. A centennial history of Norsewood published in 1972, like many other similar publications, contains useful information on the early days of the settlement, local anecdotes and details of 'community leaders', usually respectable, well off, and male. Unlike many of the Scandinavian settlements, genealogists have produced a useful online resource, the *Norsewood Cemetery Project*. Scandinavian surnames were constructed as a parent's name followed by -son/-sen or -datter and these names became hereditary for most Scandinavians only in the middle of the nineteenth century. The result is a small number of very common 'surnames' which make it difficult to identify a specific individual in New Zealand records.[71] For example, 209 assisted immigrants had a surname of Hansen or Hanssen, 168 had a variation of the surname Andersen, and of those, seven were named Anders Andersen; 107 were named Christensen, and so on. *The Norsewood Cemetery Project* provides biographical details on many early residents and allows some certainty when matching data with individuals who would otherwise be difficult to positively identify.

An analysis of naturalisation records and probate data allows the Norsewood population to be studied in detail and offers clues to the national origins of the settlers as well as their occupations and approximate level of wealth. Fifty naturalisations were identified as being for European born settlers residing in Norsewood. All were male. Unsurprisingly for a settlement founded by Norwegian families, of the fifty, half were Norwegian born, nine were Swedish and three were Danish. A substantial German minority also lived in the town. Of these, six gave their previous nationality as Prussia. The sole former Austrian citizen was Moravian born Franz Bartosh. Born in Nový Malín in the modern Czech Republic, Bartosh migrated in 1875 with his wife and children, sailing from Hamburg to Napier on the *Fritz Reuter* and may have been related to a Moravian family of the same name in the South Island.[72]

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[70] NZ Statistics, 1901 Census, Chapter 18.
[71] *Department of Nordic Research, Copenhagen University*; https://names.ku.dk/personal_names/forenames_middle-names_surnames/
[72] *Fritz Reuter* passenger list, Hamburg, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg

Table 4.4: Former nationalities of European born Naturalisations in Norsewood

Former Nationality	Naturalisations
Norwegian	25
German	12
Swedish	9
Danish	3
Austrian	1
Total	50

Source: Individuals naturalised in Norsewood and born in Continental Europe before 1800, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

The list of occupations given was dominated by farmers and unhelpfully, settlers. Those who gave their occupation as settlers were not describing an occupation but rather an identity. James Belich identified a settler ideology that took both formal and informal forms in nineteenth-century English-speaking settler societies. The formal form was found in the emigration propaganda produced for and by the upper and middle classes to promote the idea of emigration. The informal variety was produced by working-class settlers themselves. While formal settler propaganda promised hard-working emigrants a freehold family farm, informally, working-class settlers associated the idea with achieving independence, with or without owning land, and this might involve any sort of small business, including a farm. Being treated with respect and enjoying food and social customs previously denied to working-class people in the old country was a worthy achievement.[73] Those who described themselves as settlers may have owned a small amount of land or a small business, and were now small-scale rural business owners rather than wage workers. Those who described themselves as farmers were also likely to have owned a small amount of land. Although this did not necessarily mean they owned enough to make a fulltime living as a farmer, land ownership provided a comfortable level of financial security. We can speculate that the thirty-nine individuals who described themselves as either farmers or settlers thought of themselves as having achieved a level of wealth and independence that meant they no longer saw themselves as wage workers.

[73] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the rise of the Anglo World 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.153, 156-157.

The sole clergyman was Danish minister Neils Neilson Topholm, who was naturalised in 1896, aged thirty-three.[74] Engebret Olsen, a Norwegian-born carpenter, had arrived on the first voyage of the *Høvding* in 1872.[75] Five of the six labourers were Norwegian and the other was German-born Christian Rosacker. Norwegian-born Ole Ericksen was the local storekeeper.

Table 4.5: Occupations of European born Norsewood naturalisations

Occupation at Naturalisation	Naturalisations
Settler	20
Farmer	19
Labourer	6
Carpenter	1
Clergy	1
Painter	1
Storekeeper	1
Storeman	1
Total	50

Source: Individuals naturalised in Norsewood, and born in Continental Europe before 1800, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

A large number of New Zealand probate files have been digitised and are available through the *FamilySearch* website. The names identified in the naturalisation data were used to search for probate files belonging to the same individuals, or if they could not be located, their spouse. Of the forty-three Norsewood probate files matched to the naturalisation sample, 32 included estate valuations. These have been adjusted for constant 1925 values using the calculator on the Reserve Bank of New Zealand website.[76] The mean value was £1404.06 and the median value was £748.29. The majority (n=18) of the probates were valued at under £1000. Most of the individuals identified died with very few assets.

[74] Neils Neilson Topholm, 1896/2939, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[75] Passenger lists, IM-15-1-16, Hovding (Ship), May 31-Sept. 15, 1872, Hawkes Bay-arrival port; Engebret Olsen, 1893/3400, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[76] *Reserve Bank of New Zealand, Te Pūtea Matau*, https://www.rbnz.govt.nz/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator

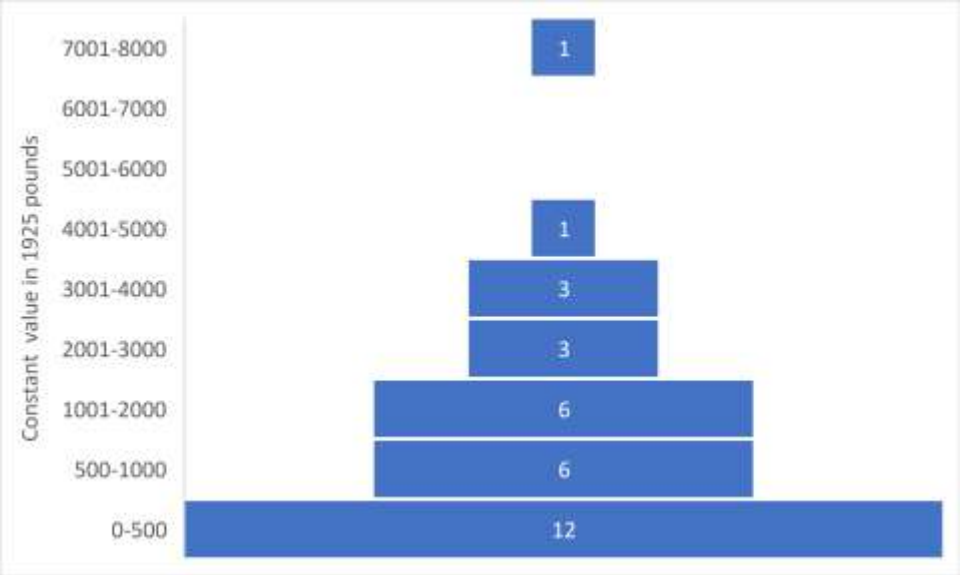

Figure 4.2: Norsewood Probates. Source: 32 Norsewood probates, ANZ, Probate Records, 1843-1998. Database with images. *FamilySearch*. http://FamilySearch.org

The estate with the least value was that of Johan Winger, who died intestate in 1908 with £9 to his name. Winger was born in Norway and migrated to New Zealand on the first voyage of the *Høvding* in 1872. He travelled with his wife Johanna and their five children. Johan's occupation was given as tobacco manufacturer.[77] The family arrived in Napier and were part of the trek into the Seventy Mile Bush. Johan was naturalised in June 1883 at Norsewood.[78] In 1884 he offered his fully fenced 40 acre farm and a four bedroom house for sale.[79] Whether it sold is unknown, but it was reported that the Wingers lost their home in a forest fire in 1885.[80] Sometime after that, Johan and Johanna began operating a general store in Norsewood. Johanna helped him run the store until she died intestate in 1898.[81] Johan died in Norsewood aged 75.[82]

Norwegian-born widow Caroline Christoffersen left £52 and a probate file with a full inventory when she died in 1896 aged 69.[83] Her arrival date in New Zealand is unknown but her will was executed by her son

[77] Passenger lists, IM-15-1-16, Hovding (Ship), May 31-Sept. 15, 1872, Hawkes Bay-arrival port
[78] Johan Winger, 1833/1908, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[79] *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 10 October 1884, p.1.
[80] *Daily Telegraph*, 31 Dec 1885, p.3.
[81] Johanna Winger probate, dated 1900, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-KBYQ
[82] Johan Winger probate, dated 1911, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-2D99
[83] Caroline Christoffersen, probate dated 1896, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KDTM-5JW

Otter Christofferson, who migrated as a single man on the 1872 voyage of the *Høvding*. She likely followed her son to New Zealand. Caroline's assets included a two-bedroom house on a small suburban section in Norsewood, along with a second quarter-acre fenced section. She owned assorted furniture, clothes, hats, ribbons and a flock of chickens.

Hans Martin Hansen was a typical small farmer living in Norsewood. Hansen migrated from Norway on the first voyage of the *Høvding* with his Swedish born wife and a young daughter. Hans and Maria lived in Norsewood their entire lives and had nine children, eight of whom survived to adulthood.[84] When Hans died in 1897 aged 62, he left all his possessions to his wife, but she died in 1901. When one of their sons administered the estate, he found it consisted of £165 in equity on a small Norsewood section, plus two cows, bringing to total to £177.[85]

Gottfried Feierabend was nine years old when his German family left West Prussia, migrating via Hamburg to Napier in 1875. His father listed his last place of residence as Linken, a small estate in West Prussia, now Linki, south east of Gdansk.[86] The family lived in Norsewood for many years, and Gottfried married Catherine Schmidt in 1894. They had six children.[87] Gottfried Feierabend died in Norsewood aged 74. His assets comprised £329, made up of £169 cash, £149 realty and £10 in furniture.[88]

Herman Brieske was also German but slightly wealthier, and much more is known about him as he was involved in multiple court cases and scandals. Herman and Augusta Brieske lived in West Prussia, before migrating to Napier on the 1875 voyage of the *Fritz Reuter*.[89] They were accompanied by an infant daughter and had at least five more children in New Zealand. The date they moved to Norsewood is unknown but by the 1880s Brieske, a successful farmer and businessman in the town, was often the source of controversy. He took a keen interest in local politics, loaned money to local businesses, and appeared in local newspapers or courts as complainant or defendant in a range of local disputes. Some were petty, such as the time he wrote to the local paper to complain about the price of a suit he had purchased, but others were more serious.

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[84] Pip Peck, 'Descendants of Hans Martin Hansen', *Norsewood Cemetery Project*; http://www.norsewoodcemetery.co.nz/hansen-hans-martin899-descendants/
[85] Hans Martin Hansen, probated dated 1897, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KDTM-5VQ
[86] *Fritz Reuter* passenger list, 1875, Hamburg, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg
[87] Births searched by 'Feierabend', *Births Deaths and Marriages Online* (BDM), https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/
[88] Gottfried Feierabend, probate dated 1938, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-TMXT
[89] *Fritz Reuter* passenger list, 1875, Hamburg, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg

In 1888 a bush fire caused damage to the property of many residents of the Norsewood district, including some property owned by Brieske. He applied for aid from the relief committee but was declined. When the committee wrote out the cheques to those deemed in need, Brieske's name was accidently included. Brieske cashed the cheque and when the error was discovered he refused to return the money, claiming he had received it in good faith and claimed he deserved even more.[90] The chair of the relief committee took him to court but lost the case and Brieske kept the money.[91] Brieske was the subject of a bitter editorial in Napier's *Daily Telegraph* criticising the court's decision and Brieske personally. The paper pointed out that Brieske was a wealthy man whose losses in the fire were minor compared to many of his neighbours, and commented: "it will be an everlasting source of comfort and consolation to him to have the knowledge that, in sticking to what was not intended for him, he has the law on his side".[92] The Norsewood Town Hall was destroyed in the same fire but Brieske built a privately-owned replacement, which he rented out to community groups until it too was burnt down in 1909.[93] Brieske maintained his high profile for the rest of his life. He owned several businesses and buildings, and served on the local Road Board and other committees.[94]

In 1890 he was sued for fathering an illegitimate child with a teenage girl and refusing responsibility for the baby. In September 1890, before the Ormondville magistrate, seventeen-year-old Mary Gorinski (Gurzynski) testified that Hermann Brieske, married and aged thirty-nine, had approached her on the road outside Norsewood the previous year and asked to her to "come into the bush" with him. She initially refused but later agreed and became pregnant.[95] Mary had migrated as a child with her siblings and her parents Martin and Caroline Gurzynski. The family lived near Tzcew in what was then West Prussia and sailed to Napier on the *Fritz Reuter* alongside the Brieske family, moving to Norsewood soon after.[96] When Mary's pregnancy became apparent Brieske told her parents he would raise the baby himself. Several members of the Gurzynski family testified that Brieske visited the Gurzynski family home after the child was born and admitted the child was his, offering the family £60. Brieske's lawyer disputed this payment, and cross-examined Gurzynski, suggesting that she had sexual relations with a

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[90] *Daily Telegraph*, 4 Dec 1888, p.4.
[91] *Woodville Examiner*, 12 Dec 1888, p.2.
[92] *Daily Telegraph*, 12 December 1888, p.2.
[93] *Hastings Standard*, 1 March 1909, p.2.
[94] *Waipawa Mail*, 1 May 1888, p.3; *Bush Advocate*, 26 Feb 1889, p.3;
[95] *Bush Advocate*, 13 Sept 1890, p.2.
[96] *Fritz Reuter* passenger list, 1875, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg; Martin Gurzinski, 1876/2641, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

number of her neighbours.[97] The case was adjourned for a month and when it resumed one of those neighbours testified that he had slept with Gurzynski. Another neighbour was also summoned but he gave evidence that he had been paid by Brieske to testify that he was the father of the child. Despite the suggestion of bribery, the claim against Brieske was dismissed, but the judge did allow Gurzynski the option of laying a charge of perjury against Brieske.[98]

Herman Brieske remained a leading figure in Norsewood business and politics but was never far from controversy. In 1907 he was fined £5 after admitting assaulting a man.[99] His wife Augusta died in 1921 but Herman lived to 1933 when he died aged 84. His probate records show he loaned money and rented property during his retirement. He owned a half-acre section and cottage in Norsewood valued at £320, which he rented out, and had loaned a £1000 mortgage to a local farmer. His estate was valued at £1167.[100] The fate of Mary Gurzynski and her child is unknown.

At the wealthier end of the sample of thirty-two probates, Norwegian-born farmer Olaus Olsen Nordbye was one of the founding fathers of the Norsewood settlement and a well-respected local farmer. Born in Berg, Østfold in 1842, Olaus had migrated with his wife Petrine and their three children on the Høvding in 1872. They were among the first Norwegians to settle in Norsewood and remained in the district for the rest of their lives, having a further four children there.[101] Olaus was naturalised in 1876.[102] He was elected to the Norsewood school board, road board and other local committees, and was a founding director of the Norsewood Cheese Factory in 1886.[103] Olaus managed a sawmilling business for many years before buying land and running a farm.[104] Petrine died in 1891 and was buried at Norsewood Cemetery.[105] She was remembered as a "kind hearted and Christian lady" who was well liked and active in the local church.[106] Olaus Nordbye was elected to the Norsewood Riding of the Waipawa County

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[97] *Bush Advocate*, 13 Sept 1890, p.2.
[98] *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 10 Oct 1890, p.3; *Bush Advocate*, 9 Oct 1890, p.2.
[99] *Bush Advocate*, 3 Sept 1907, p.4.
[100] Hermann Brieske, probate dated 1933, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2VCC-ZV9
[101] Pip Peck, *Norsewood Cemetery Project*, http://www.norsewoodcemetery.co.nz/nordbye-olsen-olavus-descendants/pafg01.php
[102] Johan Olaus Olsen Nordbye, 20/9/94 (20 Sept 1876), Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[103] *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 31 Jan 1878, p.2; *Waipawa Mail*, 18 May 1883, p.3. *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 3 August 1886, p.3.
[104] *Manawatu Standard*, 27 Feb 1926, p.3.
[105] Pip Peck, *Norsewood Cemetery Project*, http://www.norsewoodcemetery.co.nz/nordbye-olsen-olavus-descendants/pafg01.php
[106] *Waipawa Mail*, 15 Sept 1891, p.2.

Council in 1893.[107] A few months later he remarried to the widow Mathea Christoffersen.[108] She also came from a founding Norsewood family, having emigrated on the *Høvding* 's 1872 voyage.[109] She probably accompanied Olaus when he and another local farmer travelled to Norway for a holiday in 1904.[110] Mathea died in 1919 aged eighty-one.[111] Olaus died aged eighty-three in 1926, leaving £4397 in assets to his family.[112]

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[107] *Bush Advocate*, 11 November 1893, p.3.
[108] *Waipawa Mail*, 24 April 1894, p.2.
[109] Pip Peck, *Norsewood Cemetery Project*, http://www.norsewoodcemetery.co.nz/nordbye-olsen-olavus-descendants/pafc01.php#837C16
[110] *Bush Advocate*, 12 Nov 1904, p.2.
[111] Death Certificate, 1919/7798, BDM.
[112] Olaus Olsen Nordbye, probate 1926, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2VCC-W4G

Conclusion

The Seventy Mile Bush settlements were the most successful of the Vogel Period special settlement schemes. Central and provincial governments worked together to place settlers into the thick bush with the aim of linking the Pākehā farming district in Hawkes Bay with Wellington and the Manawatū. For the Scandinavian settlers who made up the first colonists in the bush, these first years were difficult. They had come to New Zealand with the understanding they would be granted land as part of a colonisation scheme but initially found themselves in thick forest far from the comforts of the life they left behind in Europe. The majority were Danish farmers with little experience or skill in forestry, but the Norwegians and Swedes among them found it easier to adapt. Initially the Seventy Mile Bush settlers were employed by the colonial government on roading projects, and granted land in the bush. The first years were very difficult, and it took a few years to establish basic comforts in the villages. The Europeans who arrived after the settlements had been established, mostly from Scandinavia, but also including many German speaking families, found life slightly easier as they did not have to build their own infrastructure. The majority were Danish farmers with little experience or skill in forestry, but the Norwegians and Swedes among them found it easier to adapt. Most of the Europeans in the region were Lutheran, and welcomed the arrival of pastors who spoke their language. The settlers saw the church as the heart of their community and the doctrinal disputes between some of the pastors were probably of little interest to most congregants until they became aligned with nationalistic or linguistic divisions in the 1888 dispute. The tension appears to have ended with the departure of the two pastors who began the conflict. Similarly, the conflict between the Polish Catholics of Carterton and their local priest in 1900 was provoked by a perceived insult to the community rather than a religious issue.

As the settlers constructed roads and railways, the sawmills arrived and the forests were cut back. The land was transformed into a patchwork of small farms. By the time the first generation of European pioneers reached middle age they had become small farmers like the other Pākehā settlers in the district. The profiling of the Norsewood Europeans indicates that most had achieved a modest lifestyle with some financial security. Like their neighbours, the first generation of European migrants saw themselves as part of a community of small landowners who were hard-working and practical people who looked after each other.

They valued family and hard work but as Rollo Arnold has pointed out, the settlers had blind spots. The pioneers who had built a community and transformed the forest into farmland had ignored and marginalised the Māori who had lived there before them and still lived alongside them. They saw their

environment in short-term economic terms, as a source of potential profit. The forest was an obstacle, to be conquered, cut down, sold and turned into farmland.[113]

By the turn of the twentieth century the second generation of European settlers had reached adulthood and were fluent in English, and even Lutheran Church services were held in the English language. Because of the large numbers of Scandinavians in the region, Scandinavian surnames are still common in the region today and the Scandinavian contribution to the region's history is well known. These settlers are still remembered and celebrated in the region today, with museums, art exhibits, novels and even a television show, *The Almighty Johnsons*, depicting a family descended from Norse gods who settled in Norsewood.[114] The German and Polish contribution to the colonisation of the Seventy Mile bush is less well known, but like the Scandinavian settlers, their descendants became rural Pākehā farmers within two or three generations.

[113] Rollo Arnold, *New Zealand's Burning: The Settler's World in the Mid-1880s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994), p.281.
[114] *The Almighty Johnsons*, TV series. https://almightyjohnsons.co.nz/

Chapter Five: Canterbury

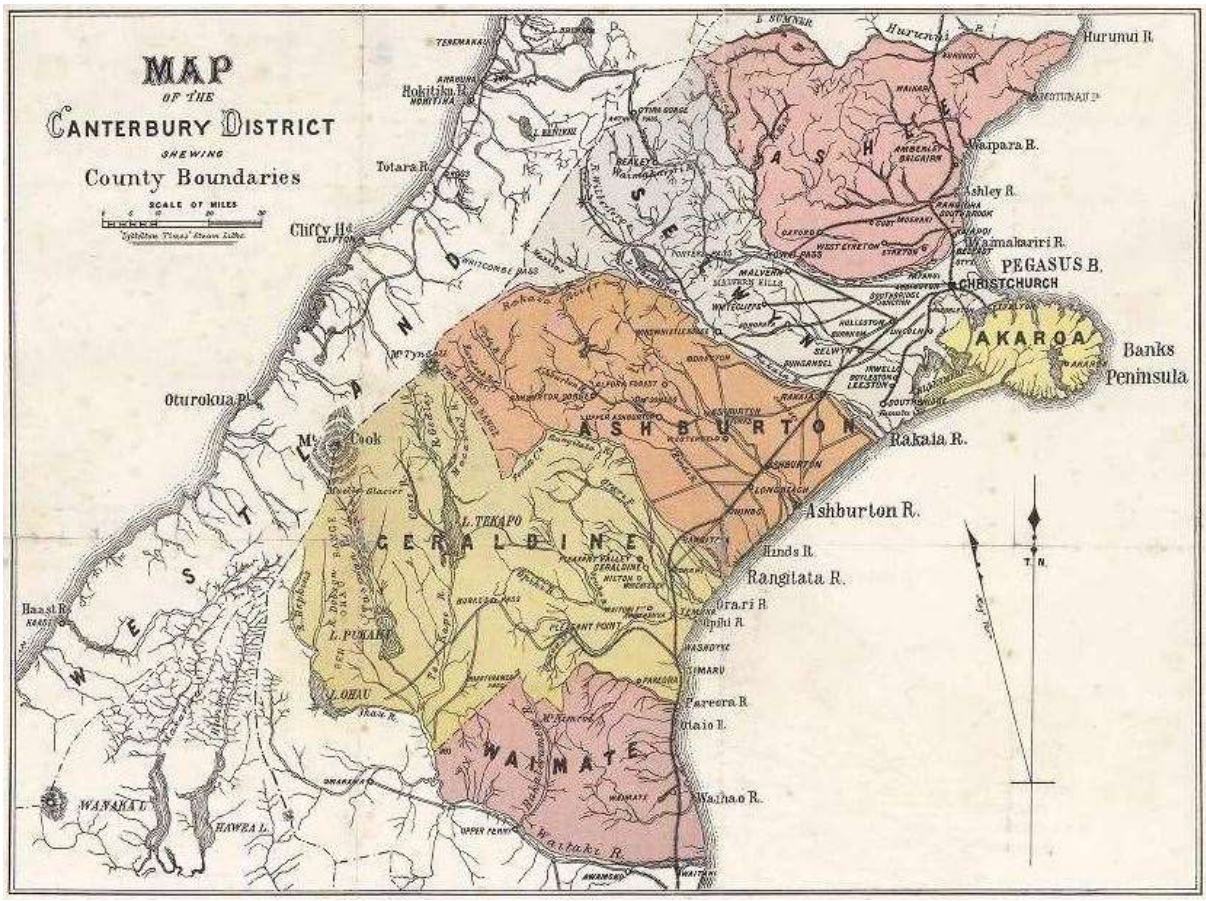

Figure 5.1: Map of Canterbury Showing County Boundaries, Lyttelton Times (1878?), ATL MapColl 834.44b (ca.1878).

About a thousand European-born assisted immigrants arrived at the Port of Lyttelton between 1872 and 1876. They found themselves in a province with a growing rural economy and a high demand for rural labourers, and workers willing to travel could find a variety of farm work opportunities. In Christchurch city, Germans, and to a lesser extent Scandinavians, were well represented in the business community. A Lutheran Church was established in the city in 1872 and many newly-arrived Germans and Scandinavians found it easy to establish themselves. Even in rural areas, new migrants might have heard a familiar accent. A German family owned a hotel in the forestry town of Oxford and a group of European settlers gravitated to the town. Since the 1850s a small group of Germans had been living in

Tai Tapu, south of Christchurch. Further south in Waimate, a small German community welcomed additional assisted immigrants from their homeland. In contrast others, such as the Polish Catholics, lacked local contacts and formed their own communities. Polish settlers drained land a few kilometres north of Christchurch and decide to stay, becoming market gardeners and forming a small community at Marshland.[1] By 1878, European-born residents comprised 2.13% of the Pākehā population of the province.[2] Chapter five outlines the distribution of the European settlers in Canterbury and spotlights the European migrant communities at Oxford, Marshland and Waimate. Primary sources for this chapter include a few surviving letters written by immigrants, records of interviews with some of the Marshland settlers, and naturalisation and probate records.

The European migrants who arrived in Canterbury in the 1870s found themselves in a young but flourishing rural province. The first colonial migrant ships had unloaded settlers at the tiny port of Lyttelton at the end of 1850. The Canterbury Association, formed two years earlier in London and led by Edward Wakefield and John Robert Godley, planned an Anglican colony in New Zealand. The association decided the Canterbury colony would be built on the Port Cooper Plains in the South Island and its capital would be called Christchurch.[3]

Before the arrival of the Canterbury Association ships, the area soon to be known as Canterbury was occupied by the main South Island iwi, the Ngāi Tahu people. Ngāi Tahu had engaged with European traders, whalers and missionaries since the 1790s. The iwi had been weakened by disease, internal feuding and a war with the North Island Ngāti Toa in the 1830s but by the early 1840s had begun to recover. In Canterbury, the population lived primarily on or near Horomaka/Banks Peninsula, where they engaged in trade and exported pork, flax, potatoes and fish.[4] The exact population of the region is unknown but there were probably about 2500 Māori living on the east coast of the South Island and fewer than 300 Pākehā, and a third of those were in Otago.[5] A small French colony of sixty settlers had been established at Akaroa in 1840, and several New Zealand Company settlers who were unhappy with

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[1] James N. Bade, 'German Settlements in Canterbury and Westland', in Bade, James N. (ed.), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.80-83

[2] Statistics NZ, 1878 census, percentage calculated from numbers in Chapter 4 table IV.

[3] Gerald Hensley. 'Godley, John Robert', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g12/godley-john-robert

[4] Sir Tipene O'Regan, 'Ngāi Tahu and the Crown: Partnership Promised', in Garth Cant and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Rural Canterbury: Celebrating its History* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates, 2001), pp.11-15, Evison, 71,

[5] Harry C. Evison, *The Long Dispute: Maori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1997), pp.129-131.

their prospects in Wellington and Nelson had moved to Banks Peninsula or the Port Cooper Plains and established farms, sometimes with Ngāi Tahu permission, but more often without it.[6]

Ngāi Tahu leaders became aware the New Zealand Company was interested in establishing a settlement in Canterbury. Eager to increase trade opportunities, they were open to selling land and in 1848 Henry Tacy Kemp arrived in Akaroa to negotiate the purchase of Canterbury. Hōne Tikao, a widely travelled Ngāi Tahu leader with business experience, calculated that £5 million would be a fair price. He and other leaders were shocked when Kemp offered them £2000. The Ngāi Tahu leaders were upset and divided. After much discussion, only sixteen of the forty leaders present agreed to sign the purchase deed.[7]

The Canterbury Association considered these signatures sufficient to go ahead with the new settlement. Between 1850 and 1853, twenty-five ships carried 3549 migrants to Canterbury and soon the settlers vastly outnumbered Ngāi Tahu.[8] In the first ten years of settlement, 80% of the settler population of Canterbury lived within 50km of Lyttelton Harbour and small farmers produced crops for the local market.[9] Further away from the cities, pastoralists grazed sheep and cattle, exporting large quantities of wool.[10] The pastoralists dominated the economy, but as the population grew, grain became the most important product. By 1867, 55,000 acres of wheat had been planted, rising to 250,000 acres a decade later, all on land owned by small farmers. Many of the old pastoral stations were subdivided and the number of small farmers multiplied both north and south of Christchurch.[11] Wool exports continued and the pastoralists, by now restricted to the inland high country, also required skilled shepherds and short-term contract labourers.[12] At first the port of Lyttelton was the most important population centre but by 1860 Christchurch had overtaken the port and become the commercial centre of the province.[13] As the province expanded, Ngāi Tahu were marginalised. Forced onto inadequate reserves and without the

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[6] Jim McAloon 'Starting Late', in Garth Cant and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Rural Canterbury: Celebrating its History* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates, 2001), pp.27-33.; Evison, *The Long Dispute*, pp.127-129.
[7] Sir Tipene O'Regan, 'Ngāi Tahu and the Crown: Partnership promised', in Garth Cant and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Rural Canterbury: Celebrating its History* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates, 2001, pp.17-19; Evison, *The Long Dispute*, pp.177,182-189.
[8] McAloon 'Starting Late', p.33.
[9] Graeme Wynn and Garth Cant, 'The Bonanza Wheat Boom', in Garth Cant and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Rural Canterbury: Celebrating its History* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates, 2001), p.62.
[10] Peter Holland and Ray Hargreaves, 'Tussock into Wool' in Garth Cant and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Rural Canterbury: Celebrating its History* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates, 2001), p.44-45.
[11] Wynn and Cant, 'The Bonanza Wheat Boom', pp.63-68
[12] Holland and Hargreaves, 'Tussock into Wool', pp.48-53.
[13] John Cookson, 'Pilgrims' Progress – Image, Identity and Myth in Christchurch' in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (eds.) *Southern Capital Christchurch: Towards a City Biography 1850-2000* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000), p.19

schools and hospitals promised by the government, they found themselves cut off from many of their traditional food-gathering places and unable to take part in the growing Canterbury economy.[14]

As the 1870s progressed, economic growth saw the birth of rural service centres. Kaiapoi, Rangiora and Timaru were the three major towns in 1870, but by 1881 there were 15 small towns across Canterbury.[15] Labour was in short supply, and the Vogel migration scheme ensured that immigrants poured into Canterbury, including a small but significant number of continental Europeans. The province received 27,624 assisted immigrants between 1871 and 1880.[16] Most were rural labourers, and most were of British and Irish origin. Assisted immigrants from Europe numbered 1003. In 1871 the Pākehā population of the province included 754 European-born residents (1.6% of the provincial population). In 1878 that number had more than doubled to 1956 European-born residents, indicating that Canterbury attracted additional Europeans above those who had arrived by assisted immigration. In 1878, European born residents made up 2.13% of the Pākehā population of the province.[17]

Table 5.1: Canterbury in 1878

Counties	**Pākehā Population**	**French**	**German**	**Other**	**Total Europeans**	
Amuri	458	2	5	9	16	3.5%
Cheviot	17	2	1	0	3	17.6%
Ashley	11759	11	204	114	329	2.8%
Akaroa	3722	27	54	104	185	5.0%
Selwyn	27309	23	238	191	452	1.7%
Ashburton	6123	16	28	80	124	2.0%
Geraldine	9775	9	83	86	178	1.8%
Waimate	4269	2	55	36	93	2.2%
Boroughs						
Christchurch city	13425	24	115	145	284	2.1%
Lyttelton	3746	3	15	45	63	1.7%
Sydenham	6510	3	23	76	102	1.6%
Timaru	3389	9	20	23	52	1.5%
Totals	90502	131	841	909	1881	2.08%

[14] Evison, *The Long Dispute*, pp.229-231; Anake Goodall, "Ngāi Tahu and the Crown: vows renewed' in Garth Cant and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Rural Canterbury: Celebrating its History* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates, 2001), pp.201-202.
[15] Jean Garner "Rural Society expands and adapts', in Garth Cant and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Rural Canterbury: Celebrating its History* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates, 2001), p.103.
[16] W.D. Borrie, *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938* (Canberra, Highland Press, 1991), p.190.
[17] Statistics NZ, 1878 census, percentage calculated from numbers in Chapter 4 table IV.

Source: Statistics New Zealand 1878 Census.

Leaving aside the statistically insignificant populations in in Amuri and Cheviot, Akaroa had the highest proportion of continental European-born residents. Alongside the 185 European born Akaroa residents were an unknown number of New Zealand born children of the original French and German settlers. A high number of Germans lived in the district and the 'others' may have been Scandinavians. Ashley County, including Oxford and Rangiora, had many European-born residents including a substantial number of 'other' Europeans, possibly Austrians or Scandinavians. Ashburton and Geraldine also had high proportions of European born residents. The Waimate district included a small German cluster in the township itself. Selwyn district included the rural towns east of Christchurch all the way east to the mountains. We will examine some of these locations in detail later in the chapter.

Some European migrants obtained work in Banks Peninsula. Akaroa, founded by French settlers, was home to several German families and there was at least one cluster of Scandinavian settlers at Le Bons Bay from the mid-1860s, so it was possible for newly arrived European migrants to make contact with others who spoke European languages.[18]

As expected, most European settlers lived in rural areas of Canterbury, with only 501 (26.6%) living in Christchurch or the larger towns. Employers on both small farms and large sheep stations needed workers and like most assisted immigrants, the Europeans found themselves in a variety of situations depending on their own family status and skills. Very few European born labourers left records of their early life in Canterbury, but we can assume the work was like that of British or New Zealand-born farm labourers. Skilled rural occupations were always in demand, but farm labourers of all kinds were needed.[19]

Rural work in Canterbury

As the rural economy diversified in the 1870s, some of the larger Canterbury estates became mixed livestock and crop growing operations, which required both fulltime labourers, who carried out a variety of farm tasks, and seasonal labourers to harvest crops and make hay for winter feed. These farms might employ up to forty permanent staff with as many again hired as seasonal labour. A hierarchical management system controlled and directed the workforce. Managers and foremen directed the

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[18] Gordon Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula, Cradle of Canterbury*, 2nd ed. (Christchurch: Phillips & King, 2007), p.127.
[19] John E. Martin, *The Forgotten Worker: The Rural Wage Earner in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Trade Union History Project, 1990), p.19.

permanent staff and seasonal or contract workers were at the bottom of the hierarchy and pay scale. 'General hands' could expect to earn an annual salary of £40-52, and seasonal workers could expect to be paid by the hour.[20] The larger farms had populations similar in size to a small village, with labourers living in cottages or bunkhouses and eating communally in a cookhouse.[21]

Those who obtained work on high country stations were required to be proficient at a variety of skills. Married couples were often hired, with men finding themselves ploughing, fencing, and doing carpentry, as well as driving sheep and cattle and camping out overnight occasionally. Wives would be expected to cook, clean and act as general servants for the station owners and staff.[22]

One of the few European labourers to leave records of his life in Canterbury was Danish migrant Ole Viggo Rasmussen. Rasmussen had been employed at a sawmill, as a millwright and a labourer in his home village of Tarm in western Jutland, before migrating to New Zealand aged eighteen and arriving at Lyttelton in 1874. By chance the occasional letters he wrote to his family over a period of fifty years in New Zealand have been preserved in Denmark. The letters reveal that his first years in Canterbury were spent travelling and taking short-term labouring jobs. On arrival in Lyttelton he was sent to Timaru to work on a railway construction project. The work was hard, and the pay was low, and he quit after only five days. Of the original thirty-nine men on the job, only four remained when Rasmussen and another Dane, Niels Andersen, decided to head for the high-country stations together.[23] They joined hundreds of itinerant workers travelling from station to station looking for casual work. Traditionally, station owners provided a meal and bed for the night even if they had no paid work. As it was summer, Rasmussen and Andersen may have camped out overnight occasionally as they travelled.[24] The two Danes finally found a job fencing for one of the station owners, but Rasmussen injured his arm after two days' work, and needed to borrow money from Andersen to pay the doctor's bill. Rasmussen had been on the road only a month before he gave up and returned to Christchurch. There, a fellow Dane found him a job on a Danish owned farm near Christchurch.[25] He admitted that New Zealand was "a very good country for

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[20] Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*, pp.97-99.
[21] Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*, pp.99-101.
[22] Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*, p.51.
[23] Niels Peter Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen – A New Zealand Immigrant writes Home 1874-1928', in *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Aalborg: Danes Worldwide Archives, 1990), pp.61, 63-64.
[24] Martin, *The Forgotten Worker*, pp.34-36.
[25] Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen', pp.63-64.

labourers, but the gold does not lie strewn in the streets".[26] Viggo Rasmussen spent two years travelling the South Island, working as a bushman, road contractor and casual farm labourer before he found stable employment at an Oxford sawmill, and rented accommodation from a Danish countryman Christian Louis Laugesen.[27] Rasmussen was not the best letter writer and the letters show his life was boring and unremarkable. He moved from place to place trying a range of rural labouring jobs, benefiting from contact with fellow countrymen who could assist him and finally found a stable position two years after arrival in New Zealand.

Christchurch

Those European settlers who found work in Christchurch found it easy to make connections with the existing continental European communities living in the city. As we have seen, the 'true Germans' who had arrived on the *Friedeburg* in 1872 had been welcomed by the city's German-speaking community. Along with those from subsequent ships, they were able to call upon a well-connected German business community in the city.

The arrival of so many Germans prompted the provincial government to help establish a Lutheran Church in Christchurch. The German Association, formed the previous year, had raised £550 for the church. The provincial government, anticipating an influx of German assisted migrants, had added £250 to the fund. The foundation stone was laid on 6 November 1872, and the ceremony was attended by 400 people, including the good and the great of the city. Canterbury Superintendent William Rolleston addressed the crowd and congratulated the German community which he described as "Comparatively small in number but conspicuous for their industry, their perseverance and their high character". The founding of the Church, Rolleston said, showed that the German community believed colonisation involved more than the pursuit of material progress, also requiring "education and religion for the cultivation of the intellect and the purification of the heart". George Ruddenklau, as president of the German association, then invited Rolleston to lay the foundation stone. The ceremony was followed by a banquet that evening with the usual toasts and a speech by the German Consul, praising the patriotic spirit and Christian morality of the German Army, which had recently defeated French troops in 1871. The *Press* concluded its lengthy report by describing the day as one "that will long be remembered by

[26] Viggo Rasmussen, letters from New Zealand, *Danes Worldwide Archive*, Aalborg, Denmark, quoted in Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen', p.64.
[27] Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen', p.65.

our fellow German colonists as marking an era in the history of their progress in the great work of civilisation".[28] The church was finished and opened in May 1874.[29]

Although the Church leadership was dominated by middle-class Germans living in Christchurch, the membership lists also included the names of assisted immigrants including Carl Blank who helped establish the Oxford Lutheran Church.[30] Danish settlers may have attended too. Oscar Alpers, who had migrated to Napier as a small boy, attended the church after he moved to Christchurch in the mid-1880s.[31]

Most of the European assisted immigrants who settled in Canterbury are hard to find without the detailed investigation of an immigrant community that will feature later in this chapter but a few became prominent in business and some were recorded in newspapers only through their appearance in local court cases.

Danish man Peter Waldemar Eiby had arrived in Lyttelton on the *Friedeburg* in 1872 with his fifteen-year-old brother.[32] Both had given their occupation as farm labourer, but had been brought up in a mercantile family. Peter worked in Christchurch for several years before moving to Timaru to work in a flour mill. By 1890 he was manager of the Timaru Flour Mill, said to be the largest mill in the country at the turn of the century.[33] Peter Eiby married and had several children, and died in 1949 aged ninety-four.[34] His younger brother Jens Alfred Eiby had a less successful career, beginning as an apprentice saddler in Kaiapoi, but deserting his employer to work on sheep stations around Canterbury.[35] He may have left New Zealand as he disappears from the records.

Emil Christian Skog was born in Copenhagen in 1848 and became Danish Consul for the South Island. He grew up in Copenhagen and was trained as an apothecary. He served five years as a Lieutenant in the Danish Army before leaving for New Zealand in 1875.[36] Although Emil gave his occupation as farm

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[28] *Star*, 7 Nov 1872, p.2; and *Press*, 7 Nov 1872, p.2.
[29] *Press*, 15 May 1874, p.3.
[30] St Pauls Evangelical Lutheran Church, Christchurch, (1872-1897), Micro-MS-0886, Alexander Turnbull Library.
[31] O.T.J. Alpers, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1930), p. 127, *New Zealand Electronic Text Collection*.
[32] Passenger list, Friedeburg, 1872, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 026 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg
[33] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p.1017.
[34] Death Certificate 1947/31265, BDM.
[35] *Press*, 10 October 1873, p.3.
[36] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p. 98.

labourer, he and his wife travelled in a first-class cabin on the *Friedeberg* to Napier in 1875.[37] In 1878 he opened his own pharmacy in Napier.[38] The family moved to Canterbury in 1881 to work for a local pharmacist. He was appointed Vice Consul for Denmark in 1884 and was promoted to Consul in 1893. By 1901 he was running his own pharmacy business again and served as an examiner for the New Zealand Pharmacy Board. He was a freemason and served as an officer in several lodges.[39]

Moritz Mark was one of the few middle-class migrants who had arrived on the Hamburg ships. He had arrived in Christchurch in 1874, after serving as the ship's doctor on the *Gutenberg*. Mark was born in Nitra, in modern Slovakia, which was then part of the Austro Hungarian Empire.[40] He trained as a medical doctor in Berlin, and on arrival in New Zealand, he applied to be registered in Christchurch.[41] He opened a medical practice which he operated from his house, Berlin Cottage, in Cashel Street.[42] His religion is unknown but he was married in an Anglican church to Christchurch woman Mary Marley in 1878.[43] In 1879 he was hired by the Christchurch Hospital, where he became involved in a very public dispute with the House Surgeon of the Hospital. It appears Mark introduced homeopathy to the wards, against the wishes of his superiors. He resigned, and registered a complaint against the House Surgeon. The Hospital and Charitable Aid Board began a hearing on the dispute on 8 May 1879, but days later, Mark committed suicide in his office. He was 36 and left his wife and a young son.[44] After payment of debts the remaining money in his estate totalled £120.[45]

One Polish migrant family spent their entire lives on Banks Peninsula. August and Maria Kotlowski and their three children migrated from Łasin (Lessen), then part of West Prussia, on the *Friedeburg* in 1872. Another child was born onboard. On arrival at Lyttelton, August obtained sawmilling work in Robinsons Bay, Akaroa Harbour.[46] He was described as a labourer when he was naturalised in 1877.[47] The family lived in a rough whare alongside other sawmill workers and Augustus earned a good wage and could supplement his wages by hunting in the forests.[48] Later, the family bought land at Takamatua, where

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[37] Passenger list, Friedeburg, 1872, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 026 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg,
[38] *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 9 Feb 1878, p. 3
[39] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p. 98.
[40] Moritz Mark, 1876/3187, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[41] LT, 18 Nov 1874, p.1.
[42] *Press*, 2 Dec 1874, p.4.
[43] *LT*, 22 May 1878, p.2.
[44] *Star*, 8 May 1879, p.2; *Globe*, 6 May 1879, p.2; Star, 12 May 1879, p.3.
[45] Moritz Mark, probate dated 1897, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-KX7Q
[46] *Akaroa Mail and Advertiser*, 10 July 1914, p.3.
[47] August Kotlowski, 1877/3063, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[48] Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula*, p.170.

several German families had lived since 1840 as part of the French settlement.[49] They farmed there for many years until August died in 1901. Maria, also known as Mary, died in 1914 without ever seeing Christchurch — after forty-two years on Banks Peninsula. Like many Polish settler women, she was active in her local Catholic Church community, and was well known locally for hosting an annual 'ladies' picnic' in Akaroa.[50] No probate documents could be located for August and Mary Kotlowski.

Little is known of the work lives of single women in the city. The European born women's lack of English was a disadvantage, but a shortage of domestic servants meant they had no problem finding employment. Female domestic workers leave little trace in the archives, but we know a little about two young Polish women after one of them was arrested for stealing from her employer in January 1873. Twenty-one year old Magdeline Lisiecka and her nineteen-year-old friend Martha Tuszynska travelled to Canterbury together in 1872 on the *Friedeburg*.[51] On arrival, Lisiecka immediately obtained work as a domestic servant for a local woman named Mrs Davies, but five months later she was accused of stealing blankets, plates and clothing from the house. After police questioning, she admitted to the thefts and that she gave a stolen blanket to Tuszynska, who promptly gave evidence against Lisiecka. Tuzsynska was also a domestic servant, working for John Marshman, manager of the Christchurch railways. Police gave evidence that Lisiecka was a first offender but had apparently fallen into bad company after attending a ball. She was found guilty and sentenced to a week in prison.[52] Like most single women immigrants, Lisiecka spent only a short time in domestic service. She married a John Anderson soon after serving her sentence in 1873.[53] The couple lived in Sydenham until Magdeline died in 1907.[54] John died in 1910 leaving less than £300 to his adopted son.[55] How long Martha Tuszynska worked for the Marshman family is unknown but she married German migrant Heinrich Schacht in 1884. The couple had at least five children but two died before their first birthdays.[56] Martha died in 1912.[57] Heinrich died in 1939 aged 85 years.[58]

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[49] James Bade, 'German Settlements in Canterbury and Otago', in Bade, *The German Connection*, pp.80-82.
[50] *Akaroa Mail and Advertiser*, 10 July 1914, p.3; https://www.canterburymuseum.com/whats-on/between-the-waters/
[51] *Hamburger Passagierlisten*; Volume: *373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 026 C*; Page: *536*, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[52] LT, 21 Jan 1873, p.3, and 25 Jan 1873, p.3; *Press*, 21 Jan 1873, p.3, and 25 Jan 1873, p.2.
[53] Marriage Certificate 1873/7918, BDM.
[54] Maddelina Anderson, probate dated 1907; https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GJ8Y
[55] John Anderson, probate dated 1910; https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-VX6F
[56] BDM birth search
[57] Marriage Certificate 1884/138, BDM; Death Certificate 1912/9308, BDM.
[58] Death Certificate 1939/20013, BDM.

Oxford, Canterbury

Ashley County had one of the highest concentrations of European-born residents in Canterbury. Of the 11759 residents in 1878, 329 (2.8%) were born in continental Europe. 204 were Germans, 11 were French and 114 were from other parts of Europe. Many German and Moravian assisted immigrants settled in the rural centre of Oxford, attracted by a small group of Germans who had been living in the town since the 1850s. How the two groups became aware of each other is unknown. The large group of Moravians who had previously been subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire may have made up the bulk of the 114 'Other Europeans' in the 1878 census results (See Table 5.1).

Oxford is located inland from Christchurch between the Waimakariri and Rakahuri (Ashley) rivers. The town is on the banks of the Waiaraki (Eyre) river, which flows into the larger Waimakariri. To the immediate west of the town are hills that were once covered in forest. The plains were flat and covered in tussock before Pākehā settlement. Local Māori from Ngāi Tūāhuriri gathered food from the rivers and forests in the area and used the Waimakariri as a route to the high-country lakes.[59] When early Pākehā settlers explored the Canterbury Plains, they were drawn to the potential of both the forests and the open land in the area. By the early 1850s Ngāi Tūāhuriri had been forced into small reserves and the Crown had leased much of their land to pastoralists.[60] By 1860, 100,000 acres of tussock land were being used to rear sheep. A few sawyers obtained licences to cut timber in the hills above the tussock land.[61]

[59] 'Rakahuri' and 'Waimakariri' entries in *Kā Huru Manu*, https://www.kahurumanu.co.nz/atlas
[60] Evison, *The Long Dispute*, pp.230-231.
[61] D.N. Hawkins, *Beyond the Waimakariri: A Regional History* (Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957), pp.168-179.

Figure 5.2: Oxford and the Wairaki/Eyre River. Map of the Oxford Road District, 1883. Christchurch City Library, CCL Maps 222301.

The first Pākehā settlers in the region included several Germans. In the 1850s, Frederick Luers and three countrymen obtained a contract to cut timber for houses.[62] Luers was born on the banks of the Rhine in 1837, and spent his boyhood in London. In 1854 he migrated to Canterbury.[63] Two years later there were just four English families living alongside the German contractors at what would become Oxford.[64] Luers was single at the time, and the men who worked with him may have been too. Their names are not certain but may have included Diedrich Dohrmann and James Zweiburg, who were named as living in the district in the 1860s.

A few years after the Germans arrived, the first sawmill began operating, and the population had grown to 100. The new settlement, briefly known as Kenricktown after the mill owner, was soon renamed Oxford. The wealthier residents lived in well-built wooden houses whereas most of the timber workers made do with crude slab huts. The hills north of the town were covered in thick forest full of noisy bird life. The sawyers spent their days in the forest, but many grew enough wheat on small sections to feed their families and managed small service businesses too. Most depended on timber for their main income, but Oxford settlers were unable to take full advantage of the natural resources on their

[62] Hawkins, *Beyond the Waimakariri*, p.176.
[63] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p.506.
[64] Hawkins, *Beyond the Waimakariri*, p.176.

doorstep. Although the Canterbury economy needed timber, transport to Christchurch was difficult, and roads were often impassable in winter. Locals began lobbying for a railway but were initially unsuccessful. The town grew in the 1860s, with several churches and schools, and some improvements had been made to the roads, but it was not enough. By the end of 1870, both Oxford sawmills went out of business.[65]

Julius Vogel's Public Works and Immigration Act arrived at just the right time for Oxford. Railway construction required large quantities of timber sleepers, the Oxford community was eager to obtain the contracts, and locals campaigned for government assistance. In 1871 the provincial government was criticised for importing Australian railway sleepers rather than employing local workers. Oxford sawyers made it known that they could provide large quantities of locally worked sleepers.[66] Contracts were signed and by 1872 there were four new sawmills operating in Oxford. Another four opened the following year. Seven of the eight mills were located in a cluster west of the old township which became known as East Oxford. The new district was West Oxford, and together the entire district numbered 995 residents in the 1874 census.[67]

Labourers were needed to cut and process this timber and the assisted immigration scheme provided these workers. Frederick Luers was by then fairly prominent in the district.[68] He married Sarah Knowles and they had five children. He owned a local hotel and a sawmilling business and was well placed to assist or employ newly arrived German speaking migrants.[69] Provincial immigration agents may have sent German speakers to Oxford knowing that Luers and the other Germans in the town could facilitate the settlement of the German speaking workers.

The *Friedeburg* carried Germans, Poles and Scandinavians to Lyttelton in 1872 and a small number of the new arrivals settled in Oxford. Along with a number of English assisted immigrants, they were housed in rough cottages built specifically for the new arrivals, and employed by the local road board.[70]

Friedrich Wilhelm and Caroline Wilke came from Lunow in Prussia and were both born in 1836. Caroline married Wilhelm around 1860 and the couple had four children when they boarded the *Friedeburg*.[71] On

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[65] Hawkins, *Beyond the Waimakariri*, pp. 174-183.
[66] *LT*, 1 April 1871, p.2.
[67] Hawkins, *Beyond the Waimakariri*, pp.186-187.
[68] Hawkins, *Beyond the Waimakariri*, p.192-193.
[69] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p.506.
[70] Hawkins, *Beyond the Waimakariri*, pp.192-193.
[71] *Hamburger Passagierlisten*; Volume: *373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 026 C,* Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

arrival at Lyttelton in August 1872 they were sent to the Oxford Immigration Barracks. Friedrich probably did bush or road work for the first years but by 1874 he had saved enough to buy land. He started a small brickmaking business alongside the farm and he and Caroline raised five children.[72] Carl and Augusta Blank were from Blumberg, Uckermark, near the modern German Polish border, and migrated with three children on the same ship. They may have lived in Papanui briefly after their arrival but soon moved to Oxford where they had a further twelve children.[73] In 1879 the Blanks were joined by Carl's younger brother Wilhelm, who migrated with his wife and children and settled in Oxford.[74]

The single largest group of European migrants to settle in Oxford arrived in Lyttelton on 19 June 1874. The *Stonehouse* had sailed from London and carried a large group of Moravian passengers alongside its British and Irish migrants. Fourteen families originated in the Nový Jičín district of modern Czechia/Czech Republic. Most came from the town of Frenštát pod Radhoštěm (German Frankstadt), but two families each came from nearby villages of Stramberk (Stramberg), Sedlnice (Sedlintz), and Kujavy (Klantendorf), 25km to the north. Of the fourteen Moravian families on board, members of at least eight families settled in Oxford.[75]

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[72] Pauline Wood (ed.), *Women of the Waimakariri* (Rangiora: Waimakariri District Women's Suffrage Centennial Committee, 1993), p.28.
[73] Mary McIsaac, *The Blank family from Pommern Prussia to Oxford New Zealand: The Journey of Johann Christian Carl Friedrich Blank and Auguste Wilhelmine Caecilie Blank (nee Loff)* (Auckland: Mary McIsaac, 2013).
[74] McIsaac, *The Blank family*, p.165.
[75] Passenger lists, IM-CH-4-10-118, Stonehouse (Ship), Apr. 10-Jun. 29, 1874, Canterbury-arrival port.

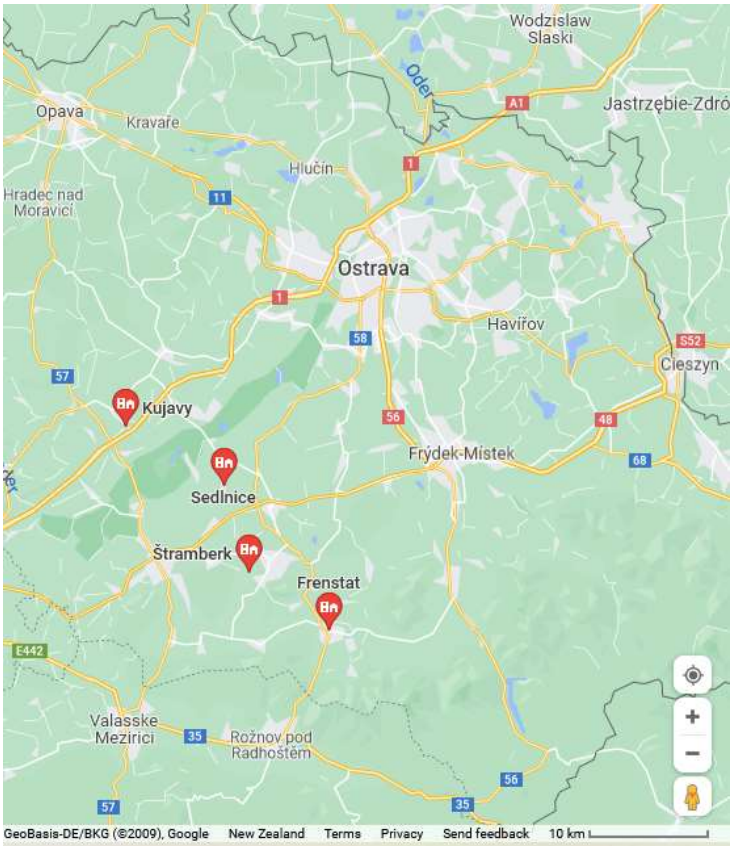

Figure 5.3: Locations of last place of residence for Moravian passengers on the *Stonehouse* voyage of 1874. Red pins show locations of villages where families left for New Zealand. Created using https://www.google.com/maps.

Many of the German families were Lutheran and held religious meetings in family homes during the 1870s. Led by lay preacher Carl Blank, they eventually raised enough money to buy land and build a church, which opened in 1881. Carl Blank handed the church keys to the new pastor on the opening day, but continued to serve as trustee for the church committee, alongside Wilhelm Wilke and earlier Oxford resident Dietrich Zweibruck.[76]

While most of the European migrants in Oxford were German or Moravian, it was Danish man Viggo Rasmussen who left a detailed account of his impressions of life in Oxford after settling there after 1876. In Oxford, he first rented a room from a fellow Dane and earned 8 shillings for a ten-hour workday as part of a team operating one of the mechanical saws. Although the food was good and affordable, he missed his family. He wrote to his parents expressing regret that his sister did not wish to follow him. He found the English settlers uninterested in anything outside of the colony, and asked his family to send

[76] McIsaac, p.25.

him books.[77] Later he described Oxford as beautiful but boring: "There is no amusement whatsoever… I spend most of my spare time reading, and on Sunday I almost always got to Church. But when you cook your own food there isn't much time to spare".[78] He made another unsuccessful attempt to entice his sister to New Zealand, and sent her the completed nomination papers to present at the Agent General's office in London. Rasmussen went into business with his friend Louis Laugesen, leasing a sawmill in Oxford. The enterprise failed when the mill burnt down, leaving Rasmussen in debt to his employees. He returned to his modest life and worked in sawmills for the rest of his life. In 1886 he married New Zealand born Mary Ann Lily ("Lilly") Mullon, informing his parents in Denmark three years later, in a letter which described Lilly as clean and economical, and "a really nice wife".[79] They had no children but later adopted Mary's orphaned niece. At the turn of the century, they left Oxford for Kaikoura, where Rasmussen continued working in sawmills, probably at a mill owned by the Laugesen family.[80]

He continued writing sporadically to his family in Denmark until his death aged 74 in January 1929. He had never returned to Europe and never found his brother Victor.[81] He left £205 to his wife and adopted niece.[82] Mary Ann Lily Rasmussen died on 15 February 1934, aged 71 with assets worth £74.[83]

An examination of the naturalisation data shows that German speaking migrants made up the majority of European born settlers in Oxford. These included Germans like Luers who had settled in the area before the assisted immigration scheme, as well as assisted immigrants who had arrived in the 1870s. Fifty-four European born individuals were naturalised in Oxford. About half were traceable in the Vogel assisted immigrant passenger lists.[84] Most were from German speaking regions of Europe with only eight from other regions. Of the seventeen Austrian individuals in the Oxford sample, eleven had migrated to New Zealand as part of a group of Moravian families on the *Stonehouse* in 1874. There were two women in the sample. Wilhelmina Niethe was naturalised in 1908 aged thirty. Born in 1878, she may have been related to the two Niethe families who migrated on the *Scimitar* arriving in Otago in 1874. The other female naturalisation, Rosina Pawelka, was a Moravian who was naturalised in 1901

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[77] Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen', p.66.
[78] Viggo Rasmussen, letters from New Zealand, Danes World Wide Archive, Aalborg, Denmark, quoted in Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen', p.67.
[79] Marriage 1868/3061; BDM; Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen', p.70.
[80] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Nelson Marlborough and Westland Provincial Districts)*, 1906, pp.451, 452.
[81] Stilling, 'Viggo Rasmussen', pp.72-73.
[82] Ole Lund Viggo Rasmussen, probate dated 1929, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-G2S7
[83] Mary Ann Lily Rasmussen, probate dated 1934, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-RLQ3
[84] 24 of 54 definitely assisted migrants, and at least 3-4 others probably related to them.

aged 74. She had migrated in 1874 as a sole parent with five children as part of the Moravian group on the *Stonehouse*. The non-German Europeans included Danish farmer Mads Rasmussen, who had migrated with his family as a young boy. He was naturalised in West Oxford in 1893.

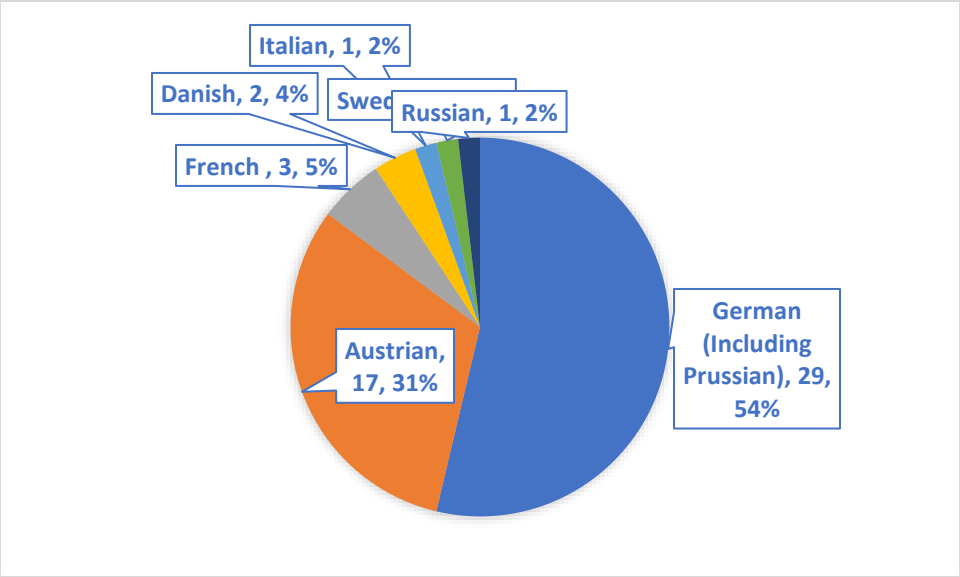

Figure 5.4: Former nationalities of 54 European born naturalisations in Oxford. Source: Individuals naturalised in Oxford, Canterbury, and born in Continental Europe before 1800, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

The naturalisation data reveal that the men worked in a variety of occupations. Twenty-six (48%) listed their occupation as labourer, including eight who described themselves as bushmen. Twelve (22%) were farmers. The 'Other' category in the chart included a basket maker, a blacksmith, and a butcher. The two 'commercial' occupations included hotel keeper Frederick Luers and Hirsch Margolisch, a Lithuanian wool dealer who lived in Oxford in the 1920s.

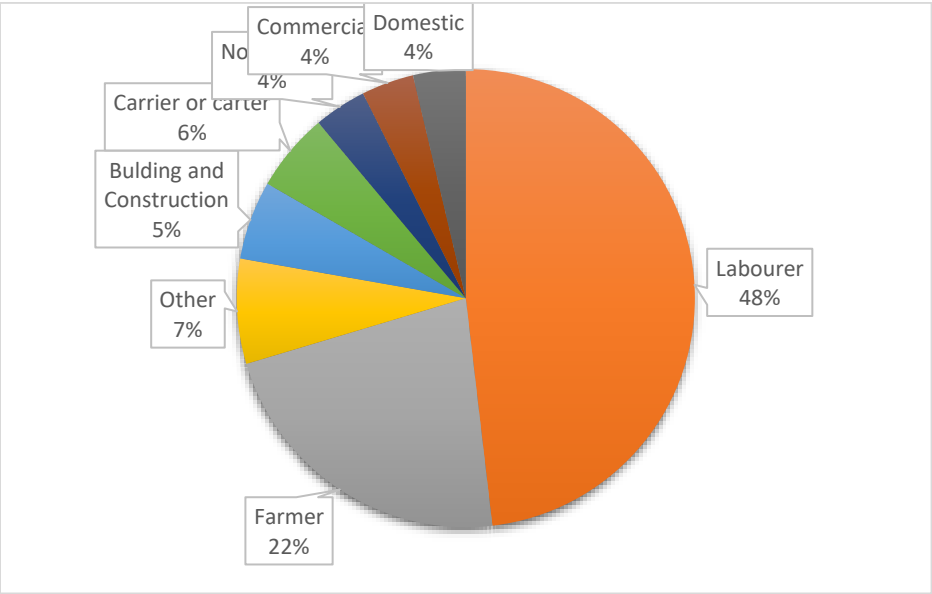

Figure 5.5: Occupations of 54 naturalised Europeans in Oxford. Source: Individuals naturalised in Oxford, Canterbury, and born in Continental Europe before 1800, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

Whereas naturalisation data reveal occupations and former nationalities, probate data tell us about the wealth distribution among the Oxford Europeans. Twenty-seven probates were identified as being from first generation European settlers in Oxford. The values of the probates were adjusted for a constant value at 1925 rates and shown in the chart below. The mean was £2656.66, and the median value (rounded up) was £460.31. The three highest values were those of Frederick Luers and Hirsh Margolisch, both successful business owners, and Danish farmer Anders Jensen. Farming, sawmilling and the hotel business brought assets worth £6000 when Luers died in 1898. Margolisch died in Christchurch in 1949, leaving £21,217. Jensen died in 1924 with £13,016.

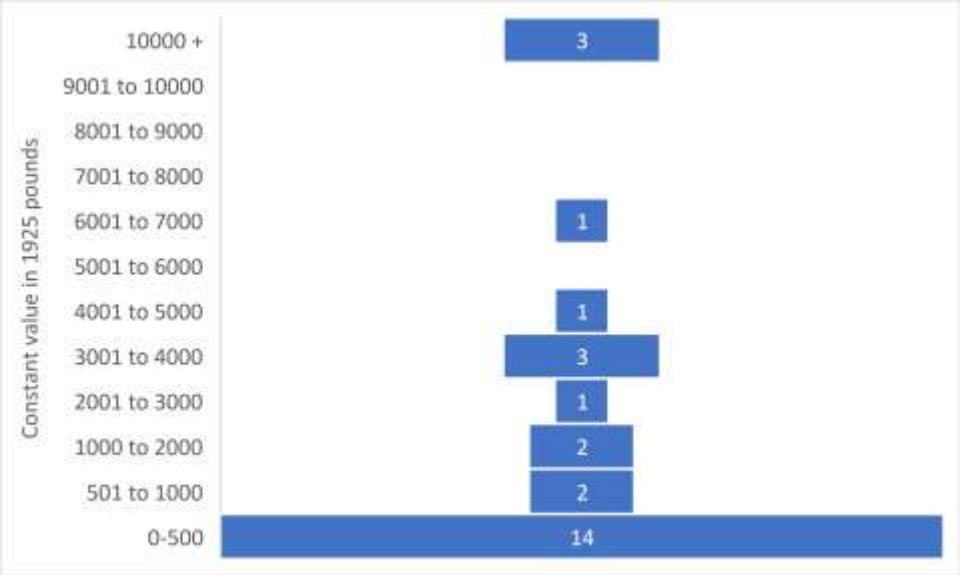

Figure 5.6: Wealth of European Settlers in Oxford. Source: 27 Oxford probates, ANZ, Probate Records, 1843-1998." Database with images. *FamilySearch*. http://FamilySearch.org

Most of the Germans had more modest farms and businesses. Sixteen of the twenty-seven probates were valued at under £1000. Carl Blank, a German-born labourer and lay preacher, died intestate and left the least property. Born in 1844, he married Augustine in the 1860s and they had three children when they left Pomerania in 1872. Carl Blank worked as a labourer, a haulier and a farmer around Oxford for the rest of his life.[85] Carl and Augustine had seven sons and six daughters.[86] One daughter died aged 21 in February 1891.[87] A few months later, tragedy struck again, when Augustine Blank died in Oxford on 25 May 1891, three days after giving birth to a daughter.[88] Carl Blank was admitted to Sunnyside Hospital with dementia and died there in July 1918.[89] He was classified as an enemy alien on death and possessed only £29 cash and £19 in other funds.[90]

Johan Gottfried Pachnatz was a German-born platelayer. Born around 1842, he migrated to New Zealand in 1876 but does not appear in any passenger lists. When he was naturalised, he gave his place

[85] McIsaac, *Blank Family*, p.27.
[86] *Hokitika Guardian*, 24 July 1918, p.2.
[87] *Oxford Observer*, 21 Feb 1891, p.2.
[88] *Oxford Observer*, 30 May 1891, p.2.
[89] McIsaac, *Blank Family*, p.27.
[90] Carl Charles Blank, probate, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-LDKQ

of birth as Pommerzig on the Oder (now the village of Pomorsko, in Western Poland). He appears to have migrated with his wife Mary, and they had six children in New Zealand. Johan gave his occupation as railway plate layer when he was naturalised in Oxford in November 1899.[91] He died intestate on 30 December 1910. At the time he owned £150 of freehold land, plus furniture and some wages, to a total of £163.[92]

Danish-born farmer Mads Rasmussen was sixty-nine when he died in October 1902 aged 69. Little is known of his life, or migration to New Zealand, but he was aged sixty when he was naturalised in West Oxford on 7 November 1893.[93] He appears to have been single and left all his property (worth £350) to his friend John George Bonisch, and asked Oxford farmer and Austrian immigrant Peter Garlick to execute the will.[94]

John Bonisch was born in 1857 in the Moravian village of Sedlnice, near Ostrava in eastern Czechia. He was a sixteen-year-old farm labourer when he joined eighty of his friends and neighbours on route to Hamburg to begin their voyage overseas. They sailed to London and boarded the *Stonehouse* bound for Canterbury in 1874. Bonisch was sent to Oxford where he found work on a farm. In 1879 he married Elizabeth Gerlich (Garlick), who had also migrated as a child on the *Stonehouse*.[95] The couple had ten children and lived in Oxford for the rest of their lives. Elizabeth died in 1918 without a will and John died in 1944 aged eighty-seven years. The now retired farmer left £1148 in assets to his children.[96]

Magnus and Gunilda Cederman came from southern Sweden and migrated to New Zealand in 1876 with their young son.[97] Magnus originally worked for his father as an apprentice tailor, but later worked as a painter. On arrival in New Zealand Magnus obtained work road building and drain laying in Oxford, where he was naturalised in 1879, but later established himself as a painter in Rangiora. He returned to Oxford as the town grew and set up a painting business there. He and Gunilda had two sons and four daughters and Magnus served on the East Oxford school committee.[98] Gunilda died in 1913 without

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[91] Johan Gottfried Pachnatz, 1899/3685, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[92] Johan Gottfried Pachnatz, probate dated 1911, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-2DQC
[93] Mads Rasmussen, 1893/3801, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[94] Mads Rasmussen, probate dated 1902, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GDVP
[95] BDM
[96] John Bonisch, probate dated 1945, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-YQZ1
[97] *Gutenburg* passenger list, 1876, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 A, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[98] Magnus Nielsson Cederman, 1877/1409, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ; The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, (1903), p.497.

leaving a will and Magnus died in 1923, leaving a small house and £100 to his children. The total value of his estate was estimated at £350.[99]

George and Marianne Gerlach were in their late forties when they left Moravia in 1874 with six children aged from twenty-three to eight years old. They were from the town of Frenstat, in the Nový Jičín district near Ostrava in modern Czechia.[100] They settled in Oxford where their surname was anglicised to Garlick. George was naturalised in 1893 aged 61 and listed his occupation as farmer. He died on 24 July 1897 with around £100 to his name. Mary died the following year.[101]

At least one of George and Mary's sons became a successful farmer and did well. Peter Garlick had arrived as a child in 1874 with the Moravian settlers. His parents had settled In Oxford and Peter became a labourer and later farmed his own land. At the time of his death in 1940, he had £3614, making him the wealthiest European born assisted immigrants in the Oxford sample.[102]

The five European born farmers and businessmen in the Oxford sample with more wealth than Garlick included Frederick Luers, Ephraim Neumann and Dietrich Dohrmann, who had all been living in Oxford since at least the 1860s. The others included Henry Lassen, a Danish farmer whose parents arrived on the *Crusader* in 1872 and Hirsh Margolis, a Russian born wool merchant, who lived in Oxford for many years but died in Christchurch in 1949.[103] The wealthiest Vogel period immigrant in the sample was Anders Jensen who farmed at Coopers Creek, just outside of Oxford. Brought up in rural Denmark, he migrated as a young single man in 1873, sailing on the *Halcione* to Wellington.[104] He spent his first four years in New Zealand as a digger on the West Coast and then settled in West Oxford, where he worked in a range of occupations including sawmilling, bullock driving, cattle dealing and sheep farming. He married Martha Rossiter in 1884 and they had two sons and six daughters. Anders was naturalised in 1893 and listed his occupation as farmer. By 1903 he owned 603 acres and served as director of the

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[99] Magnus Neilson Cederman, probate dated 1956, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-2XWC
[100] Passenger lists, IM-CH-4-10-118, Stonehouse (Ship), Apr. 10-Jun. 29, 1874, Canterbury-arrival port
[101] George Garlick, probate 1897, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GW1K
[102] Peter Garlick, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-T84R
[103] *Pahiatua Herald*, 18 September 1941, p.4; Henry Alfred Lassen, died 1902, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GDKZ; Hirsh Margolis, probate dated 1949, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-KLCZ
[104] Passenger lists, IM-15-1-12, Halcione (Ship), Apr. 20-Jul. 27, 1872, Wellington-arrival port

local dairy company.[105] Anders and Martha Jensen retired to Richmond in Christchurch where Anders died in 1924 aged 71.[106] His estate was worth £13,016.[107] Martha died in 1944 aged 79.[108]

The majority of the European migrants who settled in Oxford never became wealthy but they became part of a farming community and had a reasonable chance of becoming small farmers themselves by the time they reached retirement age. German and Moravian families remained in the area for several generations. As late as 1961 there were still twenty families with German or Moravian ancestry living around Oxford.[109]

The Poles in Marshland

A quite different European settler community grew in Marshland, now on the north eastern outskirts of Christchurch city, but until the late twentieth century a rural district. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Marshland was the centre of a small Polish Catholic community that was known for its market gardening. The first group of Polish settlers had arrived in Canterbury in 1872 onboard the *Friedeburg*, and spent the first two years in New Zealand at Holmes Bay, at the south west of Pigeon Bay on Banks Peninsula. Pigeon Bay had long been inhabited by Māori but since the 1840s increasing numbers of Pākehā farmers had settled there. In 1862 George Holmes, a railway contractor who had been involved in the construction of the Lyttelton rail tunnel, decided to invest in the timber industry. He bought an estate in the South West of Pigeon Bay in 1862. The location became known as Holmes Bay, and Holmes soon employed fifty people, felling timber, sawmilling, and transporting finished railway sleepers.[110]

When the *Friedeburg* sailed into Lyttelton Harbour in August of 1872, a number of families onboard were sent to Holmes Bay. George Holmes did not speak German, but Hermann Cohn, a German businessman based in Christchurch, made several trips to Pigeon Bay to assist with translations and arrange provisions.[111] Herman Cohn was well connected with both the German community in

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[105] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p.508; Anders Jensen, 1893/4246, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[106] *Star*, 26 Sept 1924, p.6.
[107] Anders Jensen, probate dated 1924, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-VYZQ
[108] *Press*, 5 Sept 1944, p.7.
[109] McIsaac, *Blank Family*, p.25.
[110] Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula*, pp.90,92.
[111] Letter re translation, Christchurch Immigration office, IM1/4/1873-101a, *New Zealand Archives*

Christchurch and the wider business community. In 1870 he was the treasurer of the Christchurch German Association, working alongside Julius Haast and future Christchurch Mayor J.G. Ruddenklau.[112] Cohn had also known Christchurch businessman and Bottle Lake landowner Edward Reece since the 1860s and although Cohn left New Zealand for London in 1873, it may have been through him that Reece became aware of the German and Polish families at Pigeon Bay.[113]

Edward Reece, a Shropshire farmer's son who had trained as a hardware merchant, had migrated to Christchurch in 1855 and set up a business.[114] In 1862 he had made enough money to buy a large block of land at Bottle Lake on the northern outskirts of Christchurch. Bottle Lake was part of an area between New Brighton and the Waimakariri previously known as Sandhills Run which had been leased to sheep farmers since the 1850s..[115] The land immediately to the west of Bottle Lake was sold to businessman Robert Heaton Rhodes in 1869, and became known as Rhodes Swamp.[116] In 1874 Reece approached the Polish families in Holmes Bay and offered them work on his land at Bottle Lake.[117]

Robert Heaton Rhodes (1815-1884) was one of four Rhodes brothers who came to New Zealand and became wealthy landowners. He owned several Christchurch businesses, served on the Canterbury Provincial Council and represented Akaroa in the House of Representatives from 1871 to 1874.[118] The land itself was mostly peat bogs stretching from the river Styx in the north, to Horseshoe Lake in the south. Towards the coast, east of present-day Marshland Road, trees and shrubs grew wild on sand dunes.[119]

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[112] *Star*, 16 Sept 1870, p.3.
[113] *Star*, 21 July 1892, p.2; LT, 26 March 1864, p.6.
[114] Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury & Otago 1840-1914* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2002), pp.57-58.
[115] Katie Pickles, 'From Wasteland to Playground: Bottle Lake Forest Park', in Gavin Mclean and Kynan Gentry (eds.), *Heartlands: New Zealand's Historians write about where history happened* (Auckland: Penguin, 2006), p.225.
[116] Barbara Scrivens, 'Marshland', *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/marshland/
[117] H.W. Hughes, 'Marshland: A Social Survey of a New Zealand Rural Community', 1939, Ngā Kohinga Kōrero o Aotearoa / New Zealand Reference, Tūranga, Christchurch, ANZC 386, pp.27,28.
[118] 'RHODES BROTHERS', from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966, https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/rhodes-brothers; (Not to be confused with his son of the same name).
[119] Matt Morris, 'A History of Christchurch Home Gardening from Colonisation to the Queen's Visit: Gardening Culture in a Particular Society and Environment', PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, 2006, pp.70-71.

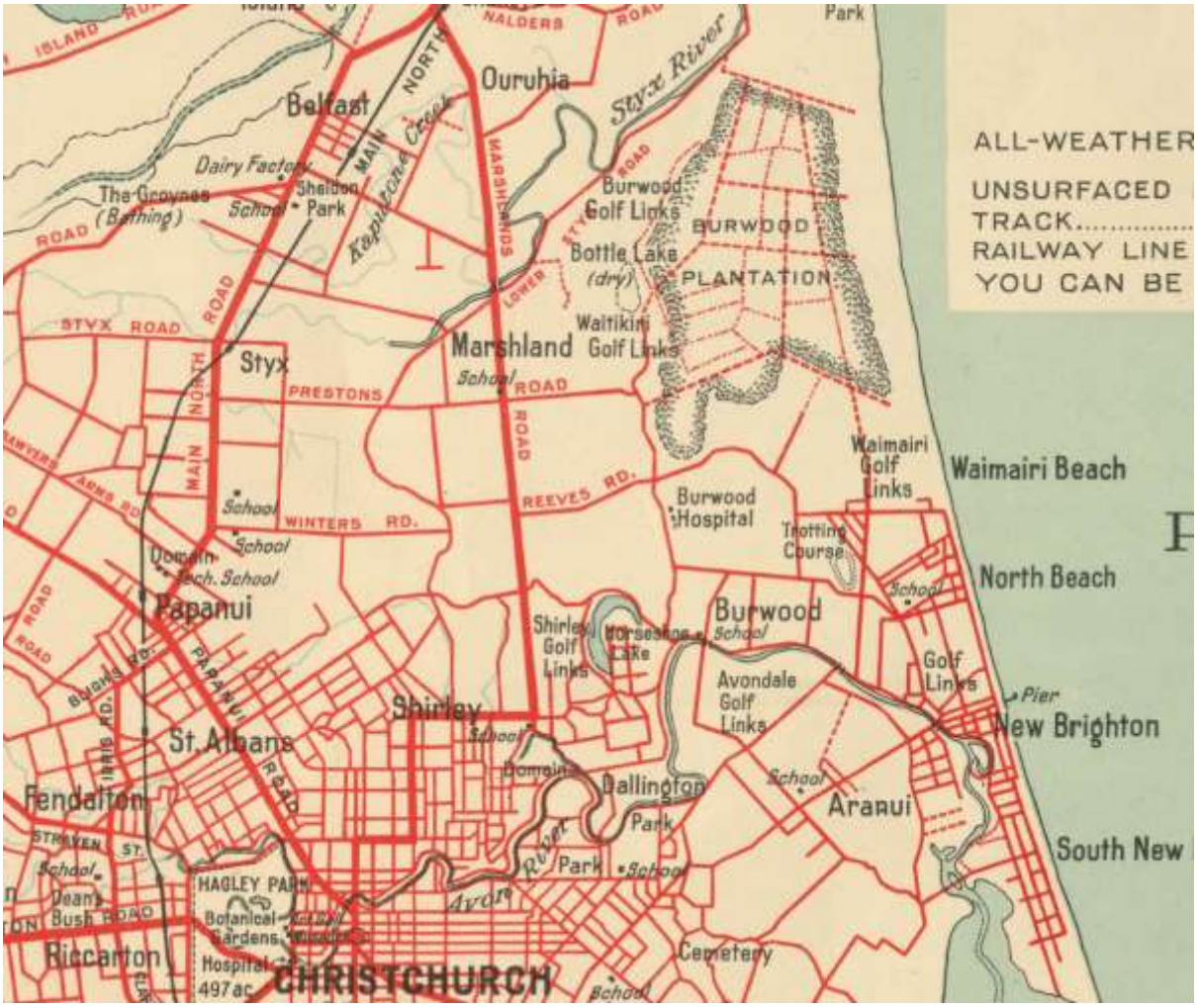

Figure 5.7: Marshland and surrounding districts. Detail from Christchurch and Area Map 1935, Christchurch City Library, CCL Maps 221615

In 1874, Edward Reece approached the Polish families in Pigeon Bay and offered them work at Bottle Lake, draining and clearing his land. The exact date is unknown, but Reece was advertising in the *Lyttleton Times* for workers from October that year. One advertisement for an agricultural labourer offered wages and the opportunity to rent a two-bedroom cottage and 24 acres to successful applicants.[120] In December he called for tenders for contracts to break up and clear 100 acres at Bottle Lake.[121] There was plenty of work as he was still seeking workers to clear flax from the land in March

[120] LT, 14 Oct 1874, p.1.
[121] LT, 8 Dec 1874, p.1.

1875.[122] The Avon Road Board also needed workers in the area, clearing drains through the swamp and building roads to connect landowners with the city.[123]

Several Polish families at Pigeon Bay accepted Reece's offer and settled at Bottle Lake and Rhodes Swamp. A smaller group of interrelated Polish families arrived in Wellington on the *Cartvale* in October 1874, and made their way south to the same area. These families became the core of a small Polish community in Marshland for the next forty years.[124] The adult men may have initially been employed as wage workers or contractors, clearing stumps and digging drainage ditches, but sometime after arriving, they began leasing ten- or twenty-acre blocks from the two major landowners.[125] Johan Gierszewski rented land from John McSaveney, probably at McSaveneys Road on the southern edge of the Rhodes Swamp block.[126]

Although Marshland was not far from Christchurch it was not easy to get to. A strip of land had been set aside to build a canal between the Styx River and the city. The canal was never built, but residents used the Canal Reserve land as a primitive road to transport carts full of produce into the city and carry manure from the city stables back to the fields. The Canal Reserve Road was later renamed Marshland Road.[127] One Polish settler remembered the Canal Reserve was still "in a wild state" in the 1880s, and "not fit for a horse and cart to get along it … a person had to keep to the drains to find footing to walk along. The land was covered in flax and … full of stumps".[128]

By the mid-1870s the Polish farmers had become known for dairy farming and market gardening. Carrots were produced for sale to the stables in Addington and Riccarton and other vegetables were sold to green grocers around the city. The soil proved ideal for onions and the Poles began selling bundles of onions door to door in the city. Dairy cows were grazed on the sand hills and other land

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[122] LT, 6 March 1875, p1.
[123] *Press*, 1 Dec 1875, p.4.
[124] Barbara Scrivens, 'The place where flax grows profusely', *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/marshland/
[125] J.W. Pobóg-Jaworowski, J.W., *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand, 1776-1987* (Warsaw: CHZ "Ars Polona", 1990), p.20.
[126] *Press*, 27 October 1876, p.3.
[127] J.P. Morrison, *The Evolution of a City: The story of the growth of the city and suburbs of Christchurch the Capital of Canterbury, in the years 1850 to 1903* (Christchurch: Christchurch City Council, 1948), p.80.
[128] Martin Sharlick, interviewed 4 October 1943 by W.J. Walter, 'Reminiscences of Early Marshland Residents 1930-1939', Ngā Kohinga Kōrero o Aotearoa / New Zealand Reference, Tūranga, ANZC 196, p.15.

unsuitable for crops. Milk was supplied to the owners of milk rounds serving St Albans, Papanui, and later Shirley.[129]

In the 1880s the two major landholdings in the area were broken up. In 1882 Reece disposed of the stock on his Bottle Lake farm and subdivided it into seventeen small farms to be leased for a ten-year period.[130] R.H. Rhodes died in 1884 and two years later, his family sold the Marshland estate. Prospective buyers were informed that the land was subdivided into blocks ranging from five to forty acres each, which would be available when the leases expired on 30 June 1887.[131] It is not clear how many of the Polish leaseholders were able to buy this land immediately but most of the original Marshland Polish families who were leasing land in the area became landowners by the early 1890s.

Market gardening intensified in Marshland and by 1892 when Thomas Schimanski sold land at the corner of Marshland and Prestons Road, the newspaper advertisement described Marshland as "The Land of Potatoes, Carrots and Onions".[132] By the turn of the century hundreds of acres of Marshland were devoted to onion production, and the district was exporting hundreds of tons of onions to Sydney each year, with trial shipments being sent to England.[133] An agricultural reporter for the *Press* visited Marshlands in 1899 and described how a "large portion of the land at Marshlands originally belonged to the Rhodes' and Reece's estates", but was now in the hands of small farmers growing onions and other root crops for export to Sydney. Of the sixteen Marshland growers named in the story, twelve were from Polish and German families who had lived in Marshland since 1874.[134] In the early twentieth century, as cars and trams replaced horses for transport, the market for bulk carrots shrunk, but onion production continued to grow.[135]

Marshland was known to have a Polish community but what do the data tell us about the origins of these settlers? Twenty-three European born settlers from Marshland or Bottle Lake are listed in the New Zealand naturalisation records. All were male and all but one gave their occupation as farmer. The exception was sixty-six-year-old labourer Joseph Dunick. Valentine Kiesanowski gave his former nationality as 'Russian Polish', and the nationality of the remainder was recorded as 'German'. Eighteen

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[129] Morrison, *The Evolution of a City*, pp.80-81.
[130] LT, 29 March 1882, p.8.
[131] LT, 8 May 1886, p.8.
[132] LT, 21 June 1891, p.8.
[133] *Star*, 14 March 1898, p.2.
[134] *Press*, 10 Feb 1899, p.2.
[135] Morrison, *The Evolution of a City*, p.80.

of the twenty-three names were from Polish Catholic families who had arrived on the *Friedeberg* or the *Cartvale*. The remaining five appeared to be ethnically German, three from the *Friedeburg* (Lange, Kars, Gottermeyer) and two Hanoverian farmers who had emigrated independently in the 1860s before settling in Marshland.

How wealthy were these farmers? Thirteen probates from Marshland or Bottle Lake residents were identified from my dataset. The mean average wealth adjusted for 1925 inflation was £1336.96. The median was £898. Eight of the thirteen probates were worth under £1000 (1925 constant value), and the bottom seven of those were from Polish Catholic families. Of the five with probates worth over £1000, two were German and three were Polish Catholics. All gave their occupations as farmer except one widow and a labourer, John Suhomski, the least wealthy in the sample.

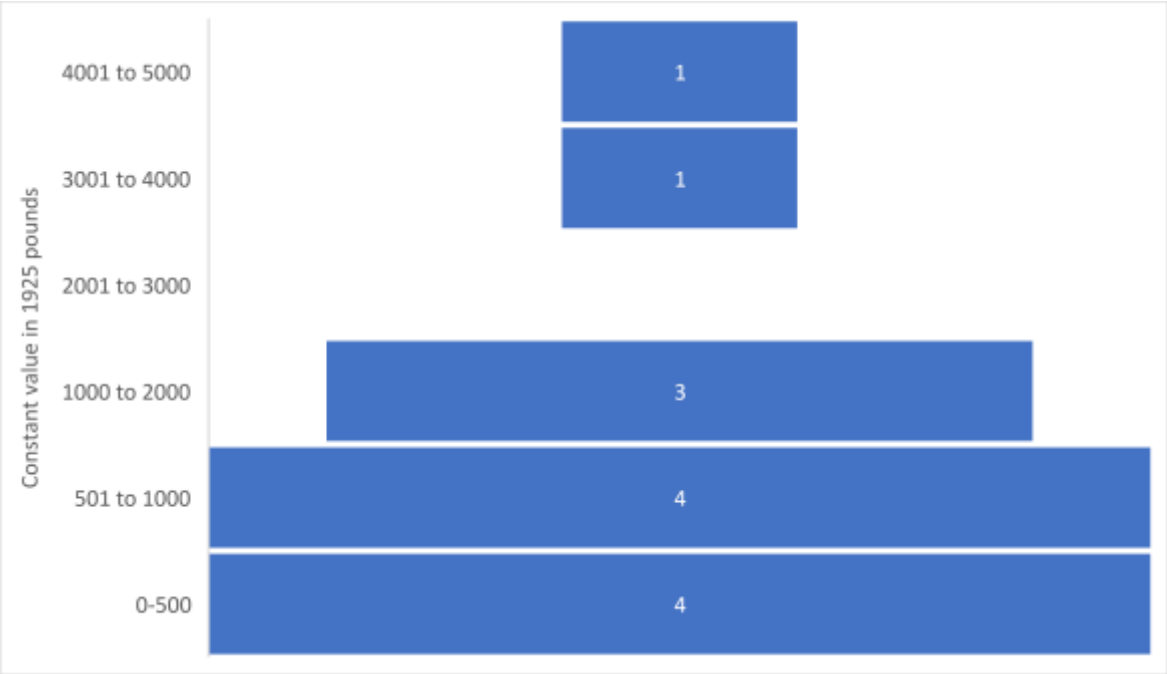

Figure 5.8: 13 Marshland probates. Source: ANZ, Probate Records, 1843-1998. Database with images. *FamilySearch*. http://FamilySearch.org

Jan (John) Suchomski was born in 1842. He married fellow Pole Mary Roda in the town of Czersk, then part of West Prussia but now in Poland, and had one son before traveling to London and sailing to Wellington on the *Cartvale* in 1874.[136] Like several other Polish families on the *Cartvale*, the Suhomskis came south and settled in Marshland. John Suhomski, as he was now known, was naturalised in August 1893, aged 54, alongside Carl, his 22-year-old son. The Suhomskis lived in Lower Styx Road, where John Suhomski died in December 1924. His assets were valued at £105.[137]

The wealthiest farmer in the Marshland sample was John Martin Gottermeyer. He was one of five passengers on the *Friedeburg* who gave their last place of residence as the West Prussian village of Klein Gilwe (Gilwa, near Kwidzyn, Poland).[138] Gottermeyer was 28 and travelled as a single man. Unlike the majority of the Marshland settlers, he was not a Catholic, as he had an Anglican funeral, and probably thought of himself as German. In 1874 he married fellow German and *Friedeburg* passenger Anne Fisher.[139] He appears to have been in a good financial position as he bought land in June of 1874. He co-owned twenty-five acres in Governors Bay with Gottfried Schelke, an older married man who had also sailed on the *Friedeburg*.[140] By 1883 the Gottermeyers were farming in Yaldhurst. Later they moved to Marshland where they remained for the rest of their lives.[141] John Martin Gottermeyer died in 1908 aged 63. His funeral was held at St Marks Anglican Church in Marshland.[142] He left assets worth approximately £2500 to his wife for her lifetime, but specified that three blocks of land in Marshland were to be given to his children after Annie died.[143] Annie was 87 when she died in 1932 with less than £50 to her name.[144]

The Schimanski family were numerous and well known in Marshland. Mattias Szymanski had arrived as a twenty-two year old single man on the *Friedeburg*, and probably worked on farms around Canterbury at first. He married childhood friend Julia Burchard in 1874. They had grown up together in Groß Thiemau, a rural estate in West Prussia (now Tymawa Wielka in the Kociewie region of Poland), and the Burchard

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[136] Passenger lists, IM-15-7-140, Cartvale (Ship), Jun. 25-Oct. 11, 1874, Wellington-arrival port
[137] John Suhomski, probate dated 1927, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-VBTQ; Press, 28 August 1929, p.20.
[138] Passenger list, Friedeburg, 1872, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 026 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[139] Marriage Certificate 1874/11377, BDM. Passenger list, Friedeburg, 1872, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 026 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[140] *Press*, 21 Jan 1876, p.2.
[141] *Wises New Zealand Street Directory, 1883-1884*, p.356, and 1898-99, p.490.
[142] *Press*, 13 May 1908, p.9.
[143] John Martin Gottermeyer probate dated 1908, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GJNX
[144] Death Certificate 1932/8324, BDM; Annie Elizabeth Gottemeyer, probate 1932; https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-K332

family had sailed on the *Freideburg*, but her parents later moved to Taranaki. Matthew and Julia settled in Marshland and started a family. Julia died in childbirth in 1894 and Matthew married Polish Catholic widow Annie Rogal in 1899.[145] Matthew's older brother Christopher arrived from London in 1883 along with his wife and seven children. They moved in with Matthew for six months until they found their own house at Marshland.[146] The children of Christopher and Louisa included two sons from Louisa's previous marriage and one of them took his father's name, Szalug, which was anglicised to Sharlick. As the children grew up there were so many Schimanskis in Marshland that residents distinguished the between the two families by classifying them as Black or White Schimanskis, based on the colour of their father's beards.[147] Black bearded Matthew Schimanski filed for bankruptcy in June 1883.[148] He recovered from this setback and by 1891 a local newspaper described him as one of the leading men of the Marshland Polish community.[149] His white bearded older brother Christopher Schimanski died in 1920 aged seventy-two.[150] Matthew used his wealth to support the Catholic Church. In 1921 he paid for a statue of Our Lady of Lourdes which was the centrepiece of a grotto at St Mary's Church in Manchester Street.[151] He died in March 1933 aged eighty-three, leaving £940 to be distributed equally among his children, making him one of the wealthier Marshland residents in the probate sample.[152]

The Gierszewski family were also well known in Marshland. Johan and Rosalie Gierszewski were Kashubians from Rytel near Czersk, Poland, and migrated on the *Freideburg* with two young children. In 1876 they were joined by Johan's brother Michal, his wife Katarzyna, and her brother Walentyn Cieszanowski (Kiesanowski), and his wife, Anna. Michal and Walentyn were both tailors who had migrated to Australia in 1873 before joining Johan and Rosalia in Marshland.[153] In 1884 Johan Gierszewski advertised his twenty-acre leasehold farm for sale "20 Acres of rich Land at Rhodes' Swamp; House, and other buildings, 3 miles from Christchurch. Splendid land for Root Crop or Grass, with 3 acres carrots. Present owner can give good reasons for selling. Stock and Plant can be taken at valuation".[154]

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[145] Barbara Scrivens, 'All Settlers List' database, *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/search-settlers/
[146] Martin Sharlick, 'Earning a living from a Swamp', from Scrivens, *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/martin-sharlick/
[147] Scrivens, 'Marshland', *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/marshland/
[148] LT, 23 June 1883, p.7.
[149] LT, 10 April 1891, p.4.
[150] Christoffer Schimanski, probate dated 1922, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-V55F
[151] *New Zealand Tablet*, 2 June 1921, p.19.
[152] Micheal Schimanski, probate dated 1953, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-27WJ
[153] Scrivens, 'Marshland', *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/marshland/
[154] LT, 10 April 1884, p. 1.

Johan and Rosalia left for America soon afterwards and never returned to New Zealand. Michael and Katerina remained in Marshland and became well known onion farmers.[155] The Kiesanowski family came to Marshland in 1876 but spent several years in Thames where Valentine, as he was now known, worked as a tailor. The family returned to Marshland to farm in the 1890s.[156]

The Zdonek family were part of the Marshland Polish community for many years. Jozef, Marianna and their three sons had lived in two small villages of Bak and Cisewie, near Karsin in modern Poland. They left Hamburg on the *Friedeburg* and on arrival in Lyttelton were sent to Pigeon Bay. The family name was anglicised to Dunick after they arrived and a further two daughters were born in Banks Peninsula. Their youngest son was born in Lincoln in 1877.[157] In 1885 they were in Marshland, with the children appearing alongside other Marshland Polish families on the roll of St Joseph's Primary school in Papanui.[158] Apart from a brief period in the 1890s when they may have joined their adult children in Taranaki, Joseph and Mary Dunick remained in Marshland for the rest of their lives. Joseph died aged 90 in 1923, and Mary died aged 89 in 1927. Both are buried in the Polish Catholic section of Linwood Cemetery. Their daughters married Polish Catholic men in Taranaki and Marshland and their sons started families in Canterbury and Southland.[159] No probates were recorded for Joseph and Mary.

By the 1890s the European settlers in Marshland who had arrived as adults were middle aged and their children were young adults. Most of the Polish Catholic families in Marshland became connected by intermarriage. Some, like the Gierszewskis and the Kiesanowskis, were related by marriage before they arrived in New Zealand, and others, like Matthew Schimanski married childhood friends who had migrated with them from Poland. Endogamous marriages were not uncommon within the other European settler clusters, but a large proportion of second generation Marshland Poles married within the Marshlands community too. Marriage records show that that between 1870 and 1910, seven women and five men from the Schimanski family were married. Six of the seven women married men from Polish families, and three of the five men married Polish women. Of those, one woman and one man married into Polish families in Taranaki, but the rest married other Marshland Poles.[160] Many of these couples remained in Marshland but by the 1930s as the first generation Polish settlers died, their

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[155] Margaret Copland, *Portraits of the Pioneers: Stories from Canterbury, New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Kirwee: Te Puna Ora Enterprises, 2005), pp.67-79.
[156] Scrivens, 'Marshland', *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/marshland/
[157] Mark Dunick, 'The Dunick family', forthcoming on Polish settlers in New Zealand website.
[158] *Press*, 17 December 1885, p.2.
[159] Mark Dunick, 'The Dunick family', forthcoming on Polish settlers in New Zealand website.
[160] Search of BDM registers for 'Schimanski' and 'Shimanski'.

children moved away. Marshland remained a market gardening area until the 1980s. Since the 2011 earthquake the area has been subdivided and the old market gardening area is now suburban housing, where the earlier Polish community is commemorated with a small monument at the end of a cul-de-sac named Polish Settlers Place.[161]

Waimate

The third and final cluster of European settlers in this chapter were those who lived in Waimate. Like the Oxford cluster, the German assisted migrants who settled in Waimate grew around the forestry trade and an existing community of earlier German settlers. The site of the town was originally called Waimatemate, and is situated a few miles inland of Wainono Lagoon on the South Canterbury coast. Waimatemate was a traditional camping spot for Ngai Tahu families harvesting food from the lagoon, and by the early 1840s a permanent settlement with a church and meeting house had been established. The first Pākehā settlers to live in the area were members of the Studholme family who had negotiated with Ngāi Tahu leader Te Huruhuru to establish a sheep station they called Waimate. The Studholme run received its first government licence in 1855 and expanded to nearly 100,000 acres in its first four years of operation.[162] In 1859 the Canterbury provincial engineer set aside a block of land for the development of a town near a 3000-acre block of forest containing totara, matai, kahikatea and manuka. The first residents were bushmen eager to cut the timber, and in the 1860s a general store was built, followed by the steam powered sawmill.[163] A small number of Germans settled in the district at this time, most of them bushman, but also including carpenter Herman Meyer.[164] Meyer was from Hanover and had arrived in Timaru in 1863.[165] Henry Ludwig Meyer, also a Hanover born carpenter, and maybe the younger brother of Herman, migrated to New Zealand in 1866. He constructed many Waimate buildings and owned land in the district from 1873, but did not settle in Waimate permanently until 1889.[166] A German storekeeper named Christian Frederick Rudolph Neumann was naturalised in September 1868.[167]

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[161] Embassy of the Republic of Poland, 9 Dec 2017, 'Press Release: 145 years of Polish Settlement in Canterbury & NZ', https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/AK1712/S00245/145-years-of-polish-settlement-in-canterbury-nz.htm
[162] William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate: History of Waimate County and Borough Council* (Waimate: Waimate County Council and Waimate District Council, 1986), p.2,12.
[163] Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, pp.44-46.
[164] LT, 30 March 1865, p.5.
[165] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p.1061.
[166] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p.1076.
[167] Christian Frederick Rudolph Neumann, 1868/2525, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

Most Waimate residents were employed as station hands or bushmen until the mid-1870s, when wheat production became profitable for the first time.[168] Vogel's public works saw the construction of a combined road and rail bridge across the Waitaki river, just south of Waimate. Construction took two years and the bridge opened in 1876, and a railway line to Waimate itself opened the following year.[169] Assisted immigrants were sent to work on these and other projects and an immigration barracks was built to house the new arrivals.[170] The presence of German-speaking residents probably made Waimate a favoured destination for German assisted immigrants who became aware of the town.

Two German-speaking families, the Bettens and the Westphals, migrated via London on the *Crusader* in 1873 and moved to Waimate. Jacob and Eberica Betten and their two infant daughters arrived in Lyttelton via London as assisted migrants on the *Crusader* in 1873.[171] Betten Street, Waimate, is named after the family. The Bettens are described as the first Germans to settle in the area in William Greenwood's history, *Te Waimatemate,* but Greenwood states that the family arrived in 1863, an error, as the details given do not match the dates in the primary sources.[172] Jacob Betten was born in Vilaka, Latvia in 1830, at the time part of the Russian Empire, but was of German ethnicity.[173] The Westphal family from Holstein also travelled on the *Crusader*, and settled in Waimate. John Frederick (known as Fritz) and his wife Margaretha emigrated with six children and had four more in New Zealand.[174]

In contrast, Wilhelm Kugler, a young single man, sailed direct from Hamburg to Lyttelton on the *Gutenburg* in 1874. He was born in Weissenrode, a German colony near what is now Legnica in the south west of Poland, and listed his occupation as miner.[175] By 1879 he was in Waimate and working as a gardener.[176]

By 1878, fifty-three Germans were living in an area on the west side of Waimate, a few hundred metres from the Māori reserve where a few dozen Ngāi Tahu Māori lived, and the cluster became known locally

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[168] Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, pp.96-97.
[169] Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, pp.118-120
[170] *Timaru Herald*, 12 November 1873, p.4.
[171] Passenger lists, IM-15-2-32, Crusader (Ship), Oct. 10, 1872-Jan. 5, 1873, Canterbury-arrival port
[172] Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, p.67. Greenwood may have confused the Bettens with earlier German migrant Herman Meyer, as he mentions the *Lancaster Witch*, the 1863 migrant ship Meyer arrived on.
[173] Jacob Betten, 1899/3328, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[174] Passenger lists, IM-15-2-32, Crusader (Ship), Oct. 10, 1872-Jan. 5, 1873, Canterbury-arrival port; New Zealand born children from BDM search.
[175] Gutenburg passenger list, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 A, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[176] Wilhelm Kugler, 1879/2169, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

as Germantown.[177] Most of the new arrivals probably worked in the forests or on public works in the 1870s, but two events in Waimate led to changes for the settlers. In 1878 the Studholme brothers dissolved their partnership and sold off the Waimate run, allowing many local settlers to buy small farms.[178] At the end of the year, a massive fire destroyed much of the local forest and nearly wiped out the town itself. With the loss of the timber, the town's sawmills shut down and the local economy slumped.[179] Agriculture became a more significant source of income and many settlers previously employed in forestry or the big stations found work on smaller farms. Many of the Germantown families that had been employed in forestry left the neighbourhood after the fires, finding work on sheep farms.[180] Naturalisation and probate data show that most did not stay away long and returned to the Waimate district.

Examining naturalisations in Waimate indicates that sixteen European settlers were naturalised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Of these, thirteen were German, including one Prussian, and the remaining three were from Austria, Switzerland and Denmark respectively. All but two were male. The women included German Sophie Abbenseth who was born in 1825 and naturalised in 1873 aged 48 years. She and her husband had settled in Waimate in the 1860s.[181] The other woman was Anine Hansen, who was born in Denmark in 1878 and naturalised in 1925.[182] The occupations of the men included five labourers and five farmers. The others included a father and son who were carpenters, and one gardener, the aforementioned Wilhelm Kugler.

Twelve probates were located from European-born Waimate residents. Six of the twelve were valued at under £500. One estate, that of a railway worker, was valued at £779 and the remaining five were more than £4500, including two probates with six figure values. The stark divide between the wealth of the two groups may be due to the small sample size. The two with the lowest value gave their occupation as labourer, and most of the rest described themselves as farmers, possibly indicating land ownership.

Hermann Sauer was a German-born labourer who had under £100 when he died in 1913. He left all his assets to his nephew who also lived in Waimate.[183] Frederick William Meyer was another with very few

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[177] Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, p.67.
[178] Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, p.13.
[179] Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, p.47.
[180] Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, p.67.
[181] Recorded as 'Sophie Aberneth', 1874/3370, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ; *Timaru Herald*, 7 April 1908, p.5.
[182] Anine Hansen, 1/20/3291, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[183] Hermann Sauer, probate dated 1913, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KDT9-FQP

assets when he died in May 1909 at Waituna, just north of Waimate. He was born in the 1830s and may have been related to Herman Meyer who farmed at Waituna.[184]

Moravian-born John Bartos lived in Waimate and worked as a contractor. He was listed as a weaver from Cornwall, England, when he and his wife Amelia migrated to New Zealand in 1874.[185] However his naturalisation records show he was born in the Moravian village of Frenštát pod Radhoštěm (Frankstadt) in 1850.[186] It is unknown how long Bartos and his wife lived in Cornwall, but he may be related to Franz and Veronica Bartosch who came from the same Moravian village, and migrated to Napier in 1876, later settling in Norsewood.[187] Bartos owned a threshing machine and worked as a chaff cutting contractor in South Canterbury for many years. He was judged bankrupt in 1887 and again in 1894.[188] Bartos died in Timaru aged 83 on 1 February 1933, leaving £345 to his family.[189]

The wealthier settlers in the sample were also a mixture of 1860s arrivals and later migrants. The wealthiest migrant in the Waimate probate sample was the early settler and carpenter Herman Meyer. By 1903, Meyer owned a 700-acre farm at Waituna, with sheep, cattle and grain. He and his German born wife had nine children, seven of whom survived to adulthood. The Meyers were sufficiently wealthy to take seven months off work to travel to Germany and America at the turn of the century.[190] Herman died in 1915, leaving a fortune worth £22,500 to his family.[191]

Wilhelm Kugler, the miner turned gardener, became a successful farmer in later life. He married and had a family in Waimate and died there in 1928, aged seventy-nine. He left £4576 to his eldest son.[192]

Conclusion

The European assisted immigrants who arrived in Canterbury in the 1870s were a tiny minority in a growing rural economy, but many found it easy to contact German or Scandinavian-speaking locals.

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[184] Frederick William Meyer, probate dated 1910, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KDT9-7ZG; Birth year from Death Certificate 1909/7848, BDM.
[185] Passenger lists -- Canterbury-arrival port, IM-CH-4-11-124, St. Lawrence (Ship), May 22-Aug. 29, 1874, ANZ, p.13.
[186] John Bartos, 1887/1054, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[187] Bartosch family, Freideburg passenger list, 1875 voyage to Napier, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 C, Staatsarchiv Hamburg; Frank Bartoff, 1876/2641, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[188] Numerous articles, for example, *North Otago Times*, 29 Oct 1887, p.3., *South Canterbury Times*, 5 May 1894, p.2.
[189] John Bartos, probate dated 1933, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KDT9-TRY
[190] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Provincial District)*, 1903, p.1061.
[191] Frederick Herman Meyer, probate dated 1915, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KDT9-VKL
[192] Frederick William Kuegler, probate dated 1928, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KDT9-RBH

Work was easy to find as the province had a growing rural economy. Small communities of German-speaking farmers and businessmen existed in both Christchurch city and some of the rural towns. The expansion of the Lutheran Church provided networking and social opportunities. We have less evidence about Scandinavian communities in Canterbury but it seems those Scandinavians who had immigrated to the province before 1870 provided some aid to newly arrived settlers, who were also welcomed into the Lutheran Church. Polish Catholics initially faced discrimination from some in the German community in Christchurch, but many spoke German and many must have worked for or alongside German-speaking settlers in the early years. Later, local Catholic communities became important for the Poles.

The presence of German speaking settlers in Oxford meant German assisted immigrants found the town and its forestry industry attractive. The Moravian immigrants who arrived in 1874 added another language and ethnicity to the town. Most of the Europeans settling in Oxford in the 1870s began work as contractors or forestry workers. Some became farmers but many continued to identify themselves as labourers, and a few became wealthy.

The cluster of European settlers in Marshland, just north of Christchurch were mostly Polish Catholics but included a few German Protestant families too. Many of these settlers began as contractors on Banks Peninsula who were offered work at Bottle Lake and Marshland in 1874. Eventually this cluster of families became small landowners and market gardeners and remained a prominent part of Marshland until the early twentieth century.

Waimate in South Canterbury was similar to Oxford in that it had a small community of early German settlers and a forestry industry. Further away from Christchurch than Oxford, Waimate attracted a smaller number of assisted immigrants who probably obtained work with some of the wealthier German farmers in the district.

The majority of the rural labouring families who arrived in Canterbury from Europe in the 1870s became part of local farming communities, and although most never became wealthy, some owned at least some land of their own. As white Europeans, once they had mastered the English language, they were accepted into the rural districts and small towns which made up the Pākehā communities of Canterbury.

Chapter Six: Otago

The number of European assisted immigrants to settle in 1870s Otago was small, only 599, but those who arrived played an important role in the construction of railways on the Taieri Plains and further south. Nearly half arrived on a single ship, the *Palmerston*, in 1872, and the rest arrived in small groups on English migrant ships until 1876. The European assisted immigrants who arrived in Otago found themselves in the country's most populous and prosperous province. Gold rushes had boosted the economy and population of Otago, and within a generation of its founding, the predominantly Scottish Presbyterian settlement of Dunedin had become a bustling city.

When the *Palmerston* arrived in Port Chalmers from Hamburg in December 1872 it carried both workers and capital for the Otago railway. Three small locomotives were onboard along with the 287 migrants. Most of the men on the *Palmerston* were offered work building the railway and their families joined them often in temporary accommodation along the route. Further shipments of European migrants were also offered railway work and they were often joined by friends and relatives who had initially arrived at other New Zealand ports. Many decided to settle together close to the railway route and bought land at Allanton and Waihola in Taieri. Further south many were among the founders of the new community of Gore which grew around the bridge over the Mataura River. The Europeans at Allanton and Waihola were predominantly Polish Catholic communities and Gore included both Poles and Germans. This chapter will begin by analysing census statistics to confirm the location of the European settlers in Otago and then it will trace the European migrants as they were sent to work on the railway route. Those European assisted immigrants in Otago who did not settle in the railway villages are less visible but we will meet some of the Scandinavians who achieved a degree of prominence in the business community and a few of the other Europeans who settled around the province. There are two case studies in this chapter: the combined, mainly Polish, cluster at Allanton and Waihola; and the German community at Gore. Naturalisation records and probate files will provide biographical information for individuals and families in both communities.

Dunedin and Otago - Background

Figure 6.1: Map of the Taieri area west of Dunedin. www.topomap.co.nz

Otago was the most populous province in 1870s New Zealand, and the Vogel public works scheme provided a major boost to the regional economy. Provincial boss James Macandrew pushed for the expansion of roads and railways in the province and these projects provided employment for many of the European assisted immigrants who migrated to Otago in the 1870s.

The New Zealand Company announced its plans for a colony in the lower half of the South Island, to be called New Edinburgh, in July of 1843. Frederick Tuckett, the company's civil engineer at Nelson, was offered the job of surveying the region and selecting the location for the colony. After exploring the region Tuckett decided on a location at the head of the Otakou harbour.[1] An estimated five hundred Māori lived in Otago at the time, alongside small numbers of whalers and sealers, many of whom had intermarried with Ngāi Tahu.[2] Tuckett surveyed the Otakou Peninsula, the Taieri plains and south to the Matau (Clutha) River. Ngāi Tahu leader Tuhawaiki was aware of the recent violence at Wairau, near

[1] Harry C. Evison, *The Long Dispute: Maori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1997). pp.139-144, 154-155.
[2] Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1987), p.28.

Nelson, where Ngati Toa leader Te Rauparaha had killed a group of New Zealand Company settlers, and he hoped to make an alliance with the New Zealand Company to strengthen the position of Ngāi Tahu against their old enemy in the north. Tuhawaiki, along with several other chiefs, came to an agreement with Tuckett to sell the land for £2400 with the exception of reserves including large parts of the Otakou peninsula. New Zealand Company boss William Wakefield insisted Ngāi Tahu give up almost all of the peninsula, and after much debate twenty-five Ngāi Tahu chiefs, including Tuhawaiki, signed the sale deed in return for £2400. The reserves promised to Ngāi Tahu were not defined in the deed of sale. Tuhawaiki drowned two months later, and the New Zealand Company got into financial difficulty, delaying the plans for a settlement at Otago. By the time the Company had recovered, New Zealand had a new governor with a new land policy, and the Otago reserves were not a priority.[3] When the Otago Association revived the plans for a settlement in 1847 neither the Association nor the Crown made any allowances for Ngāi Tahu reserves.[4]

The first two migrant ships arrived in 1848 and within a few years the village of Dunedin had a population of 600 people. The New Zealand Company went bankrupt in 1852 but the settlement survived. Although Ngai Tahu had initially welcomed Pākehā settlers they were quickly overwhelmed and marginalised by the newcomers.[5] Crops were planted on coastal land north of Dunedin and on the Taieri plains to the south. Pastoralists had explored the interior and the Waitaki valley and parts of central Otago were full of sheep by 1860. Some men became very wealthy but most did not. Many resented the landowning elite who came to dominate Otago politics, but all contributed to the expansion of a capitalist economy based on the export of wool to Britain.[6] The discovery of gold in the Otago hills in 1861 transformed the province. The old Presbyterian elite worried that a gold rush would destroy the conservative Christian community they hoped for. They were right but they also benefited financially from the massive influx of people to the province. Thousands of rowdy hard drinking young men filled the streets of Dunedin and spread out into the hills searching for gold. Towns full of taverns sprung up in the interior as merchants made money supplying the estimated 24,000 Pākehā in Central Otago at the height of the gold rushes.[7] Dunedin itself was transformed. Businesses of all sorts were formed and prospered. British and Australian banks opened branches in the city, and future premier

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[3] Evison, *The Long Dispute*, pp.148-149, 154-155, 173.
[4] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Report 1991, Vol.1* (Wellington: GP Publications, 2015), pp.37-43.
[5] Olssen, *A History of Otago*, pp.33-49.
[6] Olssen, *A History of Otago*, pp.50-56.
[7] Olssen, *A History of Otago*, pp.56-64.

Julius Vogel, then a newspaper man, helped found New Zealand's first daily newspaper, the *Otago Daily Times*.[8]

By 1871 Otago's gold and wool exports were in decline. The province was still the wealthiest in the country, though, and had a population of 70,000. Dunedin was the largest city, with a growing industrial sector. The poor state of the roads limited access to northern economic competitors and encouraged the growth of factories, mills and other industries in the isolated small towns of the province. Provincial leaders agreed that immigration and investment in local infrastructure was the way forward, and nearly 23,000 immigrants arrived in the 1870s to provide labour for the farms and factories and build a railway network. Otago had more factory workers than Auckland and nearly as many sheep as Canterbury. A small elite group of wealthy men dominated business and cultural affairs in Dunedin. Many lived in mansions and had extensive business links around the British Empire. Former Otago newspaper man Julius Vogel served as Provincial Secretary and by 1869 had become Colonial Treasurer.[9] Provincial Superintendent James Macandrew allied himself with Vogel and became a staunch supporter of his Public Works and Immigration scheme. In the 1870s nearly 30,000 assisted migrants arrive in Otago, and public works schemes saw the construction of roads, railways and bridges all over the province.[10]

The European born population of Otago

It is impossible to know exactly how many continental Europeans passed through Otago during the gold rushes, but most were male and many had moved on by 1870. According to the 1871 census, European born residents made up a mere 1.7% of the 60,722 Pākehā living in Otago. They included 83 French, 448 Germans and 556 'other Europeans'. However, by 1878, the Pākehā population of Otago had nearly doubled to 114,469 people and the number of European born residents had increased by 784 to 1971 in the same period.[11] This number was slightly more than the 599 European born assisted immigrants who disembarked at Port Chalmers between 1871 and 1876. The 1878 figures include a detailed breakdown of the nationalities included in the 'other European' category and show 596 of the 936 'other European' born residents were born in Scandinavian countries.[12] The passenger data for the assisted immigrants passenger lists shows that of the 599 passengers who arrived in Otago, 356 arrived from the German

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[8] Olssen, *A History of Otago*, pp.66-67.
[9] Olssen, *A History of Otago*, pp.66-74.
[10] Olssen, *A History of Otago*, pp.71-74; W.D. Borrie, *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938* (Canberra: Australian National University Demography Program, 1991), p. 190.
[11] Statistics New Zealand, Census 1878, ch91.
[12] New Zealand Census 1878, chapter 89.

Empire, 170 from Scandinavian countries, 41 from France, and the remaining 32 came from Italy, Switzerland and other European countries.

Nearly half of the European born assisted immigrants to Otago arrived on one ship, the *Palmerston*, and sixty of the men onboard were employed by Brogdens to build the Taieri railway. These men and their families formed the core of the Taieri plains European settlements and were joined by groups of German and Polish migrants who arrived on British migrant ships. The *Zealandia* arrived in January 1873 and passengers included several German families. The *Scimitar* arrived in March 1874 with 74 Europeans onboard and the *Sussex* arrived in July 1874 with 76 Europeans. Many of the newly arrived Polish families had left from the district around the city of Tzcew (then known by its German name, Dirschau) and settled permanently at Allanton and Waihola, and others, both German and Pole, followed the railway work south to Gore, establishing a small German-speaking community there in 1875. The exact distribution of the Scandinavian migrants to Otago is harder to detect.

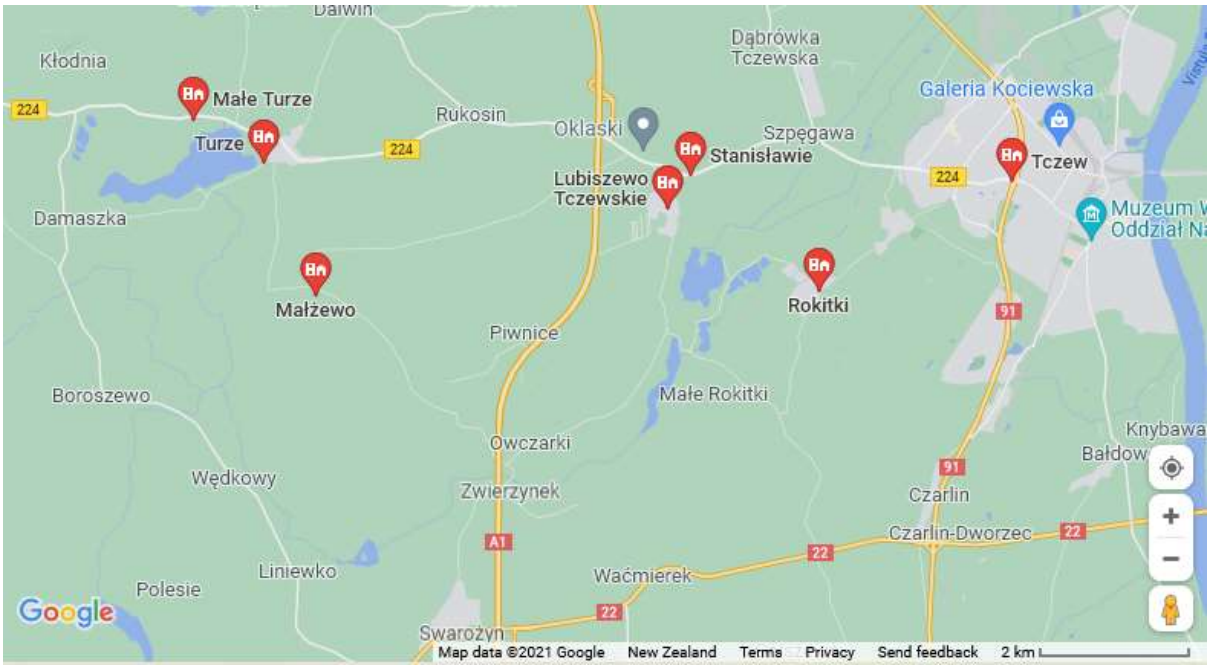

Figure 6.2: Tczew, Poland and surrounding area. Red pins show locations of villages where families left for Otago. Created using https://www.google.com/maps.

According to the 1878 census the density of European born residents was less than 2% in most Otago counties. Bruce County, which included the Taieri settlements of Allanton and Waihola, had 120 Europeans (2.48%), two thirds of whom were classified as German born. Central Otago had a relatively high percentage of European born residents, but most were male and had probably arrived in the gold

rushes. Vincent County, which included the gold rush town of Clyde, had 81 Europeans (2.7%), and all but one were male. Lake County (now Queenstown) had 85 (3.27%) Europeans, but only eleven were women. Closer to Dunedin, the borough of West Harbour had a small population of 926, which included a cluster of 52 (5.62%) European born residents. Of these, twelve were German but 31 were classified as 'other', and as we shall see, were mostly Scandinavians.

Taieri railway construction

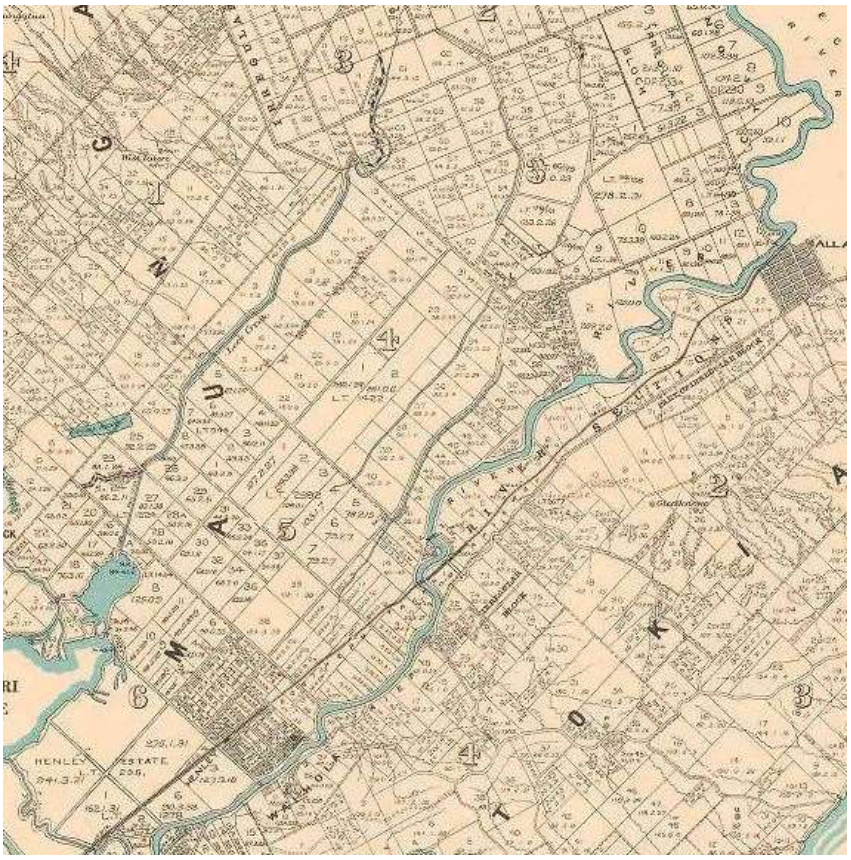

Figure 6.3: Detail from 'Map of the survey districts of Maungatua, Otokia, West Taieri and portions of East Taieri & Waihola' drawn by F.W. Flanagan, June 1882. Revised by S.A.P. New Zealand lands and Survey 1925, National Library of New Zealand.

Construction of the eighty-two kilometre railway line between Dunedin and the Clutha River began in September of 1872. The northern section was completed in July 1874 and the remaining line to Balclutha was completed in September 1875.[13] Railway construction company Brogdens initially

[13] Delwyn Blondell, ''A Bright Eye to the Main Chance': Brogden's Navvies – British labourers building New Zealand's Railways', Massey University Thesis, 2020, p.68.

employed 180 men who were based at Waihola.[14] When the *Palmerston* arrived from Hamburg in December, it was carrying three Glasgow built Neilson railway locomotives for the Clutha line and construction material for a bridge across the Waitaki, along with its 287 European born passengers.[15] After arrival in Dunedin, sixty of the eighty four adult male migrants on the *Palmerston* were offered work on this project. The men, at least some of whom were experienced railway contractors, chose two from their number to travel to the site with Colin Allan, the local Immigration officer. The men reported back and it was agreed the new migrants would take the contract. Allan provided timber to construct tents and paid for the transportation of the families to the site on the Taieri.[16] Work started in January 1873. Although the men were described as Germans by the local newspaper, they were mostly West Prussian Poles with a number of Scandinavians alongside them.[17] These sixty railway labourers and their families lived in tents alongside the railway until the work was finished.[18]

Further inland, construction began on a railway bridge across the Mataura River at Gore in February 1873, and workers on the project included immigrants from the *Palmerston*.[19] The new arrivals were keen to buy land and settle in the area permanently. In the Taieri, Allan wanted to support the settlers and wrote to the Provincial Superintendent proposing that they be offered land on deferred payment near Greytown (now known as Allanton). His letter, which described the workers as both Germans and Scandinavians interchangeably, argued that the establishment of a small German settlement would "astonish many who seem to look down on them as an inferior race".[20] The letter was passed to the Waste Land Board which decided that it was not empowered to authorise the sale but did grant the settlers temporary occupation of the land for "five or six years".[21] In March, the Waste Land Board agreed to allocate sections for German and Danish immigrants further south on the railway route at Waihola.[22] Few Danes arrived but the 'Germans' began appearing in July when four Polish men bought

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[14] *Otago Witness*, 14 September 1872, p.15.
[15] *Tuapeka Times*, 31 October 1872, p.5.
[16] *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1873, D1, pp.48-49.
[17] *Evening Star*, 13 Jan 1873, p.2.
[18] AJHR, 1873 D1, p.90.
[19] Herries Beattie, *A History of Gore and Surrounding Districts* (Gore: Gore Publishing Company, 1962), p.85.
[20] *Evening Star*, 31 January 1873, p.3.
[21] *Bruce Herald*, 4 February 1873, p.3.
[22] *Evening Star*, 27 March 1873, p.2.

sections in Waihola for £3 each. Soon a total of twenty-two German or Polish families owned land, representing nearly a quarter of all early Waihola landowners.[23]

Another 210 European migrants arrived in Otago in 1874. Groups of Europeans arrived in Otago on the British migrant ships the *Sussex* and the *Scimitar*. The majority were from the German Empire and most of these were West Prussian Polish Catholics. The passengers on the *Sussex* included two families with the surname Henke, who settled in Waihola, and the Dowalowski family who settled in Gore.[24] A small number of Italians joined them.[25] The European families on the *Scimitar* were mostly of German origin, and included the Gutschlag family, who settled in Gore.[26] The majority of the men who arrived in 1874 went straight to work on the Southern Trunk Line, their families living in tents until they could find permanent homes. As railway construction progressed south the men followed the work, with some of the 1874 arrivals moving to the area between Clinton and Gore.[27] A group of Poles who arrived in Wellington on the *Reichstag* immediately travelled south to join friends and relatives in Allanton and Waihola. They included the Annis, Barra and Switala families.[28]

The new arrivals from the *Reichstag* and the *Sussex* attempted to obtain land grants in Waihola. They asked local German storekeeper Karl Hilgendorf to write to the Waste Land Board on their behalf asking for half an acre to be made available to each family, but were unsuccessful.[29] Hilgendorf reappeared at the next Waste Land Board meeting and asked them to reconsider. The Board refused, writing that the Germans were "fully employed, and in a very few weeks they will be able to buy a section for themselves", as reported in the *Otago Daily Times*.[30]

A few months later, in 1875, Johann Buchholz won a ballot for 200 acres of land just outside of East Gore, now known as Whiterigg and McNab.[31] The land was divided between six Polish and German men. Along with Bucholz, Wilhelm Voigt, Michael Lietze, August Regefski, Johan Duwalowski, and Johan

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[23] Pauline Morris 'German-Speaking Settlements in Otago and Southland' in James N. Bade (ed.) *The German Connection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.74.
[24] Barbara Scrivens, 'All Settlers List' database', *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/search-settlers/
[25] Passenger lists -- Otago-arrival port, IM-15-7-129, Sussex (Ship), Apr. 16-Jul. 17, 1874
[26] Scimitar passenger list 1974
[27] Morris, 'German-Speaking Settlements in Otago and Southland', p.75.
[28] J.W. Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand, 1776-1987* (Warsaw: CHZ "Ars Polona", 1990), pp.42-44.
[29] *ODT*, 27 Aug 1874, p.3.
[30] *ODT*, 3 Sept 1874, p.2.
[31] Morris, 'German-Speaking Settlements in Otago and Southland', footnote 49, p.79.

Klukowski had arrived in Otago with their families between 1872 and 1874 and had worked together on railway construction. A condition of the deferred payment purchase was that the men and their families moved onto the land within six months and stayed there for at least three years. At first the families lived in tents but these were soon replaced by small sod houses with thatched roofs. The original six families were joined by further twenty European migrant families, including Germans, Poles, and Moravians. As most were German speakers, the area became known in Gore as Germantown.[32] These clusters of Europeans had all formed by the time the European assisted immigration programme had come to an end in 1876.

Europeans in wider Otago

European migrants who settled outside of the railways route clusters are harder to locate, and include most of the 243 Scandinavians, French and Italians we know arrived in Otago on the migrant ships. Most remained obscure and unknown but a few came to prominence in later years as part of the Otago business community. Danish farmer Anders Andersen Aaskov (sometimes misspelt as Aaskoy) was from Banderup, Schleswig, and had arrived on the *Palmerston*. He worked on the Taieri railway project for five years before setting up a dairy farm with his wife Hansine (nee Scheel) at Maori Hill near Dunedin. Hansine was from Copenhagen and the couple had met on the *Palmerston*. They married in 1875 but did not appear to have any children.[33] Anders Aaskov was naturalised in Dunedin in 1876 and gave his birthplace as Schleswig Holstein.[34] Aaskov was later elected to the Maori Hill Borough Council in 1882 and retained his seat for fifteen years. He owned 112 acres in Leith Valley, where he cleared the bush and raised sheep.[35] Hansine died in 1915 aged seventy-three, leaving £240 to her husband.[36] Anders married his second wife Rosa Muller in 1918.[37] He died in 1929 leaving £2280 to his Rosa and her children.[38]

Nicolaus Alexander Niederer migrated as part of a group of four German men who boarded the *Cartvale* to Wellington in 1874.[39] He was born in Appenzell, Switzerland in 1852, and grew up on his father's

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[32] Morris, 'German-Speaking Settlements in Otago and Southland', p.75.
[33] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago & Southland Provincial Districts)*, 1905, p. 414; Palmerston passenger list 1872, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 027 A, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[34] Anders Andersen Aaskov, 1876/2560, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[35] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago & Southland Provincial Districts),* 1905, p.414.
[36] Death Certificate 1915/4397, BDM; Hansine Scheel Aaskov, probate 1915, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-L8DJ
[37] Marriage Certificate 1918/391, BDM.
[38] Anders Andersen Aaskov, probate dated 1929, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GK5D
[39] Passenger lists, IM-15-7-140, Cartvale (Ship), Jun. 25-Oct. 11, 1874, Wellington-arrival port

farm. When he arrived in Wellington, he moved to Stewart Island where he became manager of a sawmill. Later he worked as a hawker around Southland for many years before settling down, marrying Scottish-born widow Isabella Urquhart and farming leasehold land at Gorge Road east of Invercargill. He became an active advocate for crown leaseholders in the district.[40] He opened the Kahikatea sawmill in 1904, and cut and processed timber from 1000 acres of forest on his land.[41] He continued to advocate for Crown leaseholders, including a failed bid for election to the Southland Land Board in 1908.[42] Isabella died in 1915.[43] Nicolaus Alexander Niederer died aged eighty-six years on 26 December 1938 in Invercargill with under £1000 to his name.[44]

Henry Schlaadt arrived in Otago on the *Peter Denny* in 1874. Born in Germany, he had trained as a blacksmith, served in the Prussian Army and then worked in Paris and London, where he was employed by *The Times*. On arrival in Dunedin, he initially found a job at the Otago Foundry before going into partnership with his older brother as Schlaadt Brothers Engineering and Blacksmiths.[45] He married Hilda Wilhelmina Grönwell in Dunedin in 1883.[46] Hilda Grönwall was born in Lund, Sweden in 1851. She migrated to Australia as a single woman in 1877, before moving to New Zealand at an unknown date.[47] Henry Schlaadt served with the Dunedin Volunteer Fire brigade until he retired in 1885.[48] Later in life, Schlaadt later became president of the Dunedin German Club.[49] He died in 1925 aged eighty-one years.[50] Hilda Schlaadt died in 1940 aged eighty-seven.[51]

Danish man Frederick Lyders migrated to New Zealand as an eighteen-year-old. Born in Alsted on the island of Zealand, he worked on his father's farm from the age of twelve but studied cabinetmaking in

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[40] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago & Southland Provincial Districts)*, 1905, p. 899; marriage cert 1882/2162, BDM; *Otago Witness*, 2 June 1898, p.15; Nicolaus Alexander Niederer, 1896/2089, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[41] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago & Southland Provincial Districts),* 1905, p. 899; marriage cert 1882/2162, BDM.
[42] *Southland Times*, 18 Feb 1908, p.3.
[43] Invercargill City Council, Cemetery database, https://icc.govt.nz/cemetery-result/?id=56705
[44] Nicolaus Alexander Niederer, probate dated 1939, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XG-3YQ5
[45] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago & Southland Provincial Districts),* 1905, p. 326.
[46] *Evening Star*, 2 August 1883, p.2.
[47] Ancestry.com. *Sweden, Emigrants Registered in Church Books, 1783-1991* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.
[48] *Evening Star*, 2 June 1885, p.2.
[49] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago & Southland Provincial Districts),* 1905, p. 326.
[50] *Evening Star*, 15 December 1925, p.6.
[51] Death Certificate 1940/17910, BDM.

the evenings.[52] He sailed on the *Forfarshire* from London to Wellington, arriving in March 1873.[53] Lyders initially worked at a North Island sawmill, but had a serious accident which left him in Wellington hospital for nearly a year. Lyders recovered and moved to Dunedin where two of his brothers had settled. In Dunedin he went into business as a building contractor. [54] His company erected many prominent Dunedin buildings including hotels and schools.[55] He married an English settler's daughter, Marion Smith, in 1892 and they had seven children. At the turn of the century Lyders was a successful property developer, buying up land around Dunedin and subdividing it.[56] He did military service as an engineer in the volunteer force.[57] In 1903 Lyders bought Cargill Castle after the death of the original owner, and moved his family into the clifftop mansion.[58] He retired in 1912 and took up farming until he lost his right hand in another serious accident. His retirement did not last and he got back into the construction business in his seventies.[59] He died in 1937 aged 85 years, and his estate was valued at approximately £5000.[60] Marion Lyder died in 1963.[61]

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[52] *ODT*, 11 November 1937, p.8.
[53] Passenger lists, IM-15-2-35, Forfarshire (Ship), Nov. 16, 1872-Mar. 2, 1873, Wellington-arrival port
[54] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago & Southland Provincial Districts)*, 1905, p.340; ODT, 11 November 1937, p.8.
[55] ODT, 11 November 1937, p.8.
[56] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago & Southland Provincial Districts),* 1905, p.340; Marriage Certificate 1892/2328, BDM.
[57] ODT, 11 November 1937, p.8.
[58] 'Cargill's Castle', *Heritage New Zealand*, https://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/3174
[59] ODT, 11 November 1937, p.8.
[60] Frederick Wilhelm Lyders, probate 1937, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GTSL
[61] Marion Lyders, probate 1963, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2SB-C329

Figure 6.4: Christian Vecht, 17 Feb 1887, New Zealand Police website, https://www.police.govt.nz/about-us/history/museum/exhibitions/suspicious-looking-19th-century-mug-shots/other-methods-criminal-identification

Less prominent European settlers also settled in Dunedin. Danish man Christian Vecht (Figure 6.3) had arrived in Lyttelton as a thirty-year-old on the *Crusader* from London in 1873. His police records show he was in Dunedin two years later where he was arrested for being illegally on a premises.[62] He appeared regularly in the courts for a variety of minor offences over the next few years, serving several short prison sentences.[63] Later in his life, building contractor Frederick Lyders helped him out and gave him a job, but he was caught stealing tools from the business and selling them to second-hand dealers. He was sentenced to a month in prison.[64] Vecht died aged sixty-seven after falling down the stairs of a Dunedin hotel in 1910.[65] He left no will and had no known next of kin in New Zealand.

[62] *Otago Police Gazette*, 10 May 1875, p.46.
[63] *Evening Star*, 4 Oct 1881, p2.
[64] *Evening Star*, 20 April 1896, p.3.
[65] *Truth*, 19 January 1010, p.8.

A few small groups of Europeans settled in Southland. One group of Polish Catholic settlers who had been living in Ratapiko, Taranaki, moved to Southland in 1900. Mrs Annie Bielawski, nee Jakusz, and Frank Dunick were the first to move, obtaining land in Campbelltown (now Bluff), in 1900.[66] They were followed by Annie's husband Julius, and three of his siblings, Stanislaus and Wladislaw and Bertha, along with Bertha's husband (and Frank Dunick's stepbrother) Nicholas Dobeck.[67] Annie was born Annie Jakusz in a rural district near Gdansk. Her parents were Kashubians, members of a linguistic minority group originating around Gdansk, who migrated to New Zealand with three of her brothers in 1875. They were sent to Jackson Bay where they met the Bielawski family. Both families later settled in Taranaki.[68] Annie Jakusz does not appear on the passenger list and may have travelled to New Zealand as a young adult in the early 1890s. The extended Bielawski/Dobeck family farmed in rural Southland along with Frank Dunick, who married Letitia Reid, the daughter of Irish Catholic immigrants, in 1906.[69]

Danish couple Christen and Margretha Christensen left Schleswig for Hamburg where they boarded the *Palmerston* in 1872 with four children.[70] Another girl, Margretha, was born at sea. Their common Scandinavian names make it difficult to trace the Christensens but Christen and Margretha and a son were naturalised in Ravensbourne, Otago harbour, on 14 April 1894. Christen and his son Jens Peter gave their occupation as confectioners. Margretha's namesake, her daughter, born at sea, was now Margretha Thornicroft. Her naturalisation was registered a month later.[71] Two more Danes and two Norwegian men were also naturalised in Ravensbourne in the 1890s but it could not be confirmed if they were assisted immigrants or if they had families with them. The Christensen family remained associated with Ravensbourne for many years. Margretha died in 1922. Christen died aged eighty-nine in 1926.[72]

While these and other European settlers blended into colonial life in both Dunedin, rural Otago and Southland, the European settler communities on the Taieri plain and at Gore remained as distinctive communities until the early twentieth century and the remainder of this chapter will examine them in detail.

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[66] *Southland Times*, 14 Sept 1900, p.4.
[67] Mark Dunick, 'The Dunick family', forthcoming on *Polish History New Zealand* website.
[68] Polish Settlers database, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/search-settlers/
[69] Mark Dunick, 'The Dunick family', forthcoming on *Polish History New Zealand* website.
[70] Palmerston passenger list 1872, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 027 A, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[71] Christensen, naturalisations numbered 1894/921, 922, 924, 974, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[72] Death Certificate 1922/8698, BDM; ODT, 4 March 1926, p.8; Death Certificate 1926/1924, BDM.

Allanton and Waihola

The European assisted immigrants who had settled at Greytown (later renamed Allanton) and ten kilometres south at Waihola were predominantly Polish Catholics. The village of Greytown was on the main road and consisted of a couple of inns, a church and a smithy. After the railway work was finished, many of the Polish families at Greytown/Allanton found work on nearby farms including Hopehill Station, owned by prominent landowner and provincial politician James Allan. In 1895 local authorities discovered that there was another Greytown in the North Island so the settlement was renamed Allanton after its most prominent resident.[73] European settler families living at Allanton included the Boleski, Dysarky, Gorinski, Kowaleski, Pedofski, Switala and Smolenski families, all Polish Catholics.[74]

The European settler community at Waihola was mostly Polish Catholics, but included at least two German Protestant families. Waihola began as a small village in the 1860s, with a school, a hotel and several stores. One of those stores was owned by a German settler, Karl Hilgendorf (also known as Carl or Charles), who had arrived sometime before the Vogel migrants and had served as translator for the German-speaking Poles, and English-speaking New Zealand society. A biography of Hilgendorf claims he was born in Berlin but he gave his birthplace as Brazil on his naturalisation papers.[75] Born in 1834 to a merchant family, he spent time as a sailor before joining the Victoria goldrush and then coming to Otago in 1860. There he worked as a roading contractor and goldminer as well as operating a store at Waihola. He married a recently arrived London migrant, Elizabeth Benstead, in 1863.[76] Hilgendorf continued to translate letters and official documents into both German and English for the Poles for many years.[77] The Henke family were Protestant Germans who had arrived on the *Sussex* in 1874.

Most continental settler families in Waihola were Polish Catholics. The Baumgardt, Orlowski and Halba families were all Polish Catholics who had arrived on the *Palmerston* in 1872. The Annis and Barra families had arrived in Wellington together on the *Reichstag* in 1874. The Klemick family disembarked

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[73] Margaret S. Shaw and Edgar D. Farrant, *The Taieri Plain: Tales of the Years that are Gone* (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), pp.95-99.
[74] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, p.25; POHOS, 'Early Otago Schools', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/early-otago-schools/
[75] Charles Hilgendorf, 1875/3939, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[76] 'HILGENDORF, Frederick William', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand,
URL: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/hilgendorf-frederick-william; Pat Palmer. 'Hilgendorf, Frederick William', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3h25/hilgendorf-frederick-william
[77] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, p.46.

from the *Gutenberg* in Canterbury and made their way south too. Other Polish families included the Yankowskis and the Wisneskies.[78]

Many Waihola families only possessed small household sections, and after the railway contracts ran out, the adult men worked at the local flax mill or at the lime and phosphate factories a few miles south at Milburn and Clarendon.[79]

Polish and German Catholics on the Taieri attended the East Taieri Catholic Church on the outskirts of Mosgiel until 1888.[80] The East Taieri congregation decided to build a new church, so the old building was dismantled and rebuilt at Allanton to serve the Polish Catholic community there. This new Church of the Sacred Heart was opened by Bishop Moran on 19 October 1888.[81] Waihola did not build its own Catholic Church until 1899. The majority of the congregation was Polish and the Church was named in honour of St Hyacinth, a Polish Dominican.[82] The opening was a grand occasion, with special trains being timetabled to bring people from all over Otago for the day.[83] The church was built on land overlooking Lake Waihola which had been donated by the Philipowski family, and local Poles with construction skills volunteered to assist the builders.[84] The *Tablet* reported that more than one thousand people attended the opening on 16 April 1899, including two hundred local residents. Four Irish priests presided over the occasion and spoke of how the Irish and Polish had different languages and customs but both peoples had a shared experience of 'centuries of bitter persecution for the faith'.[85]

An analysis of the naturalisations and probate data for the immigrants who lived in Allanton and Waihola indicates that both communities were mainly Polish and Catholic and that the Allanton cluster was smaller than that at Waihola. Fifteen men were naturalised in Allanton.[86] Fourteen had German nationality and Polish names, the other was Russian. In Waihola, twenty-five Europeans were naturalised. All were previously German citizens although one, Carl Hilgendorf, had been born in Brazil. The total included three women. Twenty-one of the forty gave their occupation as labourer. Seven were

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[78] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, pp.31-35; POHOS, 'Early Otago Schools', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/early-otago-schools/
[79] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, p.46.
[80] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, pp.24-25.
[81] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, pp.24-25. (from *Cardinal Moran - the Catholic Church in Australasia*, pp. 951-953)
[82] *New Zealand Tablet*, 2 Feb 1899, p.18.
[83] *New Zealand Tablet*, 13 April 1899, p.16
[84] POHOS, 'Waihola', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/waihola/
[85] *New Zealand Tablet*, 20 April 1899, p.15.
[86] This total includes ten who were naturalised before 1895 when the settlement was known as Greytown.

farmers and two from the same family were storekeepers. The three women gave their occupation as 'domestic duties'. The remainder included a hotelkeeper, a grocer, an engine driver, a carpenter, a basket maker and two 'settlers'.

Table 6.1 Occupations of European born naturalisations in Allanton and Waihola

Labourer	21
Farmer	7
Domestic Duties	3
Storekeeper	2
Settler	2
Engine Driver	1
Grocer	1
Basket maker	1
Carpenter	1
Hotel Keeper	1
Total	40

Source: Individuals naturalised in Allanton (including those listed as Greytown South) and Waihola, and born in Continental Europe before 1800, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

Probate information for eighteen of the Otago migrants was located. Seventeen of those contained a value for the estate. The mean value, adjusted for 1925 inflation, was £652. Most probates were valued at under £1000 (Figure 6.2), and belonged to farmers or farm labourers.

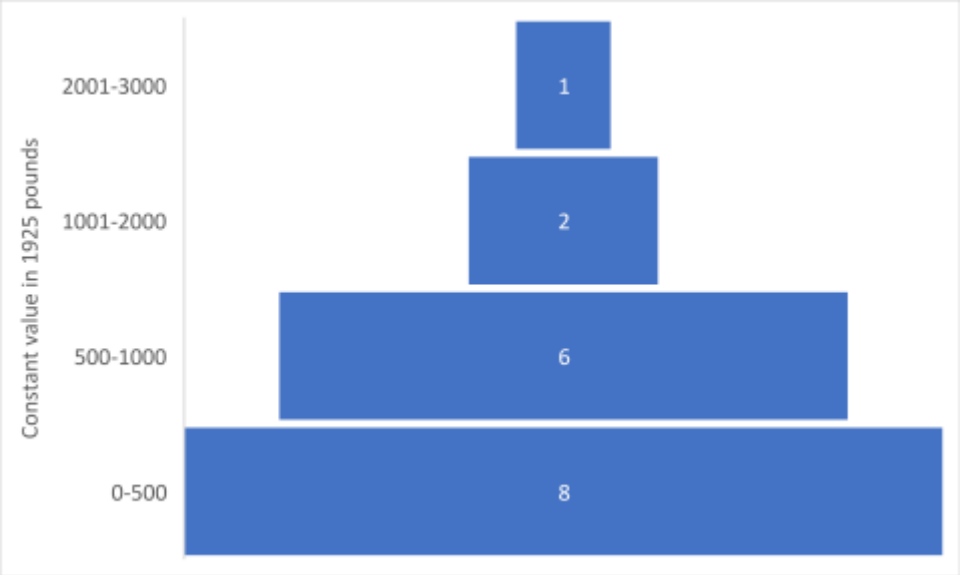

Figure 6.5: 17 Taieri European Settler probate values. Source: ANZ, Probate Records, 1843-1998. Database with images. *FamilySearch*. http://FamilySearch.org

When Johan Wroblewski died aged 58 in 1903, his probate did not include a value. He clearly was not wealthy, as his occupation was listed as farm servant. He and his wife and family had arrived from West Prussia on the Palmerston and Johan had worked on the Taieri railway contracts.[87] Heinrich Henke was a German farm labourer who had arrived in Otago on a British migrant ship in 1874. He and his wife had eight children, and were one of two Henke families on the same voyage.[88] Heinrich died aged 86 years in 1916 with less than £25 in assets.[89]

The median value was the estate of John Perniskie, a West Prussian born Polish Catholic who grew up in Allanton with his family.[90] His parents, Anton and Anna Piernicki were from Kłodawa, a small town in central Poland. They migrated with five children, including six-year-old Johan, travelling to London where they boarded the *Dallam Tower* sailing to Wellington. Their tickets show they were nominated by

[87] Johan Wroblewski, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-P25G; POHOS, 'Wroblewski Family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/project/wroblewski-family/
[88] Passenger lists -- Otago-arrival port, IM-15-7-129, Sussex (Ship), Apr. 16-Jul. 17, 1874
[89] Heinrich Henke, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-L68J
[90] 'Piernicki' in Polish settlers' database, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/search-settlers/

a friend or relative in New Zealand and on arrival in Wellington they were transferred south to Otago.[91] The family settled in Allanton where Anton obtained work on a dairy farm.[92] In the 1880s, the family bought land at Blueskin Bay.[93] Anton died in 1914 and Anna died in 1924. Johan Piernicki, now known as John Perniskie, was one of three adult Perniskie brothers who farmed in the Waitaki area. He did not marry and died in 1925 in Dunedin leaving £528. Small sums of cash were left to his relatives but he bequeathed the bulk of the estate to the Roman Catholic Church.[94] John's older brother Anthony left the largest estate in the Taieri Polish community sample. Anthony Perniskie was eleven when the family migrated, and also farmed in the Waitaki. As a young man he had bought land at Pine Hill, just outside Dunedin, but later farmed at Enfield, near Oamaru.[95] He died in Oamaru in 1932, with an estate worth £2500.[96] He appears to have never married.

The two estates valued between £1000 and £2000 were those of former storekeeper Carl Hilgendorf, who owned the Waihola Hotel and left an estate worth £680 in 1913, and Martin Klemick, an engineer who died in 1932 with £1600. Martin Klemick was born in West Prussia and was aged nine when his family sailed on the *Gutenberg* to Canterbury in 1872. The family settled in Waihola, and when Martin reached working age in the 1880s he was employed as a platelayer on the central Otago railway construction projects. He married fellow Pole Minnie Barra in 1887 and then worked on railway construction in Tasmania with his brother for a time before trying his hand at farming in Otago. Later in life he managed hotels in Central Otago and Dunedin, where he retired.[97] He appointed his son, a Catholic priest, as his executor and originally intended to donate part of his estate to several church organisations, but revoked these legacies a few years before he died, leaving his wealth to his wife and children.[98] Minnie Klemick died in 1946 leaving £466 to her sons.[99]

The only woman in the Taieri probate sample was Mary Dysarsky. Born Mary Tysarczyk in 1870, her family migrated on the *Palmerston* when she was a toddler. Mary spent most of her life in Allanton and

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[91] POHOS, 'Piernicki Family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/project/piernicki-family/; Dallam Tower passenger list, Passenger lists, IM-15-10-187 (part 2), Dallam Tower, Dec. 21, 1874-Feb. 17, 1875, Otago-arrival port
[92] Scrivens, 'Allanton Cemetery', https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/allanton-cemetery/
[93] POHOS, 'Piernicki Family'.
[94] John Perniskie, probate dated 1925, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GQFN
[95] POHOS, 'Piernicki Family'.
[96] Anthony Perniskie, probate dated 1932, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GKVZ
[97] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, p.51.
[98] Martin Klemick, probate dated 1932, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GKK6
[99] Minnie Klemick, probate dated 1946, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-P8YR

Waihola and never married.[100] She was naturalised in 1923.[101] She died in 1942, and left £763 to the Catholic Church for the purposes of building a presbytery for the Mosgiel Catholic Church, and donated her sewing machine to the local Catholic college.[102]

Paul and Ewa Baumgart and their family of five children left Gołczewo in the Kashubian region of Poland in 1872. They travelled on the *Palmerston* and settled at Waihola where Paul was working on the railway contract. The family saved up and spent £9 on three quarter acre sections at Waihola in 1873. They bought another seven sections the following year. In 1881 Paul bought a twenty-one-acre farm block too.[103] Baumgardt is a German spelling of the Polish Bongarda and the family name had a variety of spellings in New Zealand.[104] The family farm included an orchard. Paul and Ewa spoke Kashubian, Polish and German but never mastered English. Paul was an Anglican when he died in 1923.[105] Thier eldest son Casimir Jozef Bungarda (who became known as Joseph Bungard) was four years old when his family came to New Zealand. When he was old enough to work, he was employed on the railways and as a farm labourer. He met Caroline 'Lena' Gutchslag while working in Gore and married her in the winter of 1892.[106] Caroline was born at sea onboard the *Scimitar* to German assisted migrant parents.[107] They had twelve children.[108] Josef Bungard died aged sixty-six intestate in 1938 with less than £677 in assets and was given an Anglican funeral. The Public Trustee administered the estate after Carolina (Lena) applied to administer his estate but the majority of her children objected on the grounds she was illiterate.[109] Carolina (Lena) Bungard lived to be eighty-eight, dying in 1962.[110]

Johan and Brigitta Halba came from the Kosciewie region of Poland. Johan Karl Halba had served in the Prussian army before working as a farm labourer. Brigitta (nee Brzoskowska) was an educated woman,

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[100] Scrivens, 'Allanton Cemetery', *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/allanton-cemetery/
[101] https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-TLS2
[102] https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-TLS2
[103] Barbara Scrivens, 'Carol Bungard Meikle -The Cross of Hope', *Polish History New Zealand* https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/carol-bungard-meikle/
[104] Barbara Scrivens, 'Carol Bungard Meikle -The Cross of Hope', *Polish History New Zealand*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/carol-bungard-meikle/
[105] POHOS, 'Baumgardt family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.wordpress.com/in-new-zealand/early-polish-settlers/annis-family/a-d/baumgardt-family/
[106] POHOS, 'Baumgardt family'.
[107] *Polish Heritage Otago Southland*, Family Tree accessed via ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/81432894/person/38483731321/facts
[108] POHOS, 'Baumgardt family'.
[109] Joseph Bungard, probate 1939, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-TH53
[110] Death Certificate 1962/42905, BDM.

possibly a governess before she came to New Zealand. Johan and Brigitta adopted their nephew Jozef Anis.[111] The family migrated to Otago on the *Palmerston* in 1872 when their names were recorded as Johan, Johanna Jozef Halba. On arrival in Otago Johan obtained work on the railway construction. As soon as young Jozef turned twelve, he joined his father as a platelayer for the Southern railway contract. When he was twenty-eight, Jozef Halba married his neighbour, Teresa Barra, also from Poland.[112] His father John moved onto scrub cutting and later owned a twenty-one acre farm in Waihola. John Carl Halba was naturalised in 1893 and died in 1914, aged eighty-one, leaving £500 to his wife and son.[113] Brigitta died in 1920 aged seventy-eight and is buried alongside John in the Waihola cemetery under her maiden name.[114]

Michael and Anna Wisniewski sailed to Wellington on the *Reichstag* with three children. The family came from a village near Tczew in Poland, and on arrival in Wellington were forwarded to Port Chalmers where they walked to Waihola to meet Anna's family, the Orlowskis who had migrated in 1872. In Waihola he worked as a labourer and ran a small general store. The Wisniewski family remembers Michael as a deeply religious Catholic and the leader of the Waihola Polish community. Michael gave Bible readings in Polish and hosted church meetings and visiting priests at the family house. Later when the Catholic Church was built, Michael was responsible for bell ringing at funeral and marriages and Anna served as the local midwife. They had a total of seven children together. When one of Michael and Anna's sons married a German Protestant neighbour from the Henke family he was cast out of the family and later moved to Melbourne.[115] In 1899 Michael bought land at Momona near Allanton but in 1900 a fire destroyed the house and everything in it. Michael and Anna returned to Waihola and sold the Momona land to their son.[116] Michael, in his seventies, took a job on the Mosgiel to Middemarch railway construction project to help pay the bills.[117] Anna died in December 1910 and left her estate of about £200 to her son Bernard.[118] Michael died in 1911 and left £100 which he also left to Bernard.[119]

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[111] POHOS, 'Halba (Anis) Family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/project/annis_halba-family/
[112] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, pp.32-33.
[113] John Halba, probate dated 1914, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-L31N
[114] POHOS, 'Halba (Anis) Family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/project/annis_halba-family/
[115] POHOS, 'Wisniewski Family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/project/wisniewski-family/
[116] Ibid.; ODT, 12 Feb 1900, p.8.
[117] POHOS, 'Wisniewski Family'.
[118] Anna Wisnesky, probate dated 1911, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-LM92
[119] Michael Wisneski, probate, dated 1912, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-L31N

In the early twentieth century the Poles at both Allanton and Waihola remained part of a close-knit rural community that had lived together for two or more generations and had often intermarried. In the 1970s the daughter of Polish settler Mary Wroblewski remembered her early life and described the Pedofskis and Wroblewskis as "almost one family" who lived, worked and ate together. The family preserved apples, made cheese, bottled drinks and made Polish delicacies.[120] Mary's daughter Gladys Diehl told an interviewer that her mother spoke little English, but was a multi-talented woman, an expert sewer who produced yards of lace, as well as keeping her own garden, cutting hedges and lawns, and looking after cows and pigs. Mary produced honey cakes, and sang and played the piano and accordion for holidays and church festivals.[121] Deihl remembered the men as all "very big… very honest and fearless, hard drinkers". Alcohol abuse led to problems at community gatherings. "There were many fights at birth celebrations, weddings and funerals", which were "a great source of anxiety to women and children".[122]

By 1918 many of the older generations had died and their New Zealand born children began moving away. At Waihola the congregation at the Church of St Hyacinth dropped away and priests no longer visited or celebrated mass regularly. In 1948 church authorities had the building moved to Broad Bay on Otago Peninsula, where it was reopened as the Mary Queen of Peace Church.[123] The Catholic Church at Allanton fell into disrepair in the early twentieth century but was renovated and reopened in 1948. It remained in use long enough for a centenary mass to be celebrated in 1971 but was deconsecrated and later demolished in the twenty first century.[124] Although few descendants of the Polish families remain in Waihola and Allanton now, the community is remembered and commemorated by the Polish Heritage of Otago and Southland Trust which organises historical religious and cultural events for descendants of the Polish Vogel settlers and for more recent Polish migrants.[125]

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[120] Gladys Diehl, 'Remembrances of the Poles Early Life in Allanton' in Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, pp.27-28
[121] Gladys Diehl, 'Remembrances of the Poles Early Life in Allanton' in Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, pp.27-28
[122] Gladys Diehl, 'Remembrances of the Poles Early Life in Allanton' in Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, pp.27-28
[123] POHOS, 'Waihola', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/waihola/; https://nzcatholic.org.nz/2019/06/19/milestone-marked-for-historic-southern-church/
[124] POHOS, 'Allanton', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/allanton/
[125] POHOS, *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/

Gore

The Southland town of Gore emerged as a direct result of Vogel's public works scheme, and German assisted immigrants were among the first to settle in the new township. When railway workers reached the settlement in the 1870s, Gore was merely a cluster of buildings surrounding an accommodation house built a decade earlier in 1862. The surrounding area was sparsely inhabited tussock wilderness, occupied only by workers on several large sheep runs. The hotel had been built near a fordable section of the Mataura River at the eastern end of the Hokonui Hills and became known as Longford, but was officially named after Governor Thomas Gore Brown.[126]

Large numbers of railway labourers, including European migrants, arrived in the area when railway construction began in 1873. These workers lived in tents and drank in the sole hotel in town. In May 1875 Gore consisted of half a dozen buildings, including the hotel, a smithy and a few cottages. The opening of the railway line in August 1875 transformed the town. A railway station and a new hotel were opened along with the line, and by the end of the year a post office, telegraph office, bank, and several other small businesses had appeared.[127]

Sometime in 1875, Johan Bucholz and his Polish and German neighbours moved onto their new sections just north of Gore township, in an area which became known locally as Germantown. The new settlers still relied on railway construction work for wages, and even some of their wives joined them on the railways in the early years. Many Europeans including men women and older children worked on local farms during shearing or harvest seasons.[128]

The newly arrived German-speaking settlers would have been pleased to meet a German-born baker who had set up shop in Gore just as they arrived.[129] Joseph Heherr was a German Catholic who had been in New Zealand for several years. Born in Andernach on the Rhine in 1827, he had worked as a baker in Germany before moving to London and Liverpool. He dug for gold around Victoria before coming to the Tuapeka gold diggings in the 1860s. Later he worked in sawmills before settling down and opening a bakery in Gore.[130] Heherr would have been a useful asset to the new German-speaking community in Gore.

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[126] Beattie, *History of Gore*, pp.15-23.
[127] Beattie, *History of Gore*, pp.32-36.
[128] Morris 'German-Speaking Settlements in Otago and Southland', p.75.
[129] Beattie, *History of Gore*, p.35.
[130] *Mataura Ensign*, 1 April 1905, p.2.; ODT, 5 April 1905, p.8.

The Polish families and some of the Germans were Catholic, as were several Irish families in the district, and a Catholic priest visited the district every two months to provides his services. In Christmas of 1882 church leaders announced that a new church would be built in East Gore.[131] Bishop Moran opened the new church in October of 1883.[132]

Little has been written on the German community in Gore in the years after they first arrived, but it appears they slowly developed their land and eventually became small farmers. As Gore grew, the town attracted several German born small business owners who settled with their families. They included photographer Carl Hagen, cabinet maker Frederick Graeve and tailor August Bowmast. Most of the European assisted immigrants who lived at Germantown continued in rural work but by the turn of the century Germantown ceased to exist as the families sought land and better housing elsewhere in Gore district.[133]

A closer look at the naturalisation data from Gore reveals that the vast majority of European settlers naturalised in nineteenth century Gore had come from the German Empire. Thirty-four naturalisations were identified as European born migrants who lived in Gore and were of an age to be assisted immigrants. Two individuals listed as Czechs were both Moravians who travelled on the *Stonehouse* in 1874. Johan Bucholz had migrated from West Prussian province of the German Empire but gave his nationality as Polish. The other Pole, Mary Schultz who was naturalised in 1926, after Poland was independent. Born Mary Rydzewski, she had migrated with her family on the *Palmerston* and married German migrant John Schultz in 1875.[134]

The sole Hungarian was widow Catherine Dowalowski who had migrated with her Polish husband and children on the *Sussex* in 1874.[135] The four Scandinavians included a Danish farmer, a Norwegian labourer and two Swedes, a cook and a widow.

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[131] Helen Bruce, *The Meeting of the Waters: A History of the Gore Catholic Parish, 1882-1982* (Gore: Gore Catholic Parish Centennial Committee, 1983), pp. 18-21.
[132] *Mataura Ensign*, 19 October 1883, p.2.
[133] Morris 'German-Speaking Settlements in Otago and Southland', footnote 49, p.79.
[134] 'Mary Redowski', in *Polish Settlers database*, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/search-settlers/
[135] POHOS, "Dowalewski family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/project/dowalowski-family/

Table 6.2: European Naturalisations in Gore

Former Nationality	Naturalisations
Germany	25
Czechoslovakia	2
Poland	2
Sweden	2
Denmark	1
Hungary	1
Norway	1
Total	34

Source: Individuals naturalised in Gore, and born in Continental Europe before 1800, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

Of the thirty-four individuals, eleven were female. The occupations of the Gore Europeans were also much more diverse than those of other rural communities in this study. Eight of the eleven women gave their occupations as domestic duties, and one was a dressmaker. Five men described themselves as farmers and eight as labourers. The others included a baker, a grocer, a cabinetmaker, a fellmonger (dealing in animal skins) and a carpenter. A photographer, a musician and a tailor were also listed.

Table 6.3: Occupations of European born Naturalisations in Gore

Labourer	8
Domestic Duties	8
Farmer	5
Cabinet maker	2
Baker	1
Photographer	1
Grocer	1
Musician	1
Tailor	1
Carpenter	1
Cook	1
Blank	1
Dressmaker	1
Platelayer	1
Fellmonger	1
Total	34

Individuals naturalised in Gore, and born in Continental Europe before 1800, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

Twenty-one probates belonging to European born Gore residents were identified. The mean value of these probates was £1683.29. The median was £914. The majority of the probates were valued at under £1000 and included six farmers.

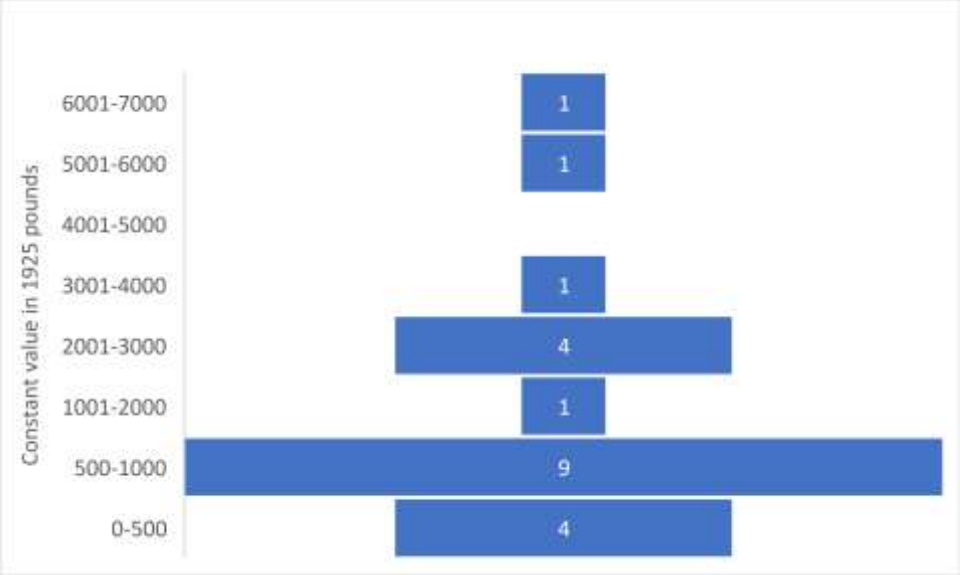

Figure 6.6: 21 Gore Probate values. Source: ANZ, Probate Records, 1843-1998. Database with images. *FamilySearch*. http://FamilySearch.org

Wilhelm Reinke was the least wealthy in the sample, with £70 to his name when he died in 1905. Born in Germany in the 1840s, the date of his arrival in New Zealand is unknown, but he may have been related to the Reinke family who migrated to Otago on the *Sussex* in 1874. He and his wife Wilhelmina farmed at Waikaka, north of Gore.[136] Wilhelmina lived until 1935 and died with slightly more wealth, leaving £207 to her sons. Adjusted for inflation, this amount was almost exactly double the wealth of her late husband.[137]

Johann (John) Buchholz, the Polish Catholic farm labourer who won a land ballot in 1875, farmed in Gore for many years. He and his wife Anna had arrived on the *Palmerston* with three young children in 1872.

[136] Wilhelm Reinke, probate dated 1905, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-CF3S; Naturalisation 1904/2549, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[137] Wilhelmina Reinke, probate dated 1935, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-S9RV; Wilhelm's £70 in 1905 was worth £124 in 1925. Wilhelmina's £207 was worth £248 in 1925.

John worked on the Taieri railway works and the family lived in Waihola. John continued working as a railway contractor after the family moved to Gore. Anna died in childbirth in 1882.[138]

In February 1883, John Bucholz, now a widower, testified in the Gore District Court that one of his neighbours had attempted to shoot him. The court heard that Polish born John Dowalowski had tried to use a shotgun but both barrels had misfired. The evidence included ghost stories and unspecified immoral behaviour, and the judge dismissed the case.[139] We can imagine the nature of the immoral behaviour: a few weeks after being threatened with the shotgun, John Buchholz married John Dowalowski's daughter Anna. They would have eight children together. The family lived in Gore but John later bought land in North Harbour of Dunedin too. Anna died in 1899.[140] John Bucholz died in 1926 aged 85 in Invercargill, leaving £202 in cash to one of his sons.[141]

August Kroning was born in Colberg, Germany. He was ten years old and one of five children when his parents emigrated via London to Otago on the *Sussex* in 1874.[142] The family lived in Waihola for a time, but Kroning moved to Gore in his early twenties, and obtained seasonal farm work. [143] He married Jane (known as Jeanie or Jennie) Henery in 1893.[144] August studied drainage engineering and became a drainage contractor. He was promoted to foreman of works for the Gore Borough Council, but resigned soon after the First World War broke out in 1914.[145] It appears that gossip about his supposed pro-German sympathies contributed to his resignation.[146] Kroning then went into business as a grocer.[147] Kroning was middle-aged when he was naturalised in 1920.[148] He died in 1937 leaving £221 to his wife.[149] Jane died in 1941 aged eighty-five years.[150] She left £128 to her family. Although she was born in Ireland, at the time of her death she was considered an enemy alien, having lost her British citizenship when she married August in 1893.[151]

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[138] POHOS, 'Bucholz Family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.org.nz/project/bucholz-family/
[139] *Mataura Ensign*, 13 Feb 1883, p.2.
[140] POHOS, 'Bucholz Family'.
[141] Bucholz, probate dated 1926, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-CF3S
[142] Passenger lists -- Otago-arrival port, IM-15-7-129, Sussex (Ship), Apr. 16-Jul. 17, 1874
[143] ODT, 26 November 1937, p.16.
[144] Marriage Certificate 1893/4126, BDM.
[145] ODT, 26 November 1937, p.16.
[146] *Mataura Ensign*, 12 August 1914, p.5.
[147] ODT, 26 November 1937, p.16.
[148] August Kroning, 20/1/1652, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[149] August Kroning, probate dated 1937, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-V9SX
[150] ODT, 29 July 1941, p.1.
[151] Jane Kroning, probate dated 1942, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-CFVZ

Wilhelm and Caroline Gutschlag arrived in Otago on the *Scimitar* from London, in 1874.[152] Wilhelm was born in Crussow, a small village near Angermünde, Germany.[153] Caroline's origins are unclear. She gave birth to a daughter during the voyage.[154] A few months after the couple arrived, Caroline was killed in a fire. In August 1874, Wilhelm was working on the railways, and the family were living in a tent next to a hotel. They had been using a charcoal burner to heat their tent when it caught fire. Wilhelm managed to get out himself with moderate burns, and their neighbours managed to pull Caroline and her baby out of the fire. All three were taken to Dunedin hospital the next day but Caroline died of her injuries. She was 20 years old. Her baby daughter suffered severe burns to her head but survived.[155] The baby, Caroline Wilhelmine Daumann (her mother's maiden name) grew up in Gore and married Joseph Bungard in 1892.[156] Two years after the accident, Wilhelm was working on the Mataura Clinton railway construction project when one of his workmates assaulted him with a spade, causing injuries to his face and right arm. The man was arrested but Gutschlag was unable to work for some time.[157] In 1881, Wilhelm married Maria Dovolowsky, the teenage daughter of one of his workmates. Her Polish Hungarian family had been in Gore since the 1870s.[158] Wilhelm was a farmer in Gore when he was naturalised in 1900.[159] Maria died in 1921 and Wilhelm died in 1929. He left his property in East Gore to his three children. His estate was valued at £812.[160]

August and Louise Gutschlag did not appear on the assisted immigration passenger lists, but may have been related to Wilhelm. August was naturalised aged 44 in Gore in 1899 and gave his occupation as farmer.[161] He died in 1929.[162] Louise Gutschlag died in 1940 with an estate worth £614.[163]

Roman Kubala was born in Moravia (now part of the Czech Republic) in 1871. His family migrated to New Zealand when he was three years old, on the *Stonehouse*, and settled in Oxford. His father Thomas

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[152] Passenger lists, IM-15-5-91, Scimitar (Ship), Dec. 26, 1873-Mar. 5, 1874, Otago-arrival port
[153] Wilhelm Gutschlag, 1900/1940, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[154] *Western Star*, 14 March 1874, supplement, p.1
[155] *Bruce Herald*, 28 August 1874, p.5; ODT 28 August 1874, p.2; ODT 29 August 1874, p.2.
[156] *Polish Heritage Otago Southland*, Family Tree accessed via ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/81432894/person/38483731321/facts
[157] *Clutha Leader*, 1 September 1876, p.5.
[158] POHOS, 'Dowalowski Family', *Poles Down South*, https://polesdownsouth.wordpress.com/in-new-zealand/early-polish-settlers/annis-family/k-l/dowalowski-family/
[159] Wilhelm Gutschlag, 1900/1940, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[160] Wilhelm Gutschlag, probate 1929, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-K32N
[161] August Gutschlag, 20/4/177 (1899), Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[162] Gore District Council, Cemetery Records Search, https://www.goredc.govt.nz/do-it-online/search-it/cemeteries/view/4009
[163] Louise Gutschlag, probate 1940, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-T4ZM

Kubala was a weaver in Frankstadt but he found labouring work in Oxford and eventually bought a small farm. In 1899, Roman married Albina 'Nellie' Marshlan, the daughter of another Moravian *Stonehouse* family who lived in Oxford. At the turn of the century the entire Kubala family migrated to Gore where Roman's sister had married a local man. Thomas Kubala never spoke English, but his wife Agnes learned it. The family grew up speaking German, and Roman worked on his father's farm. He also worked with his brother as bushmen, gold diggers and coalminers. When Roman and Nellie's sons reached adulthood, they handed the farm over to them and moved to Gore township.[164] Roman was a carpenter when he was naturalised in 1922.[165] His wife Albina died aged seventy in 1943.[166] He died in Gore aged eighty-five in 1957, and left £1500 to his family.[167]

Carl Hagen was a photographer in Gore. Born near Lubeck, Germany, Hagen arrived in Port Chalmers in 1868. He spent a few days working as a railway labourer before finding a job as a waiter at a Dunedin private club. He spent two years there, before becoming a travelling photographer on the Otago goldfields for most of the 1870s. He married German-born Maria Petermann in Mosgiel and lived at several addresses around Southland before settling permanently in Gore in 1878. He built a photography shop and remained in business until he retired in 1891.[168] The Hagens had no children and Maria Hagen worked as a self-employed dressmaker who also taught her trade to women in Gore.[169] Carl Hagen died in 25 October 1910, leaving £365 to his wife.[170] Maria's dressmaking business appears to have bene quite successful. When she died in 1925, she had £2683 to her name. She left small amounts to the Gore Church of England and the local Hospital Board but most of her wealth went to her siblings and their children in Saxony, Germany.[171]

Joseph Heherr, the German-born baker, was among the wealthier Europeans in Gore. Heherr became well known in Gore for helping others, especially new settlers, and he helped establish the local Catholic Church. He was married but had no children.[172] The first advertisements for his bread, cakes and biscuits

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[164] Bruce, *The Meeting of the Waters*, pp.123-125.
[165] Roman Kubala, 1/20/2429 (1922), Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[166] Death Certificate 1943/23405, BDM.
[167] Roman Kubala probate, 1957, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-TY3P
[168] *Mataura Ensign*, 26 October 1910, p.5; Marriage cert, 1873/7129, BDM.
[169] *Mataura Ensign*, 23 Feb 1883, p.3.
[170] Carl August Christian Hagen, probate dated 1910, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-9GWM
[171] Maria Hermine Adelheid Hagen, probate dated 1925, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK9V-GSWP
[172] *Mataura Ensign*, 1 April 1905, p.2.; ODT, 5 April 1905, p.8.

appeared in the Gore newspapers of 1878.[173] He was naturalised in Gore in 1881 and married Bridget Fahey the same year.[174] They had no children and she died aged forty-three in January 1896.[175] Joseph died in 1905 aged eighty-eight. At the time of his death, he owned two sections in Gore. One was his bakehouse, which he had rented out after he retired, the other a four-room house and stable. He also owned a half share in a rural section, and a small amount of savings. The estate was valued at £1518. Small sums were left to friends and his housekeeper in Gore. He left his books and pictures to the Sisters of Mercy in Gore, but the majority of his estate was divided between siblings in London and a nephew in New South Wales.[176]

The two wealthiest Europeans in the Gore sample were Frederick Graeve, owner of a cabinet-making business, and farmer August Leitz. Graeve was born near Bochum in the industrial area of Westphalia in 1856 or 1857.[177] He and his wife Ida left Germany for Australia soon after their marriage and spent eight years in Melbourne, where Frederick ran a furniture-making business. The couple moved to Invercargill in 1892 and to Gore in 1902. Frederick opened a furniture-making business which he ran until his death in 1936 just months after Ida passed away. They were survived by three sons and a daughter.[178] His estate was valued at £4930.[179]

August Lietze (also spelt Lietz) was born in Germany and migrated with his family. The family gave their last place of residence as Lunow, Prussia, when they left Hamburg for London.[180] In London they boarded the *Scimitar* bound for Port Chalmers, arriving in March 1874.[181] August married Norah (Veronica) Klukowski, the daughter of Polish settlers in Gore, in 1897.[182] He was listed as a farmer in Gore the following year and the couple raised children and farmed in Gore for many years. August Lietze died in 1933 at Waipounamu, north of Gore, and left £5468 to his children.[183] Norah is not mentioned in

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[173] *Bruce Herald*, 4 June 1878, p.4.
[174] Joseph Heherr, 1881/5, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ; Marriage Certificate 1881/2166, BDM.
[175] *Mataura Ensign*, 28 January 1896, p.2.
[176] Joseph Heherr, probate 1905, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2XL-R88P
[177] Fredrich Theodore Wilhelm Grave, 1/20/2825 (1924), Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.
[178] ODT, 14 August 1936, p.9.
[179] Friedrich Teodor Wilhelm Graeve, probate dated 1926, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-TSTQ
[180] Wega passenger list, 1875, 373-7 I, VIII B, 1 band 023, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[181] Passenger lists, IM-15-5-91, Scimitar (Ship), Dec. 26, 1873-Mar. 5, 1874, Otago-arrival port
[182] Marriage Certificate 1897/2282, BDM.
[183] Augustus Lietze, probate dated 1933, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-RT5M

the will and they may have been separated. After August's death she married Albert Couperthwaite.[184] She outlived her second husband and died in 1959.[185]

Conclusion

The Otago provincial railway construction shaped the lives of many of the European assisted immigrants who settled in Otago in the 1870s. Many men and some of the women found work building the railways and a small German-speaking communities formed in the temporary tent villages along the construction route. When these workers had saved enough to obtain permanent housing or even farmland they tended to settle in the same areas. The predominantly Polish and Catholic communities which formed at Allanton and Waihola and the German speaking cluster at Gore were all founded by railway workers buying plots of land close to the construction sites and many continued to rely on this work for income even after they became landowners.

Many of the Polish Catholics who settled at Allanton and Waihola were from the Kosciewie region of Poland and many migrants from Kosciewie who arrived in New Zealand made their way to the Taieri once they were in New Zealand. The Polish settlements were small, close-knit and often related to each other. Just over half the men at Allanton and Waihola identified themselves as labourers when they were naturalised. As always with the Polish Catholic migrant communities, the local Catholic Church became the focus of the community and remained important even when the second and third generations had left the original settlements.

Gore was founded as a railway town too, with German-speaking assisted immigrants among the first residents. From the beginning though there was a number of German-speaking settlers who had arrived in New Zealand a decade earlier and could assist the new arrivals. Many of these earlier German settlers owned small businesses, leading to a wider variety of occupations among the Europeans of Gore than some of the other towns in this study. Although most German families in Gore were not well off, the town was relatively cosmopolitan for Southland and large enough to continue attracting German-speaking families in the 1890s.

Anti-German prejudice during the war may have encouraged German families to adopt a lower profile in Gore, and within a generation or two the German-speaking community was no longer visible among the wider population of the southern farming town. In Allanton and Waihola, the Polish community has

[184] Marriage Certificate 1933/4661, BDM.
[185] Death Certificate 1959/33211, BDM.

largely moved away but the link between the Polish families of Otago and the Catholic Church has meant the descendants of these families still remember and celebrate their connection to the Polish settlements of the Taieri.

Chapter 7: Taranaki

The final chapter returns to the North Island to focus on the European assisted immigrant community which formed in Taranaki from the mid-1870s. The first group of settlers consisted of sixty-nine passengers from the *Reichstag* which docked at Wellington in 1874. Continental migrants were forwarded to Taranaki from the port of Wellington for the next two years, but one group of Swiss settlers came directly to New Plymouth as part of a shipment of British migrants. Men from all these groups were sent to Taranaki to construct the inland road and the new settlement at Inglewood. The last group of European assisted immigrants to arrive in the province had initially been sent to Jackson Bay on the West Coast of the South Island in 1875 and 1876 as the European assisted immigration scheme was ending. As the Jackson Bay settlement failed, many Polish families on the West Coast moved to Taranaki, included the group who came from the village of Kokoszkowy, forming the largest Polish-speaking community in New Zealand. Friends and relatives of the European communities continued to arrive in the region until the 1890s.

This chapter outlines how continental-born Europeans came to make up 5% of the Taranaki Pākehā population by 1881. The majority were German and Polish, but the province had a significant Swiss community too. These communities began as small groups of road and railway workers paid to build a road that was vital to Vogel's plans to dominate and suppress Māori in the North Island, and eventually became part of the rural dairy farming communities of inland Taranaki at the turn of the century. This chapter will conclude with a close look at the continental European families who settled in Inglewood, using naturalisation and probate date to determine their origins, occupations and approximate wealth.

Crown and settler greed for Māori land had provoked three wars in Taranaki during the 1860s. Unrest continued until the invasion of Parihaka in 1881, but when Julius Vogel announced his Immigration and Public Works Act in June of 1870, open warfare seemed to have ended. The colonial government saw the building of a military road between New Plymouth and Hawera as an urgent priority, and the 'Mountain Road' was finally constructed with public works funds from the Vogel Government. Among the first groups of assisted immigrants to be sent to Taranaki were sixty-nine European immigrants who had arrived in Wellington from Hamburg in 1874. The majority of this group of Germans and Danes were assigned to the new settlement of Inglewood.

Taranaki's distance from the main immigration ports and the recent warfare meant it was not a popular destination for new migrants in the early 1870s. When the government approved funding for the

Mountain Road in 1874, Provincial Superintendent Fred Carrington personally recruited newly arrived migrants on the Wellington wharf, and when the *Reichstag* docked in Wellington with continental European migrants on board, a large group of them was despatched to the new settlement of Inglewood. Over the next four years, more than 400 European born migrants arrived in the province, and made up 5% of the Pākehā population on the night of the March 1878 census. Just over half of Taranaki Europeans had been born in the German Empire, including an unknown but substantial number of Poles. The 1878 census recorded the nationalities of the 198 'Other Europeans' in detail, revealing 108 Danes and 39 Swiss. The remainder included thirteen Portuguese, nine Swedes, seven Italians, five Greeks and two Norwegians.[1] The three larger ethnic groups were fairly evenly balanced between men and women. The small number of Portuguese and Greek settlers listed in 1878 were not assisted immigrants, all having arrived before the 1874 census. Internal migrations from the Jackson Bay settlement account for a large proportion of the increase between 1878 and 1881. Chain migration and some internal migration from Canterbury increased the number again in the 1890s.

Table 7.1: Taranaki Population Figures

Census date	**1871**		**1878**		**1881**		**1891**		**1901**	
Total non-Maori Population	4480		9463		14858		26065		37855	
French	7		12		16		14		20	
German	12		238		354		386		372	
Other European	5		198		330		303		499	
Total European born settlers	24	1%	448	5%	700	5%	703	3%	891	2%

Source: Statistics New Zealand, NZ Census data, 1871-1901

[1] *Statistics New Zealand*, Census 1878, ch89 'Nationalities. - subdivisions of groups', Table IV, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1878-census/1878-results-census.html

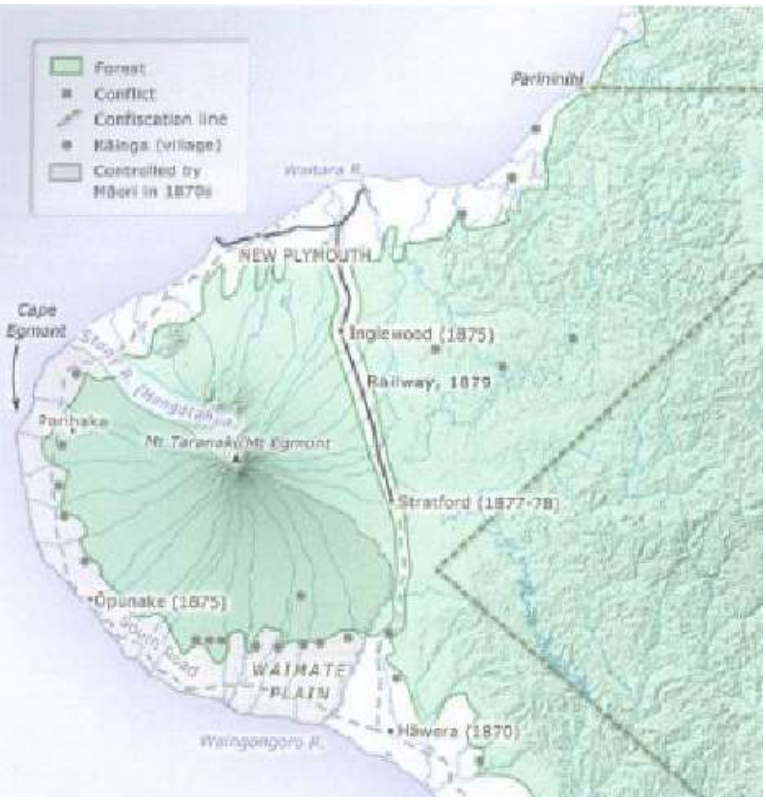

Figure 7.1. Taranaki 1869-1880. Source: Malcolm McKinnon, 'Lines on the map and the Shadow of the Land' in Patterson, Hill, Patterson, *After the Treaty*, p.80.

Taranaki to the 1870s

When the first European assisted immigrants arrived in Taranaki in 1874, organised Pākehā colonisation had begun with the founding of New Plymouth only thirty years earlier in 1841. New Plymouth was a New Zealand Company settlement founded on land whose ownership had been disputed since its founding, leading to three wars between settlers and local Māori in the 1860s.

Māori had cleared and cultivated the land along the coast of Taranaki for hundreds of years. The interior, also a valuable food source, remained forested.[2]In the decade before New Plymouth was founded, Taranaki iwi, including Te Āti Awa had been attacked by Waikato Māori who had taken some prisoners and forced the majority of Taranaki Iwi to retreat south to the Wellington region. New Zealand Company land agent William Wakefield arrived in the area to procure land for a settlement. He completed two land sale deeds in Taranaki soon after the Treaty was signed at Waitangi, but their

[2] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Taranaki Report: Kaupapa Tuatahi* (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2001), p.22.

legitimacy was in doubt as many Taranaki iwi leaders were in Wellington at the time.[3] The Company and the New Plymouth settlers assumed that the sales were valid, and in 1841 six ships loaded with English colonists from Devon and Cornwall landed and founded New Plymouth. Taranaki Māori welcomed the settlers at first but land purchases made by the Plymouth Company, and its successor the New Zealand Company, were flawed and contested by local Māori.[4]

By 1843 1000settlers had moved in, surveyed land and began farming it. Taranaki Māori began peacefully resisting and the government appointed Land Claims Commissioner William Spain to investigate the deeds Wakefield had signed. Spain ruled that Taranaki Māori living in Wellington had no interest in the land and that the sale was valid. Māori protests began immediately and new Governor Fitzroy refused to accept Spain's report. A compromise was reached where Māori agreed to transfer a block of land around New Plymouth in return for no further expansion. The New Zealand Company continued to push back, landing more settlers and eventually found an ally in new Governor George Gray, who pressured Te Āti Awa leaders in Taranaki and Wellington to agree to further settlement. Tribal leaders, including Wiremu Kingi, refused to concede, so Grey began negotiations with lower-level elders who he hoped would agree to a sale. In 1848 Kingi, who had been in Wellington for nearly a decade, returned to Waitara to strengthen tribal opposition to the sales. Open fighting between pro and anti-land sale factions erupted among Māori at Waitara as the Crown began signing dubious sales with whomever it could.[5]

In 1860 one of these dubious land sales provoked the first of three wars in the province. At issue was the fertile land at Waitara. Te Āti Awa and their most senior leader Wiremu Kingi were determined not to sell. Governor Thomas Gore Brown visited Taranaki to negotiate with Māori. During the meeting, a lower ranking leader who had fallen out with Kingi offered to sell the land and Gore Browne declared his offer to be valid and claimed Kingi and others could not veto the sale. In February 1860 the Crown began surveying the land and were obstructed by elderly unarmed Te Āti Awa protesters. The Crown declared martial law and 400 troops were sent to enforce the sale. The first Taranaki war began a few weeks later.[6] The second Taranaki war broke out in 1863, with two battles fought outside New Plymouth in

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[3] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Taranaki Report*, pp.22-27.
[4] Ron Lambert and Gail Henry, *Taranaki: An Illustrated History* (Reed, Auckland, 2000), pp.28-34
[5] Waitangi Tribunal, *Taranaki Report*, pp. 23-29.
[6] Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa* (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2019), pp.79-82.

1864.[7] In 1866, General Trevor Chute led his men inland on a nine-day march from Hawera to New Plymouth through thick forest, and then swept down the Taranaki coast burning at least twenty Māori villages.[8] A third war began when settlers moved into south Taranaki lands of Ngāti Ruanui. Titokowaru led a small army against colonial troops until early 1869 when his supporters disbanded and he retreated to the central Taranaki bush.[9] More than a million acres of Māori land were confiscated during and after the wars, including the land on which Inglewood, Stratford and Midhirst would soon be built.[10]

During these wars the colonial government began planning road building and increased Pākehā settlement of the interior of Taranaki. The inland route General Chute took in 1866 would become the focus of Taranaki public works and the centre of continental European settlement in the 1870s. Plans were made for a road following the inland route but were delayed by the still unclear status of the confiscated land, and the mismanagement of previous military settlements. The majority of the Pākehā population was concentrated in New Plymouth and the immediate area, and much of inland Taranaki had been depopulated by war. Māori settlements were concentrated in the south, including the towns of Parihaka and Ōkaiawa.

The first continental Vogel migrants arrive

When New Plymouth politician Harry Atkinson became Provincial Secretary in May 1874, the province lacked funds and labour and had received only 42 Vogel immigrants. Although trees had been felled along the route connecting New Plymouth with the military base at Hawera on the south coast, the road was not yet serviceable. Atkinson convinced the Vogel government to grant the province 110,000 acres of confiscated land so the mountain road could be settled and two towns built. Atkinson also oversaw the hiring of a provincial immigration agent who was sent to England to recruit settlers directly to Taranaki. It was thought such direct recruitment would avoid the risk of migrants being tempted by employers in the city arrival ports. Taranaki Superintendent Fred Carrington telegrammed Vogel who was then in London, requesting urgent assistance. Vogel agreed to assign him 100 migrants from the next ship to arrive in Wellington. Not wanting to risk losing them, Carrington greeted the ship personally on the Wellington docks, convincing 119 English migrants to return with him to Taranaki. A number of these settlers were given work clearing an area of bush on the mountain road for the future town of

[7] O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars*, pp.152-155.
[8] O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars*, pp.166-168.
[9] O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars*, pp.191-202.
[10] Waitangi Tribunal, *Taranaki Report*, pp.107-125.

Inglewood. A few months later, the first European migrants arrived. Sixty-nine European settlers who had arrived in Wellington on the *Reichstag* were sent to New Plymouth.[11] The group was made up of fifteen German and Danish families, a Swiss couple, and eight single men. The single men included four Italian vine growers, and Czech painter and gardener Gottfried Lindauer.[12] The single men may not have stayed long. Some, such as Lindauer left for the South Island within months. However, many of the families who were assigned to the Inglewood site decided to stay and, along with the English settlers, became the first European assisted immigrants to settle permanently in Taranaki. Meanwhile, Harry Atkinson was appointed to Cabinet and became Vogel's Minister of Immigration.[13] Atkinson used his position to direct a small number of migrant ships to sail directly to New Plymouth. By 1876 the total number of assisted migrants had risen to 1672.[14] Most were British, but approximately three hundred were Europeans forwarded from Wellington after arrival on the Hamburg migrant ships.

In September 1875, one of the direct voyages from London to New Plymouth carried a group of twenty-nine Swiss settlers. The Swiss migrants had been recruited by Felix Hunger, a Swiss blacksmith who had been living in South Taranaki, and became the catalyst for future Swiss migration to the province. Hunger had left Switzerland aged 19 for the Victorian gold fields. He moved on from Australia to Dunedin and later to Westport where he worked as a blacksmith. Hunger was naturalised in Normanby, South Taranaki in 1870. When he decided he needed a wife in 1874 he returned to Switzerland.[15] He made inquiries with local officials before he left and told "young people from the agricultural districts" would be welcome in Taranaki, as well as 'any amount of young women and girls who can milk cows and make butter and cheese, and domestic servants'.[16] On arrival in Switzerland, Hunger convinced twenty nine Swiss friends and relatives, including his future wife, to join him on the London to New Plymouth voyage of the *Halcione*, which arrived 3 September 1875.

By 1878 one in twenty Pākehā in Taranaki was of continental European birth. The European population was boosted further by the collapse of the Jackson Bay settlement on the West Coast. Most of the

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[11] Rollo Arnold, 'English Rural Unionism and Taranaki Immigration', *NZJH*, Vol. 6, no.1, 1972, pp.31-34.
[12] *Taranaki Herald*, 2 September 1874, p.2.
[13] R.W. Brown, *Te Moa: 100 Years History of the Inglewood Community 1875-1975* (New Plymouth, 1975)
[14] Lambert & Henry, *Taranaki*, p.92.
[15] Hans-Peter Stoffel, 'Swiss Settlers in New Zealand', in James N. Bade (ed), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.95-96.
[16] J. Gibson of Patea to Felix Hunger, 12 July 1874, in Miriam Macgregor, *Petticoat Pioneers, North Island Women of the Colonial Era, Book Two* (Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1975), p.101.

German and Polish settlers at Jackson Bay left in late 1878 and early 1879.[17] Along with a large group of Poles from om the village of Kokoszkowy who had been in Hokitika for three years, most of this group moved north to Taranaki. The European population in the province increased again in the 1890s as rural Taranaki prospered and South Island Poles moved north to the Inglewood area to join what was then the largest Polish community in the country.

European migrants bound for Taranaki usually disembarked in Wellington and were transported by coastal ship to New Plymouth. There, they were placed in the Immigration Barracks while the local immigration officer found employment for them, usually within a few days of arrival. While some were hired directly by local employers, most were employed on the Mountain Road and Inglewood projects. When one group of European families arrived in New Plymouth in February 1875, about half of the single men were employed immediately on government contracts and the other half were snapped up by local farmers offering room, board and fifteen shillings per week. The single women obtained domestic work at half the men's wages. Some married couples in this group had savings and intended buying land in the bush as soon as possible.[18] Land on deferred payment was on offer, and the Europeans were more prepared than some English settlers to take on land in remote areas.[19] When fifty mostly Polish settlers from the *Fritz Reuter* disembarked in New Plymouth, all the single women were hired for domestic service immediately. One group of single men unsuccessfully tendered to clear 100 acres of land at Omata, and a good proportion obtained paid work within days of arriving.[20]

Early population figures for Inglewood are unavailable, but by April 1875 Inglewood already had twelve English and fifteen German or Danish children requiring education in the town.[21] Early families included Hans and Ernestine Haverbier, who were among the *Reichstag* passengers who were sent to Inglewood in 1874. Born in Holstein, Hans had worked as a weaver and weaving teacher in Saxony, where he had married Ernestine in 1869. The couple migrated with a nine-month-old daughter and travelled with Han's brother Joachim and his wife.[22] Danish couple Jacob and Caroline Thorkilsen arrived in early 1875.

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[17] AJHR, 1879, H9a, pp.73.74.
[18] *Taranaki Herald*, 10 Feb 1875, p.2.
[19] *Taranaki Herald*, 9 Sept 1875, p.2.
[20] *Taranaki Herald*, 19 August 1876, p.2.
[21] *Taranaki Herald*, 7 April 1875, p.2.
[22] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and Wellington Districts)*, 1908, p.158.

Jacob helped clear the bush while Caroline and her son stayed in the New Plymouth Immigration barracks until a house was available.[23]

Inglewood grew rapidly. The Crown Lands Office offered land in the area for sale, including some sections available for cash and other plots on deferred payment.[24] The Swiss settlers who arrived in September 1875 were initially sent to Inglewood with the other new arrivals.[25] In the township itself, at least fifty buildings were erected in the first year, and by November 1875 there were eighty families living at Inglewood, including at least thirty-two who were German or Danish.[26] Demand for land was so high twenty families began squatting on town sections before they were ready for sale.[27]

Surveyors were at work in the north and south of Taranaki, planning farming blocks, roads and small towns. Small ports opened in Waitara in the north and Patea in the south. By 1876, for the first time, Pākehā settlers in rural Taranaki outnumbered the population of New Plymouth district.[28]

In 1877 a second town site was selected and surveyed on the banks of the Patea river. Workers cleared an area of forest where the Mountain Road reached the north bank, and divided it into 50-acre sections. The Taranaki Waste Land Board named the town Stratford-on-Patea. On 31 August 1878 forty sections were sold and new settlers began arriving. They found a cold miserable forest clearing filled with tents and a couple of rough shacks selling necessities. Within a few months a two-storey store and post office had been erected as well as a new hotel. The new settlers earned cash from piecework on the road and railway projects, cutting embankments and clearing the forest as fast as the route was surveyed.[29]

The town of Midhirst was founded when a private developer bought a 2000-acre block north of Stratford.[30] He began selling sections in 1878 and included plans for a small town. By March 1879 Midhirst had fourteen homes, a store and a railway station, which was partially fortified in case of conflict with Māori. [31]

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[23] *New Zealand Herald*, 4 Dec 1936, p.14.
[24] *Taranaki Herald*, 3 Feb 1875, p.1.
[25] Brown, *Te Moa*, p.55.
[26] *Taranaki Herald*, 13 Oct 1875, p.2; *Taranaki Herald*, 6 Nov 1875, p.2.
[27] *Taranaki Herald*, 13 Oct 1875, p.2.
[28] Lambert and Henry, *Taranaki*, p.92.
[29] Ian Church, *The Stratford Inheritance: A History of Stratford and Whangamomona Counties* (Waikanae: Heritage Press, 1990), pp.25-26.
[30] *Wairarapa Standard*, 11 Oct 1877, p.2.
[31] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, pp.29-31.

Railway construction continued and the line reached from New Plymouth to Stratford by 1879 and south to Hawera by 1881.[32] Most of the European settlers worked on the government projects and lived in temporary or rented accommodation, but with the passing of the Land Act 1877, the government made land available on easy terms. A buyer needed only a 5% deposit and the remainder could be paid over twenty-six monthly payments. They were required to reside on the land and build fences and drainage to the value of £1 per acre within the payment period and clear and cultivate 20% of the land within four years.[33] The Huiroa block east of Inglewood was purchased and surveyed in 1876.[34] Sections went on sale soon after and by 1878 Polish families had begun settling on deferred payment sections.[35] Between 1879 and 1881 many of the Polish families bought blocks of land in the bush at Ratapiko and Kaimata.[36] Small farms were cleared in the bush, and in 1888 the first schoolhouse was built in a clearing.[37] Almost all the forty children on the initial roll spoke Polish with only a few English words.[38] Another cluster of Poles bought land along York Road east of Midhirst between 1877 and 1880 after working on the main road and railway in the area.[39]

The experience of European settlers

The first years in Taranaki were hard for all assisted migrants, but the Europeans had the added disadvantage of unfamiliarity with the English language and colonial society. The majority of the continentals would have spoken some form of German, enough to communicate with each other. Those single men and families who obtained work on the Mountain Road found themselves living and working alongside friends from the voyage or even relatives who had arrived in Taranaki before them. In the early years, the families of men working on government contracts lived in tents until they could obtain more permanent accommodation. Some families had single room slab houses with a fireplace and a dirt floor. The Neustrowski and Potroz families shared one of these houses when they first arrived in

[32] Lambert and Henry, *Taranaki*, p.92.
[33] Lambert and Henry, *Taranaki*, p.110.
[34] *Taranaki Herald*, 13 Sept 1876, p.2.
[35] *Taranaki Herald*, 23 July 1878, p.2.
[36] For just one example of a Huiroa block land sale with four Polish men listed as buying on deferred payment see, *Taranaki Herald,* 31 Jan 1890, p.2.
[37] *Taranaki Herald*, 15 March 1888, p.2.
[38] *Taranaki Herald*, 19 May 1888, p.2.
[39] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, p.33.

Inglewood. Food was cooked on an open fire and children slept in the rafters.[40] Some immigrant families lived in tents or dirt floored huts until the early 1890s.[41]

Single men without family connections often formed close-knit gangs and travelled the country doing contract work that could be very dangerous. In July 1882 Italian migrant Dionisia Azzi was killed in an accident near Stratford. Azzi, from Livorno, had arrived in Wellington in January 1876. The inquest into his death revealed that he had spent time at Jackson Bay before moving to Taranaki to work as a labourer. In 1879, Azzi had formed a partnership with two other Italian men. The three men lived in tents and were employed clearing bush when Azzi was accidently killed by a blow from his mate's axe. At the time of his death Azzi had a half share in a deferred payment section near Ratapiko, and had recently sent £6 to his mother in Italy.[42]

Those who managed to buy land needed to first clear an area for a house. Heavy axes were used to cut trees and slashers were used to clear the undergrowth. Once the house was up, an area was fenced to keep cows and a half an acre or so was cleared and planted with vegetables and fruit trees.[43] Until the farm produced an income, families relied on cash from roading and railway contracts. This meant men were required to be away from home for days or even weeks at a time. The family house was often nothing more than a wooden shack in a small clearing, with the nearest neighbour some distance away through the bush. Large areas of bush were cut and the foliage left to dry for two to three months before being burnt. Potatoes and cocksfoot grass seed grew well in the ash and soil. A large fungus known as Wood Ear grew on the stumps and provided a valuable source of income. Well known Chinese merchant Chew Chong of Eltham paid cash for the fungus, which he exported to China, providing a lifeline for many Taranaki families in remote areas.[44] Those whose land was close to a main road might find they could turn timber resources into cash. The right type of tree could be delivered to sawmills for several pence per hundred feet of timber, or exchanged for a quantity of sawn timber for building purposes.[45]

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[40] J.W. Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand, 1776-1987* (Warsaw: CHZ "Ars Polona", 1990), p.90.
[41] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand*, p.97.
[42] *Taranaki Herald*, 19 July 1880, p2.
[43] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, pp.133-135.
[44] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, pp.135.
[45] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, p.126.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century the European-born settlers of Taranaki were increasingly integrated into local colonial communities. Although some, particularly younger couples, were still clearing inexpensive land in the forest, most of the established farmers were turning to dairy, and a generation of children who spoke European languages at home were also fluent in English.

The Taranaki climate was ideal for dairy farming. With the advent of refrigeration in the early 1880s, the potential for an export industry was obvious, providing the quality of dairy products could be improved and standardised. The first dairy factories were established in the early 1880s, and in 1887 Chinese merchant Chew Chong opened his very successful Jubilee factory in Eltham. Other companies followed his lead and by the end of the decade Taranaki farmers were part of a thriving dairy export industry. Smaller farmers began forming cooperatives to process dairy products and compete with the larger companies.[46] Farms changed too. The simple open dairy shed of the early farms was replaced by larger and more substantial buildings, Tree stumps were removed, drains were excavated, and farmers installed purpose-built yards. Improved roads were required to handle the increased wagon traffic on back roads caused by the dairy industry.[47] By 1900 the network of dairy supply roads meant Taranaki had the best rural roads in the country.[48]

The Taranaki dairy industry attracted many South Island small farmers who were looking for good farmland at low prices. The cheapest land was in the remote areas of Eastern Taranaki, where the Polish communities lived.[49] Many of these South Island farmers were New Zealand-born but the combination of a preexisting Polish community and cheap land drew the attention of Poles in the South Island and many made the move to Taranaki to join what was then the largest Polish community in the country. Some stayed for only a few years, others stayed for the rest of their lives. Peter and Mary Groskowski/Groshinski were Polish Catholics who had migrated on the *Friedeburg*'s 1872 voyage to Lyttleton. They spent many years in Ashley, North Canterbury and had a total of ten children. In September 1892 they moved to Taranaki and bought a farm in Midhirst.[50] In Marshland, five of the six adult children of the Dunick family along with a number of Schimanski children lived to Taranaki in the 1890s. Frank and Joseph Dunick and Nicholas Dobeck all lived in Ratapiko as young adults and bought land on deferred payment. Joseph moved with his young bride Julia (nee Schimanski) and Nicholas

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[46] Lambert and Henry, *Taranaki*, pp.110-113.
[47] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, p.142.
[48] Lambert & Henry, *Taranaki*, p.95.
[49] Lambert and Henry, *Taranaki*, p.108.
[50] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p.84.

married Bertha Bielawski, daughter of a Polish family in Ratapiko, in 1895. Annie Dunick moved to Taranaki too, marrying Polish-born former Marshland man Michael Sharlick (Szalug) there in 1892. Her sister Anastasia married Polish farmer John Stiller/Stieller in Inglewood, and was the only one of the Dunicks to stay in Taranaki. Her brothers were all bankrupted and the rest of the family had returned to the South Island by 1900.[51]

Midhirst

Up to 100 Germans or Poles lived around Midhirst.[52] The main industry was initially sawmilling. By the 1890s a hotel, general store and other businesses had been established in the town.[53] By the first decade of the twentieth century sawmilling work had ended and the town declined in importance as improved roading meant locals could shop in Stratford. The Midhirst Co-operative Dairy Company became the major employer.[54] In 1897 dairy herds were large enough to support a local creamery. By 1908 a quarry had been opened and the population justified the opening of a local school on York Road where the Germans and Poles lived. The Neutrowski family provided a small schoolhouse.[55]

German-born Caroline Wing Kee became well known in 1890s Midhirst. With her husband, a Chinese settler, she owned several Midhirst businesses. She ran a general store and boarding house, while her husband ran a billiards hall.[56] She had been born Caroline Pioch in Hamburg and had remained behind when her parents and younger sister emigrated to New Zealand in 1875. Her first husband was an Englishman but when he died, she decided to join her family who had settled in Stratford and married Chinese settler Hun Wing Kee in 1887.[57] They had three children, and Hun Wing Kee died in 1896. Caroline managed his assets along with her own until her death in 1925.[58] Her wealth was valued at £4205 in assets, including multiple houses and empty sections in the Stratford district.[59]

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[51] Mark Dunick, The Dunick family, forthcoming, *Polish History New Zealand* website.
[52] Rolf E. Panny, 'German Settlements in the Lower North Island', in James N. Bade (ed), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.60-61.
[53] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, pp.29-31.
[54] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, p.32.
[55] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, p.33.
[56] Church, *Stratford Inheritance*, p.31.
[57] Caroline Wing Kee, Probate dated 1925, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2VCD-1YT
[58] Him Wing Kee, Probate dated 1927, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2VC6-S6L
[59] Caroline Wing Kee, Probate; *Stratford Evening Post*, 5 Sept 1925, p.1.

Danish farmers Rasmus and Anna Nielsen also lived at Midhirst. Rasmus was naturalised there in 1886 aged 42. Rasmus won a contract to paint railway bridges in 1892.[60] Rasmus died in 1891 leaving his small farm valued at £160 to his wife. She also inherited five cows and a horse, household items and farm tools.[61]

Hans Peter Pedersen was a Danish-born cabinet-maker who became a farmer in Midhirst. Born in Denmark, he migrated to Napier in 1870 and ran a cabinet-making business until 1877 when he moved to Taranaki. He bought land at Midhirst and farmed there with his wife and one of his sons until he died in 1900 aged 68 years.[62]

German-born Fritz Kleemann managed the Midhirst Dairy Factory from 1902. He had migrated to Lyttelton in 1893, working at Tai Tapu as a butter maker before moving north to Stratford, later moving to Midhirst where he was soon promoted. He married a woman from Canterbury and they had three children, but there is no trace of his later life.[63]

Wilhelm Eichstaedt was one of the wealthier European dairy farmers on York Road. He emigrated as a young man on the *Fritz Reuter* in 1876. Born in 1857, he gave his last address as Zulkenhagen (now Sulikowo in Poland), just a few kilometres from his birthplace in Lucknitz (Leknica), a small village in what was then German Pomerania. In Taranaki he met Louise Shulze, a German who had lived in Taranaki since her family arrived via the *Reichstag* in 1874. They married in 1882 and had ten children. Wilhelm and Louise were ethnic Germans but may have been Catholic. The Eichstaedts lived in York Road, Midhirst. Wilhelm died in a car accident aged 67 in 1920.[64] He appeared to be relatively wealthy with an estate worth slightly under £10,000.[65] Louise died in 1939.[66]

For young couples with little money, carving out a farm from the bush was still an option, even in the 1890s. Vincent Dravitski and Rose Stachurski were from Polish Catholic settler families but had both

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[60] *Patea Daily Mail*, 23 March 1892, p.2.
[61] Rasmus Neilsen, probate dated 1892, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2SB-HD6Z
[62] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and Wellington Districts)*, 1908, p. 162; Hans Pedersen, Probate dated 1900, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2SB-HDKW
[63] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and Wellington Districts)*, 1908), p.162.
[64] *Taranaki Herald*, 24 April 1920, p.7.
[65] Wilhelm Julius Gustav Eichstaedt, probate dated 1920, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2VCD-BPL
[66] Frederica Wilhelmina Louise Eichstaedt, probate dated 1929, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2SB-HX5W

grown up in Taranaki from a young age. Vincent bought 150 acres of bush land at Ratapiko, felled 50 acres and built a small shack for his wife. Vincent and Rose rode horses to Inglewood, got married and rode back to the shack the same day. "That was their honeymoon" recalled their son Joseph, many years later. Vincent had no money to spend on improvements, but convinced Newton King to offer him fifty cattle with payment to be made when finances allowed. "Newton King was responsible for helping more people in Taranaki than any other men before or since", said Joe.[67] At home, Rose raised eleven children, milked the cows and planted one and half acres in potatoes.

European migrant women

Single women who obtained domestic service work had the advantage of living in New Plymouth, with access to far more conveniences than their relations in Inglewood. They had better opportunities to learn English but they often had very few opportunities to socialise with those who spoke their own language. We know a little of the lives of Swiss women in the province thanks to letters written to relatives in Switzerland which have been preserved by the Puke Ariki Museum and Archive, and a short biography of Swiss migrant Anna Catherine Gredig, a widow who sailed to New Zealand with her thirty two year old son and three daughters.[68] On arrival in New Plymouth two daughters went into service, working as maids for an English family.[69] Anna Gredig may have worked in New Plymouth too, but probably moved in with her eldest daughter, twenty-three year old Margreth Gredig, who married Felix Hunger three months after arriving in New Zealand and moved in to his Normanby farm. Both the younger daughters stayed in service for many years. In 1884 Anna Catherine the younger married John Parli, a Swiss man who had migrated as part of the same group. He worked as a farm labourer and as an engineer for one of the timber mills at Inglewood. The couple later bought their own farm at Inglewood.[70] The youngest Gredig sister, Anna Maria, never married but stayed in close contact with the rest of the family, and her brother Weiland farmed in Ngaere.[71] The lives of German and Polish women in domestic service are harder to trace. German Pole Julia Uhlenberg spent three years in domestic service with the family of William Cottier, a well-known hotel keeper in New Plymouth.[72] She was twenty-two when her family arrived in Taranaki in 1879. Her older brother had migrated in 1876 and

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[67] Joe Dravitski 'Oral history interview 1988', Puke Ariki, 2004-232
[68] McGregor, *Petticoat Pioneers*, p.101.
[69] McGregor, *Petticoat Pioneers,* p.104.
[70] McGregor, *Petticoat Pioneers*, p.105.
[71] McGregor, *Petticoat Pioneers*, p.105.
[72] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p.86; William Cottier, The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and Wellington Districts)*, 1908, p.57.

nominated his parents to join him in Taranaki. Julia left service when she married Swiss grocery clerk Nicholas Schumacher at the Inglewood Catholic Church in 1882.[73] Agnes Fabish also spent time in domestic service before she was married. She grew up in York Road, Midhirst but obtained work for a family in Eltham.[74]

Social Life and the Church

Social life revolved around family and neighbours, but rural Taranaki was not Europe. Some European traditions continued, but others changed or were lost. We can see glimpses of social life in letters by Swiss women, preserved at Puke Ariki, and in the interviews conducted with the children of Polish migrants in Inglewood.

Swiss settler Anna Parli (nee Gredig) wrote home to friends in Switzerland, describing her regular Sunday visits. "All my sisters and Brothers are living in Normanby. On Sundays I am often there, sometimes by foot, sometimes by horse. You would laugh if you saw me on a horse. But I like that very much. Young people are often riding around. They do not sing and dance as we did in Safien". She described a Christmas dance: "Wieland Hunger was playing his old violin. We all were happy and sang a praise to Switzerland". The Swiss families also celebrated the New Year. "Trumpets were playing" as the clock struck midnight. "During this time all was silent and lonely around me. A deep homesickness bell rang in my heart and I was remembering the bells in my old home when they rang the goodby (sic) of the old year and the welcome of the new year. But that is past and would never come again".[75]

One local settler described a German neighbour in a letter to the *Taranaki Herald*. The German woman had cleared an acre of land and had a horse a cow and two pigs. Her husband was presumably away working on government contracts, but she liked Inglewood, as "it is not so cold and the women do not have to work so hard as in Germany". She had written back home encouraging family members to join her and said her children were already picking up English.[76]

For Catholic settlers, the nearest Church was in New Plymouth, so the Inglewood Poles built a small chapel at the corner of Carrington and Standish streets, which opened in January 1878.[77] Fifty people

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[73] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers,* p.86;
[74] Rod Fabish. 'Fabish, Agnes', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3f1/fabish-agnes Agnes Fabish NZDB, Te Ara
[75] Anna Katarina Parli to Nini, Hawera, 25 Feb 1879, Parli, Anna Katarina, papers, Puke Ariki, 2003-733.
[76] *Taranaki Herald*, 8 Dec 1895, p.3.
[77] Brown, *Te Moa*, p.166; *Taranaki Herald*, 16 Jan 1878, p.2.

travelled from new Plymouth to take part in the festivities and Mass was celebrated by priests from New Plymouth and Patea.[78] While there was no permanent priest at first, the German-speaking priest at Carterton, Father Anthony Halbwachs, made regular trips to visit the Taranaki Poles until he left his position in 1884.[79] If Halbwachs was not available, an English-speaking priest accepted confession in Polish.[80] In 1899 Archbishop Redwood visited Inglewood and laid the foundation stone for a new church which still stands today.[81] Most Polish Catholics lived a considerable distance from Inglewood, but were prepared to walk long distances to attend services. The Ulhenberg family lived on York Road at Midhirst but every Sunday they walked fifteen kilometres to Inglewood, attended mass, bought the groceries, and walked home again that night.[82]

Catholicism remained an integral part of the lives of Poles in Taranaki. At Easter and Christmas, houses were decorated with ferns, following Polish custom.[83] Polish children at Ratapiko school marked additional Catholic Holy Days by staying home until the school banned the practice.[84] The rural Kashubian death ritual of *Pusta Noc* (Empty Night) continued in Taranaki. On the evening before a funeral, friends and relatives gathered in the home of the deceased. The body was displayed in an open casket surrounded by flowers, candles and a small altar. The community stayed with the body all night, singing hymns until dawn. Food and drinks were served and occasionally dancing would be included. At dawn, the funeral procession began from the house, with the singers following the body to the church and funeral.[85] The ritual could vary. Bernard Fabish, whose parents were born in Kocoszkowy, in the Kociewie region, close to but not part of Kashubia, remembered *Pusta Noc* in 1890s Inglewood as an all-night silent prayer vigil without the singing.[86] Many families had travelled with religious items which became family heirlooms and reminders of life in Poland. The Kuklinski family of Inglewood brought a picture of the Virgin Mary with them from Poland and gave it pride of place in the family living room.[87] Frank Dravitski brought his 1860 Polish bible and a church song book with him from Poland.[88]

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[78] *New Zealand Tablet*, 8 Feb 1878, p.15.
[79] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p.54.
[80] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p.111.
[81] *New Zealand Tablet*, 6 April 1899, p.4.
[82] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p.86.
[83] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p.95.
[84] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers,* p.94.
[85] Aleksandra Kurowska-Susdorf, 'Kashubian Pustô Noc in America: Comparative Perspective of Death Rites, Poland and Canada', *Polish American Studies*, Vol.74, no.2 (Autumn 2017), pp.71-72.
[86] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p.94.
[87] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p.95.
[88] Pobóg-Jaworowski, *Polish Settlers*, p96.

German-language Lutheran congregations met regularly in Taranaki, but none were able to establish permanent Church buildings. In the early 1880s, a pastor named Christian Meyer rotated services between Taranaki locations, with two Sundays each month at the Manganui Parsonage near Midhirst, one Sunday at Wortley Road, near Inglewood, and the remaining Sunday at Stratford at the home of Albert and Adeline Pioch.[89] In 1884 the Midhirst Lutherans appealed for donations to build a small church at Manganui. A newspaper advertisement signed by Church Wardens Johann Worm and Carl Schreiber stated they were "low in number and limited in means" and asked "fellow-Christians in Taranaki" to assist them.[90] At least one local was offended enough to call the request "ridiculous" in a letter to the *Taranaki Herald*. Only "half a dozen German families" would use it, he wrote, and most other congregations in the area shared the school hall on Sundays.[91] Pastor Meyer replied pointing out there were considerably more than half a dozen German families in the area, and the majority lived several miles from the Midhirst School rooms. Meyer reminded his fellow Christians that the elderly Germans deserved a church where they worship in their own language, and warned that German youth risked growing up to be "larrikins" and "a plague to the state" without a local Church to guide them.[92] Unfortunately for Meyer and his congregation, the Midhirst Church was never built. Danish settlers in Taranaki may have attended the Lutheran Church, but a few joined the Wesleyan Church which offered Danish language services in Inglewood in the 1880s.[93]

1900

By 1900, living standards had improved for rural Taranaki residents. Most small farmers were earning income from dairy production, and the isolation of earlier decades had gone, replaced by better communications and regular social and sporting events.[94] One newspaper reported that in 1900 a quarter of all Taranaki dairy farmers were of non-British descent, including 100 Swiss farmers.[95] Census statistics show the number of Swiss born residents in Taranaki increased gradually from the 1870s to a high of 670 in 1916, indicating some chain migration after the initial group of migrants arrived in 1874.[96] The Swiss settled in South Taranaki, around Hawera, Manaia, Eltham, Normanby and Stratford, as well

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[89] *Taranaki Herald*, 14 Nov 1886, p.4.
[90] *Taranaki Herald*, 7 Jan 1884, p.3.
[91] *Taranaki Herald*, 11 Jan 1884, p.2.
[92] *Taranaki Herald*, 29 Jan 1884, p.2.
[93] *Taranaki Herald*, 21 October 1882, p.4.
[94] Lambert & Henry, *Taranaki*, p.118.
[95] *New Zealand Tablet*, 23 June 1904, p.20.
[96] Stoffel, '*Swiss Settlers*', pp.89-93.

as further east in Patea.[97] The Germans and Poles remained around Inglewood, Midhirst and Stratford along the route of the road they had helped build in the 1870s. The remainder of this chapter will examine the settlers of Inglewood in detail.

Inglewood

A closer look at the naturalisation and probate data reveals former subjects of the German Empire made up nearly half of European born residents of Inglewood, with Swiss born settlers the second largest group. The European-born community included German (43%), Swiss (36%), and Danish (9%) settlers. The 'Others' included one each from Belgium, Norway, Sweden and Russia. Six women were included in the data. One was a French nun, another was a French housewife, and three women were Germans born in West Prussia. The final woman was Australian-born but had taken the citizenship of her German born husband, Inglewood butcher Emil Gernhoefer. Three of these women were older than seventy when they were naturalised, so were almost certainly widows wanting to qualify for pensions. Of the thirty Inglewood settlers who gave their former nationality as German, thirteen were Polish Catholics from West Prussia. Of the twenty-five Swiss, only two, Joseph and Elizabeth Alleman, were assisted immigrants who arrived with Felix Hunger in 1875. The Inglewood Swiss settlers appear to be later arrivals. Five of these came from the Zug canton, just south of Zurich.

Table 7.2: European born naturalisations in Inglewood.

Former Nationality	Naturalisations	Percent
German	30	43%
Swiss	25	36%
Danish	6	9%
French	2	3%
Hungarian	2	3%
Other	4	6%
Total	69	100%

Source: Individuals naturalised in Inglewood, and born in Continental Europe before 1880, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

The naturalisation certificates provide information on the occupations of the European settlers. As expected, the majority gave their occupation as farmer. All four skilled workers (watchmaker/jeweller, a cooper, a tanner, and a saddler) were Swiss, as were two clerks and an engineer. The other professional

[97] Stoffel, '*Swiss Settlers*', p.92.

was the French nun who gave her occupation as Superioress. Three men were carpenters or builders, and one was a joiner.

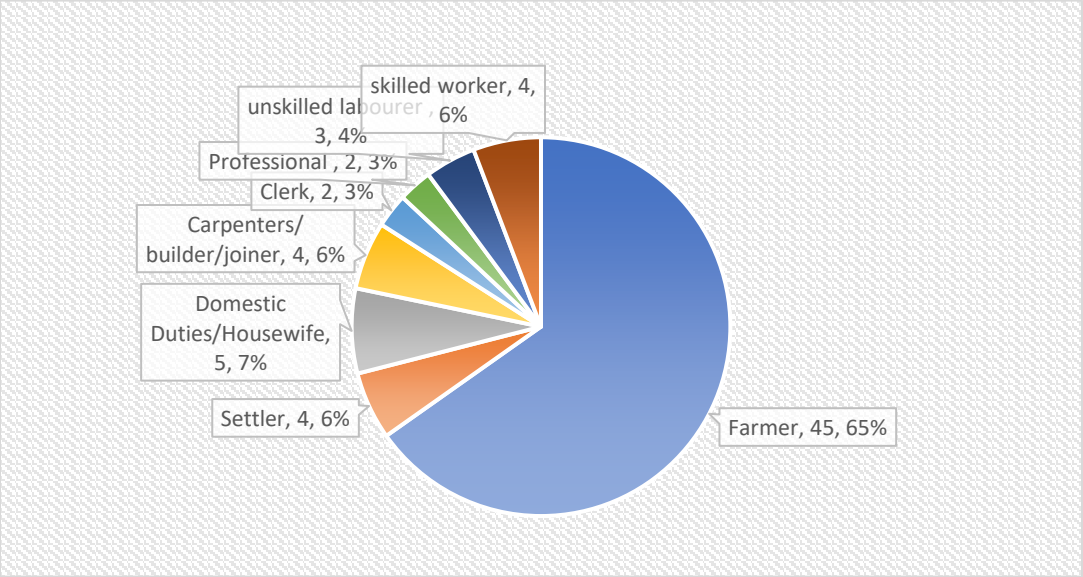

Figure 7.2: Inglewood European naturalisations by occupation. Source: Individuals naturalised in Inglewood, and born in Continental Europe before 1880, in Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

From the sample of European-born migrants in the Inglewood area eighty-six probates were identified and used to investigate the wealth of first-generation European settlers in the district. Each probate value was adjusted for inflation to a constant value based on 1925 prices. The mean value of all 86 probates was £1880.20. The median value was £1313.92 (German farmer Karl Schmidt with £1555 in 1946). The majority of the settlers died with less than £2000 in 1925 value. Two settlers died with no assets at all. The wealthiest in the sample was Polish farmer Matis Lewandowski who left £11,300 when he died in Midhirst in 1923. Probates contain varying amounts of information and some of the preserved papers include full inventories of assets. We can use this information to take a closer look at some of the settler family finances.

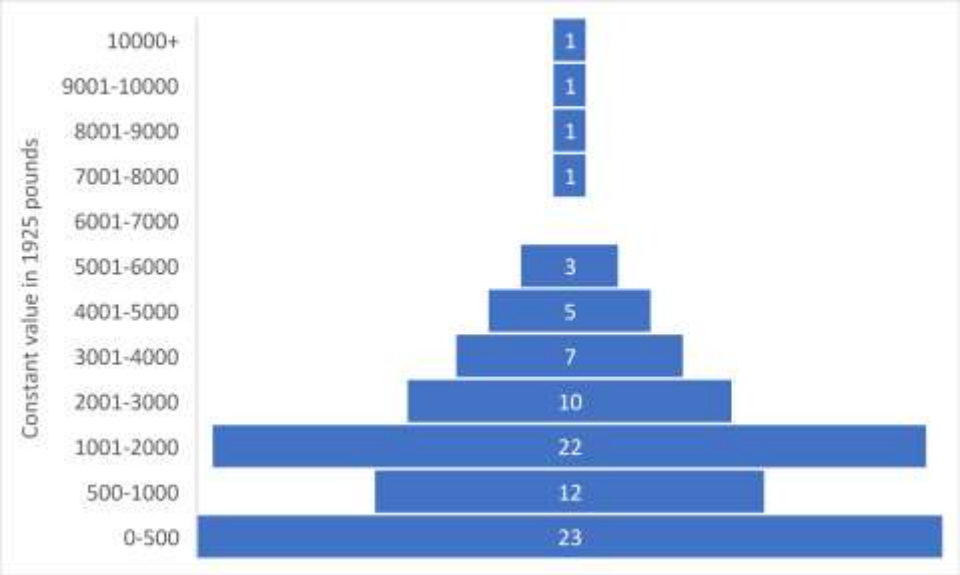

Figure 7.3: 86 Taranaki probates. Source: ANZ, Probate Records, 1843-1998. Database with images. *FamilySearch*. http://FamilySearch.org

One of the men without assets was Oswald Jans, a Swiss cooper who died in 1929. Born in 1862, it is unclear when he arrived in New Zealand, as he did not appear on the assisted immigration lists. He was one of several Swiss men in Taranaki who came from the Zug canton, south of Zurich. In 1887 he was a cooper in Inglewood, selling tubs, kegs and casks.[98] He married Polish-born settler Barbara Potroz the same year and they had twelve children.[99] Oswald was naturalized in 1890. He bought a farm at Inglewood, and later owned land near Stratford. By 1923 he appeared to be in financial trouble, owing £699 on a mortgage.[100] Oswald Jans died aged sixty-seven at Oakura, near New Plymouth in 1929. At the time of his death Barbara was in Auckland being cared for by a religious order and eleven of Oswald's twelve children gave permission for his brother Caspar to apply for administration of his estate. Oswald left no will and had no assets at all. While it is possible he had given assets away before death, it appears he was never a wealthy man.

The majority of the European-born settlers had a modest lifestyle and died with few assets. Joseph Fabish was a small farmer and builder who was born in Kokoszkowy, West Prussia in 1873. His family was part of a large group from the same village who migrated to New Zealand on the *Fritz Reuter*'s 1876 voyage, when he was three years old. Joseph grew up in Taranaki and married Agnes Dodunska in

[98] *Taranaki Herald*, 9 April 1887, p.3
[99] Photo of Oswald and Barbara https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/151624119/oswald-jans#view-photo=127682612
[100] *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 1 March 1923, p.5.

Stratford on 1 Jan 1894. They bought a bush-covered section and Agnes stayed home milking cows and raising children while Joseph worked at a sawmill. In 1921 they moved to New Plymouth where Joseph, then in his late forties, became a builder. Agnes died in 1957 and Joseph died in 1952. Most of Joseph's £411 in assets were held in his savings account, but he had £65 of benefits from an unknown lodge or friendly society.

Joseph's older brother Franz was six when the family came to New Zealand. Franz became known as Frank and married fellow Polish migrant Rosalia Wisniewski in 1890.[101] Rosalia's father may have assisted the couple to buy land, owning a share of Franks land near Inglewood until 1894.[102] In 1909 the family home was destroyed in a fire.[103] Frank died in Tariki aged seventy in 1940, leaving his wife and children £727.[104] Rosalia died in Stratford in 1954 and left £200 to her children along with a donation of £20 to her local priest.[105]

Matthias and Barbara Sattler came from Andau, an ethnically German village in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on the eastern border of modern Austria. They travelled with their family of five boys on the *Lammershagen*,arriving in Wellington on 11 July 1875.[106] In 1878 the family was in Taranaki where the local Land Board recorded a transfer of 113 acres of land from Matthias to his eldest son.[107] In 1880 Matthias had obtained land on deferred payment near Inglewood.[108] The Sattler family remained in Taranaki earning a modest living, and when Matthias died aged sixty in 1895, he left £100 to be divided equally between his sons.[109]

Adolph and Karoline Olsen migrated from Aalborg in Denmark with three children in 1874. They disembarked from the *Humboldt* in Wellington in January 1875.[110] The family farmed In Tariki Road near Ratapiko when Adolph was naturalised in 1901, aged sixty-two.[111] Karoline appears to have died before

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[101] 'Frank Fabish', Polish Settler database, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/search-settlers/
[102] *Taranaki Herald*, 4 Dec 1894, p.2.
[103] *Taranaki Daily News*, 29 April 1909, p.2.
[104] Frank Fabish, probate 1940, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKYR-T7R2
[105] Rose Fabish, probate 1954, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2SB-HDDK
[106] Lammershagen passenger list, 1875, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 032 A, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[107] *Taranaki Herald*, 24 Dec 1878, p.2.
[108] *Taranaki Herald*, 10 Nov 1880. p.2.
[109] Matthias Sattler, 20/4/123 (1882), Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ; probate 1895, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2SB-HK38
[110] Humboldt passenger list, 1874, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 031 B, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.
[111] Adolph Olsen, 1900/4163, Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand to 1948, ANZ.

Adolph. When he died in 1913, he left everything to one daughter. He had assets worth £667, made up of property worth £100, some savings and a debt he was owed worth £320.[112]

The Saxony-born weaving teacher Hans August Haverbier died in 1921 with wealth slightly higher than the average in the sample. The Haverbier family was among those who benefited from the growth of the dairy industry. Hans and Ernestine Haverbier bought a 200-acre farm at Kaimata in 1887. Hans became very active in the community. He served on the local road board and school committee. He was a director of the Moa Dairy Company and served as its chair for two years. He was also director of the Moa Farmers Union. He and Ernestine had four daughters and two sons.[113] Ernestine died in 1917 and Hans died four years, later leaving £2000 to his children.

Martin Sattler was another German-speaking settler with a similar level of wealth. Born in Andau, on the border of Austria and Hungary, he was the youngest son of Mathias and Barbara Sattler. The family was forwarded to Taranaki where Martin and his older brothers probably worked alongside their father who worked clearing bush around Inglewood for many years. In 1888, aged 20, Martin purchased a 150-acre block on deferred payment at Waitui, near Inglewood.[114] He married New Zealand-born Bridget Martin in 1897. She died in 1938.[115] Martin died in Inglewood in 1941 aged 73 leaving three sons and a daughter. His wife predeceased him and he left no will. The inventory in his probate papers shows he was still actively farming when he died. His largest asset was the section he bought fifty-three years earlier, worth £1471 at the time of his death. Sattler owned £519 in farm stock and implements and £117 in shares in a Farmers Co-operative, the Inglewood Bacon Curing company and the Moa Farmers' Co-operative Dairy Company. The dairy company owed him £62, and he owed small amounts to a dozen local businesses or neighbours.[116] The inventory is more detailed than most but probably typifies an average sort of farmer in Taranaki who died while still working on the land.

The wealthiest widow in the Taranaki sample died in 1918. Barbara Christensen was born in Radostowo, in the Kosciewie region of what was then West Prussia. In 1874 she married Jozef Duszynski who lived in the next village and in 1876 the coupled migrated to Wellington on the *Fritz Reuter*.[117] They moved to

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[112] Adolph Olsen, probate dated 1913, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2VCD-5J9
[113] The Cyclopedia Company, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and Wellington Districts)*, 1908, p.158.
[114] *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 23 May 1888, p.2.
[115] Marriage certificate, 1897/1091; Death certificate 1938/25806, BDM.
[116] Martin Sattler, probate dated 1942, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2SB-H2SS
[117] 'Duszynski' in Polish History New Zealand database, https://polishhistorynewzealand.org/search-settlers/

Inglewood where they began a family. In August 1890 Joseph was injured by a falling tree on the family farm. Barbara and his daughters tried to save him but he died hours later.[118] Barbara remarried in 1891, this time to Danish-born farmer Christian Christensen. He died in 1908 leaving £500 to her and the children. She was seventy years old when the influenza epidemic came to Inglewood in December 1918, killing her and seventeen others in the town.[119] She left £2000 to her children, favouring her daughters, and included a bequest to the Inglewood Roman Catholic priest.

The wealthiest settler in the sample by far was Polish farmer Mattaeus/Matis Lewandowski. He and his wife Josephine were part of the Kokoszkowy group. Matheus was orphaned at age eleven and served in the Franco-Prussian War. He married Josephine in West Prussia before they migrated to New Zealand with eighty others from Kokoszkowy.[120] After a couple of years in Hokitika the group came to Taranaki in December 1878. The Lewandowskis lived in New Plymouth and later bought 61 acres of land worth £139 at Midhirst. Matis may have had financial help from Newton King, a wealthy merchant in New Plymouth. The family ran the Midhirst farm for thirty years, and later Matis bought 400 acres in 1907 with his son-in-law.[121] He died intestate on 5 April 1923 in Stratford, leaving £11300 of assets. His probate contains no other financial details.

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[118] *Taranaki Herald*, 23 August 1890, p.2.
[119] *Taranaki Daily News*, 12 December 1918, p.3.
[120] Spelt as Levandowski in all local papers. *Stratford Evening Post*, 5 April 1923, p.5.
[121] *Stratford Evening Post*, 5 April 1923, p.5; *Taranaki Daily News*, 8 June 1907, p.5.

Conclusion

By the turn of the century the public works schemes planned by the colonial authorities had achieved the goal of 'opening' inland Taranaki. The small numbers of Māori who had stayed in the area after the wars of the 1860s had been swamped by Pākehā settlers. The forests had been largely replaced by dairy farms and a series of small and mostly Pākehā rural communities. Continental European assisted immigrants had been part of the colonising project from 1874 when passengers on the *Reichstag* had been assigned to the new town of Inglewood. European migrants, mostly from the former German Empire, had helped construct the inland 'Mountain Road' and had been among the first residents of the townships at Stratford and Midhirst. Felix Hunger had attracted the first group of Swiss families to settle in the area, and these pioneers were joined by relatives and friends through the following decades. As the settlers bought plots of land and began converting them into farms, they formed small but close-knit rural communities. The Swiss settled around the southern end of the Road and the numbers of Polish settlers were boosted by the arrival of the Poles who left Jackson Bay, many of whom had known each other in West Prussia. The Polish community around Inglewood became the largest in the country, attracting a number of Poles who had initially settled in the South Island. As the Pākehā settlers of Eastern Taranaki built roads and rural towns, and an economy built on dairy farming, the European-born settlers among them became an accepted part of the rural community. The Polish and Swiss communities are still remembered and celebrated in Taranaki today, through local historical societies and (in the case of the Poles) the Catholic Church.

Conclusion

The quantitative research methods used in this study have revealed the diversity of the origins of the continental assisted immigrants who came to New Zealand in the 1870s in more detail than previous studies, and have profiled many of the rural communities they formed on arrival in New Zealand. Analysis of passenger lists, particularly the departure lists compiled in Hamburg, has revealed that many of the assisted immigrants can be traced to specific regions of the countries they left from, and in many cases, patterns of chain migration from individual villages were discovered. Linking the migration data with naturalisation and probate records, along with family history data, has enabled the construction of detailed profiles of a range of European-born settler communities in nineteenth-century New Zealand.

The Europeans who came to New Zealand were a small minority among the millions of continental migrants who left Europe in the late nineteenth century. The voyage to New Zealand was the longest migration voyage from Europe and was not an appealing option unless costs were heavily subsidised, or if a migrant had a friend or family member waiting at the other end. In the case of the Scandinavians, we know the pilot scheme recruited migrants from a range of Scandinavian areas in the hope that any news the migrants sent back would reach a wide audience, but we cannot judge the effectiveness of this strategy. Most of the Europeans who sailed between 1871 and 1873 were Scandinavians and the majority of those were Danes. Two ships sailed from Hamburg in 1872 and we know little about exactly when the passengers of these ships were recruited, but they were most likely heading for North America when they were offered subsidised tickets to New Zealand.

The Hamburg ships began sailing regularly in 1874, and Germans became the majority of the passengers, with Scandinavians in second place along with a small number of Swiss and Italians. Passenger departure records compiled by Hamburg authorities contain details of the last place of residence given by the passengers, providing a level of detail not usually available to studies of immigration to New Zealand. Analysis of this data shows that the migrants were not evenly recruited from around the countries listed as their homelands. Many of the Germans in particular were national minorities within the German Empire, including a large number of Polish Catholics and a high proportion of Danes living in Schleswig. Analysis of the records identified specific clusters of migrants, including a group from a small region in what is now the Czech Republic, and a pattern of chain migration from a

small area near the city of Tczew in modern Poland. In both cases these clusters continued to associate in New Zealand, forming rural communities in the South Island.

More than half the passengers travelled in family groups and the majority were young married couples with children. Of the men, 80% gave their occupation as labourer or rural workers. Single adult females made up nearly 10% of the passengers and they were mostly aged 16 to 30 years and listed as domestic servants. The passengers were, in the main, the sort of assisted immigrants the New Zealand government required. The settler families had a significant impact on the demographics of the local communities they settled in. While always a small minority compared to the English, Scottish and Irish migrants who made up nineteenth-century Pākehā New Zealand, the Europeans formed culturally distinct clusters in a range of rural districts around the country.

The second half of the study used naturalisation records and probates to build profiles of some of the continental migrant clusters in nineteenth-century New Zealand. While there is a growing awareness of the value of probate records in quantitative historical research, New Zealand naturalisation records have not been used in this way before. The naturalisation records provide information on non-British migrants as they applied to become British subjects, and in this study, they have been linked to both passenger records and probate data to build profiles of the communities formed by European-born settlers. Analysis of this data revealed that these rural clusters were usually formed after immigrant labourers and their families had been given employment in the area soon after they arrived in New Zealand. These communities were more ethnically diverse than government records indicated, or historians have thought, with most containing a range of European ethnicities.

The first Scandinavians to arrive as part of the scheme were initially placed in special settlements. Most of these settlements were deep in the forests of the North Island and came with grants of land, initial supplies and some form of guaranteed wages for a period. Even those Scandinavians with experience in forestry must have felt very isolated in the unknown environment. The Danes, most of whom came from flat clear farmland, found the forests very difficult at first. Later, as special settlements were no longer available, the new arrivals found themselves assigned to immigration barracks and later public works schemes alongside British migrants. When the government found it difficult to find employment for European arrivals, many were shipped off to the West Coast, where they were dumped at the soon-to-fail Jackson Bay special settlement. The initial placement of European settlers in special settlements, public works schemes or other employment, played a large part in the locations of the European community clusters that emerged around the country. Hawkes Bay and the Wairarapa had a large

population of Scandinavian settlers, The Germans and Poles of Otago settled primarily along the route of the railway they helped construct in the 1870s and the presence of a large continental European community in twenty-first century Taranaki is due to the government's Mountain Road construction project. In Canterbury, where continental settlers arrived in a relatively developed economy, the clusters at Oxford and Waimate formed around existing communities of German-speaking residents, and the Polish community at Marshland developed only after a group of them was offered work by a private landowner. The North Island projects were part of the government's plan to push settlers into the remote forest regions in order to dominate Māori. The South Island public works projects were less concerned with countering Māori power directly but were also aimed at strengthening the colonial economy and the central government.

Many of these communities have been examined by historians of European migration in New Zealand, either as part of study of one nationality in New Zealand or by local historians of a particular region, but the quantitative analysis of passenger records combined with naturalisation and probate records provides a level of detail that reveals new information about these communities. The place of Scandinavians in the history of Hawkes Bay is well known, but the significant number of Germans in the region needs further study. Very little has been written about the European migrants who settled in Oxford, and those that have written about it have mentioned Germans in passing but not the Moravians who also settled alongside them. The migration of a group of Moravian families from four small villages in the Oder River valley to Canterbury in New Zealand is a story that is worthy of further study.

Local historians of the Otago Poles have been aware that many of the Polish settlers of the Taieri plains were close neighbours in Poland before the migration. Many of the same group also lived and worked in Gore, alongside ethnic German Catholics. Unlike many of the rural districts in this study, Gore attracted a number of middle-class German professionals alongside the labourers and farm workers. In the centre of Inglewood, Fritz Reuter Place commemorates the ship which brought Polish Catholic settlers to Inglewood (via Wellington) in 1876, but no mention is made of the *Reichstag*, which carried Poles, Germans and Danes to Inglewood two years earlier. Any discussion of rural settlers in Inglewood must also recognise that their prosperity and wealth was based on land confiscated from their Māori neighbours in the 1860s.

Those Europeans in the special settlement areas of the North Island or in Jackson Bay often found the first years in the colony difficult, with their neighbours often the only reliable source of help. Despite some real differences and conflicts between nationalities both on board the ships and in New Zealand,

the Europeans often had more in common with each other than with anyone else in the new colony, and religious or national differences were of little importance when there was work to be done and no one else spoke your language. As the infrastructure improved, schools and other community resources increased, along with the population. Those who arrived in Otago or Canterbury may have been socially isolated in the 1870s but had easier access to established rural communities. The Europeans were almost all Christians but the Protestants among them were usually Lutherans, a denomination that was little known in 1870s New Zealand. Founding a church was often one of the first community building projects the new settlers undertook in New Zealand. The Catholic settlers could often make contact with a Catholic congregation, but language difficulties limited their participation in the community functions of the Church.

Distinctive European traditions and customs were visible in the small rural towns with European settler populations. Polish language, food and culture, including rituals like *Pusta Noc*, were probably common in Taranaki, and probably took place in Waihola, Allanton and Marshland too. Catholic congregations in nineteenth-century New Zealand were often multinational with a range of languages spoken, and Polish customs would have been relatively familiar to many New Zealand Catholics.[1] The small Swiss community in Southern Taranaki included professionals who became well known in the community, and Swiss baking and music became known in the wider Taranaki community.

Although language barriers and occasional bouts of prejudice made life difficult for continental European settlers, unlike Chinese or Indian immigrants they did not face any institutional prejudices. Once they had overcome the initial isolation, they became fully integrated into the small-scale rural communities they lived in and came to share the ideas and outlooks of their neighbours. Rollo Arnold wrote that the rapid development of rural New Zealand in the 1880s had produced a 'Yeoman ideal' that became the dominant ideology of rural New Zealand. The rural culture that developed was based on the idea that a hard-working labourer could achieve a status almost impossible in England (or Germany or Sweden for that matter) by working hard, buying land and starting a family. The family farm became the basic unit in a close-knit community where independence was combined with neighbourliness and altruism. Owning property was a virtue and hunting, fishing and other outdoor activities were birthrights rather than privileges. The settler worldview had major flaws - it excluded Māori and had little regard for the environment - but this perspective came to dominate settler communities and continued to

[1] Michael King, *God's Farthest Outpost: A History of Catholics in New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 1997), p.101.

influence New Zealand society well into the twentieth century.[2] The European assisted immigrants arrived into this rural world as 'foreigners', but they were welcomed into, and helped shape, New Zealand Pākehā culture.

The idea of a freehold family farm was an ideal, not a given, and most of the European settlers featured in the communities examined in this study had modest wealth and possessions. More than half of the 224 probates in the samples for the rural communities examined in this study were valued at under £1000 when adjusted for 1925 inflation. Only two assisted immigrants in the sample had probates valued over £10,000. It is likely that even among the lower valued probates, those settlers may have owned at least a small amount of land at some time in their lives, even if it was not enough to provide an independent income. Nevertheless, most of the Europeans who migrated to New Zealand in the 1870s adopted the values and culture of the rural New Zealand Pākehā communities they lived in.

European languages and culture were part of daily life in many parts of rural New Zealand but by the early twentieth century they had begun to fade. The First World War made overt displays of German culture risky, and probably discouraged the public use of other less familiar European languages. Second-generation Europeans had grown up fluent in English and, apart from their surnames, became indistinguishable from other Pākehā New Zealanders. The longest lasting cultural traditions of the continental European migrants are found in religion. Many of the descendants of the Polish settlors remain part of the Catholic Church and their Polish identity and heritage are expressed through the church. The Lutheran Church in New Zealand is an amalgamation of many of the Lutheran congregations formed by Scandinavian or German assisted immigrants who came to New Zealand in the 1870s. It currently has thirteen churches, many located in regions where the Scandinavian and German assisted immigrants settled.[3]

By the early twentieth century, many of the diverse traditions of regional New Zealand had been erased or merged into a broader and more homogenous Pākehā culture.[4] New Zealand born descendants of the 1870s continental assisted immigrants retained memories of family traditions and stories from Europe but these became private family stories that were invisible to the wider community. In recent decades many of the descendants of the continental migrants have become curious about their European

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[2] Rollo Arnold, *New Zealand's Burning: The Settler's World in the Mid-1880s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994), pp.281-284.
[3] Lutheran Church of New Zealand, http://www.lutheran.org.nz/church/
[4] Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), p.194.

ancestors, and some recent projects have taken advantage of advances in genealogical databases to produce excellent research into some of these communities.

This study has used quantitative methods to analyse data from passenger records, naturalisation records and probates, along with family history data and a range of secondary sources to provide the most detailed overview to date of the 7000 continental Europeans who migrated to New Zealand in the 1870s. The sources and methods used in this project can be of use in many other migration history studies. The detailed place of origin data available in the digitised Hamburg passenger departure lists allowed this study to identify previously unknown details and patterns in the last places of residence of the New Zealand bound migrants, and this source opens up many possibilities for research into emigration from the German Empire.

In New Zealand, naturalisation records have been overlooked by historians of non-British migration to this country. While this study has focused on the mostly rural 1870s migrants, analysis of naturalisation records can provide insights into European migrant communities from other periods and locations, including larger cities. Research into a range of other non-British migrants could also benefit from studies of naturalisation records. Dunedin alone attracted migrant communities from Lebanon and China, as well as several European nations and profiles of these communities could also be built using the Dunedin naturalisation records.

The focus has on the continental European assisted immigrants who came to New Zealand in the 1870s. They began their journey as a tiny part of the great migration out of Europe, and ended it as a small part of the majority British and Irish settler population who came to dominate colonial New Zealand. This research is a contribution towards greater understanding of the variety and diversity of the immigrants who developed into the Pākehā population of New Zealand.

Appendix

The 7090 individual assisted immigrants in the database compiled for this project were identified from the passenger lists on two genealogical websites. *Ancestry* contains digested versions of the Hamburg State Archive passenger departure lists from 1850 to 1934, and *FamilySearch* contains assisted immigration passenger records from the New Zealand Archives.

The search functions on both *Ancestry* and *FamilySearch* have been designed for use by genealogists to identify individual family members, not for data collection, so a lot of manual work is required to sort through the data and enter it into a database. Locating and entering passenger data for the Hamburg ships was time-consuming but relatively straightforward as every passenger on each ship was of interest. Identifying groups of European born migrants on ships full of British passengers was slightly more difficult. Archives New Zealand (ANZ) holds an Immigration Department Register of all immigrant ships from 1871 to 1887, with arrival dates and number of passengers on each ship.[1] This register lists the number of 'foreign' (non-British) passengers on each migrant ship, which enabled the identification of ships carrying European-born migrants to New Zealand. The passenger lists for each of these ships were manually searched and the European born passengers were added to my database.

Both sets of passenger data came from scanned versions of handwritten nineteenth-century records, and both have been transcribed by volunteers, so spelling and transcription errors were common. These transcriptions were checked against the original records but the nineteenth-century script of the German records was often difficult to decipher. As many of the small village and province names were repeated throughout the data, it was possible to recognise and correct most of the transcription errors.

Finally, the passenger lists for the 1871 voyages of the *England* and *Celaeno* are listed in AJHR 1871 D03a, pp.9-10, 19-20. Passengers for the 1872 voyage of the England are at Larsen, Mac: Genealogical papers, Wairarapa Archive, 90-046/44-7. Passengers for the Høvding's 1873 voyage are listed at http://www.norsewoodcemetery.co.nz/ships/1873-hovding-passenger-list.php

[1] 'Register of Immigrant Ships', IM 9/1, ANZ.

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