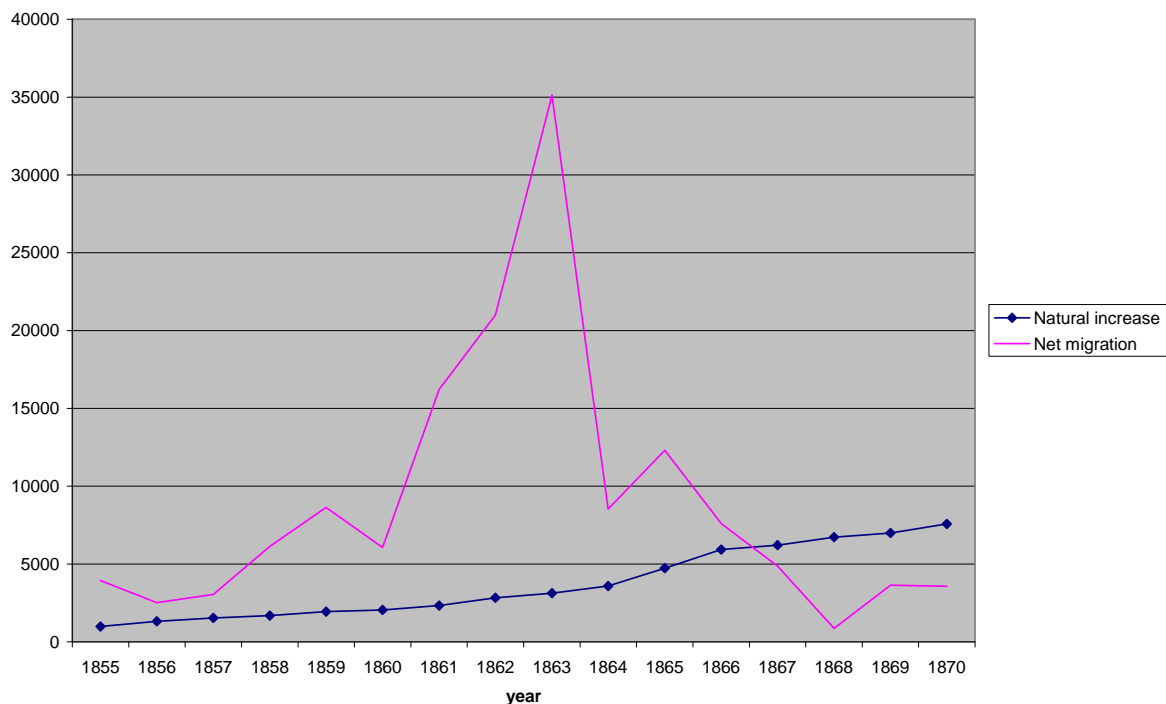


3. The Provincial and Gold-rush years, 1853-70

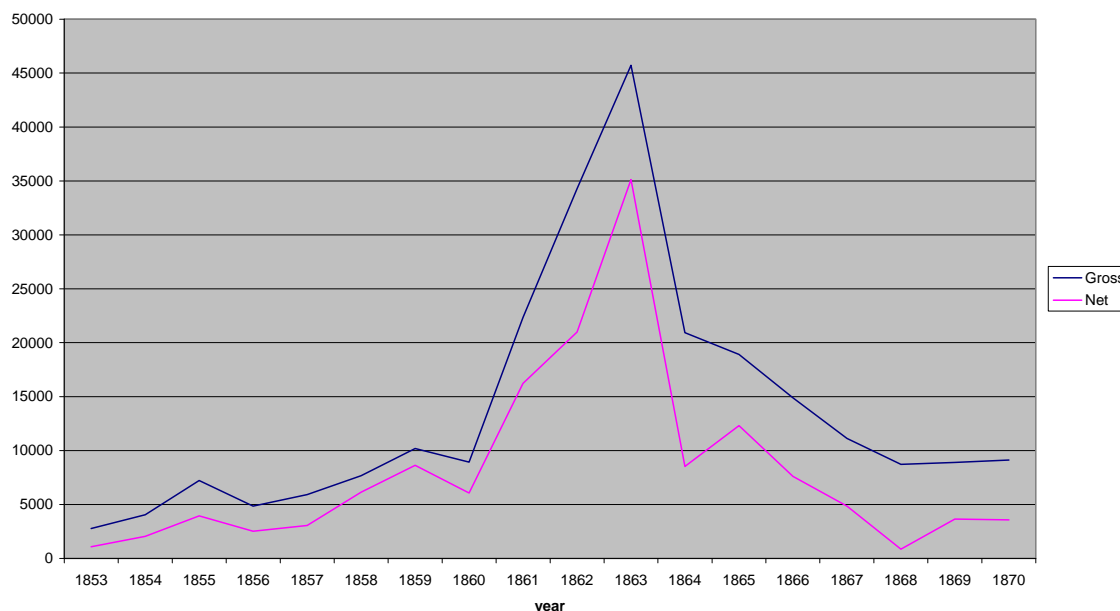
Numbers

New Zealand experienced a series of major events during the period 1853-1870, which greatly affected immigration. One was the coming of limited self-government with a quasi-federal structure in 1854 and which left to provinces responsibility for encouraging immigration. They did so with a series of schemes. Another was the New Zealand Wars which brought soldiers and military settlers once more to New Zealand. Third, there were important economic developments – the growth of extensive pastoralism and the discovery of gold. Both also attracted people to these shores. The result was a dramatic expansion of New Zealand’s non-Maori population, from almost 27 000 in 1851 to almost 98 000 in 1861 and 255 000 a decade later. Net migration was a major contributor, and indeed over the period 1855-1870 contributed 70.7 per cent of the increase in New Zealand’s non-Maori population (Graph 1).

Graph 1: Annual increase of non-Maori population, 1855-70



Graph 2: Annual immigration to New Zealand, 1853-70

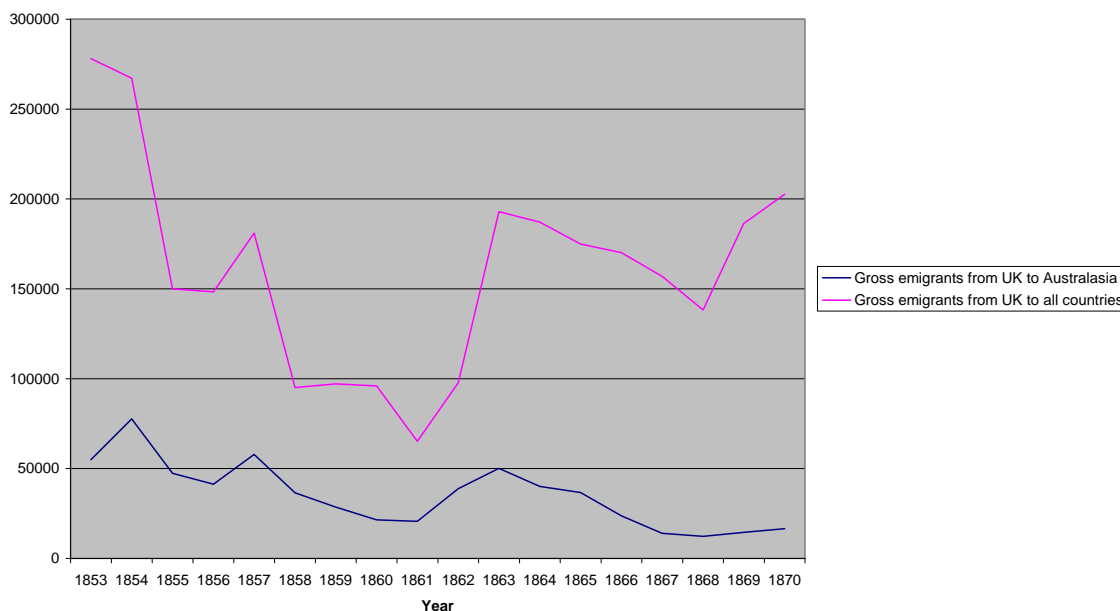


Graph 2 shows the gross and net immigration to New Zealand by year from 1853 to 1870. For the years 1853-60 the net annual inflow remained at relatively low levels, although net arrivals began to increase towards the end of the decade, in good part a reflection of the first inflow into Auckland under its land grant system, the first influx of Canterbury's assisted immigrants, and the first gold miners, attracted by the discoveries in Nelson's Aorere Valley. There was a dramatic change in the early 60s sparked especially by the discovery of gold in Otago and on the West Coast, but also embracing major inflows associated with Auckland's land grant system, the inflow of assisted immigrants into Canterbury, and some who came in as a result of the New Zealand Wars. These immigrants came largely from two destinations, the United Kingdom and Australia. The Auckland and Canterbury inflows drew largely on the United Kingdom, the gold-mining inflows into Otago and on to the West Coast largely on the Australian Colonies.

United Kingdom Immigrants

A gross total of almost 2.9 million people of British and Irish birth left the United Kingdom over the period 1853-1870 (Graph 3).

Graph 3: Gross emigration from UK, 1853-70



For the first decade (with the exception of 1853 and 1860), over a quarter each year departed for Australasia, the proportion in fact reaching a peak of 39.7 per cent in 1862. With the end of the American Civil War, the numbers departing from the United Kingdom rose again, but the proportion departing for Australasia declined sharply, reaching just 7.8 per cent in 1869.

In most years the Irish dominated the outflow, although they formed a lower proportion of those going to Australasia than to North America. The exodus from Ireland did not reach the levels of the years of the Great Famine, and reflected less the pressure exerted by recurring harvest fluctuations (as in 1855-1857, 1858-1861, and 1864-1866), than falling passage costs, declining travel time, the attraction of higher living standards and employment opportunities in the countries of destination, and the prospect of finding an Irish marriage partner overseas.¹ Behind the continued outflow also lay the failure of Irish industry to offer alternative employment opportunities, slow urban growth, and continuing changes within Irish agriculture, including evictions of small holders, a shift from tillage to pasture which reduced labour needs, the enclosure of remaining common

¹ See, for example, David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1801-1870,' in W.E. Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland, V, Ireland under the union, 1, 1801-1870*. Oxford, 1989, p.566; and Cormac O Grada, *Ireland: a new economic history, 1780-1939*. Oxford, 1994, pp.226-227.

land, and the rise of impartible inheritance. The post-Famine emigrants were predominantly Catholic, young, and single, while a high proportion of females distinguished the Irish outflow from other contemporary migratory movements. Most of the males were described as labourers and most of the females as domestic servants, the 'surplus offspring farmers and rural labourers, drawn from a broad band of social strata but largely excluding both strong farmers and destitute squatters or beggars.'² Only a small proportion of the emigrant Irish chose Australasia as their destination, most preferring the United States, Kenny suggesting that 'The most prosperous ... went to Australia and New Zealand ... the least prosperous went to Britain and the vast majority went to the United States.'³

New patterns of emigration from Scotland emerged after the Highland famine of the 1840s. The numbers leaving surged during the 1860s, and, indeed, during the 1860s Scotland lost through emigration 27.5 per cent of its natural increase, the corresponding figure for the English/Welsh being just 7.2 per cent.⁴ During the period 1853 -1860 some 45.2 per cent of the emigrant Scots went to Australasia, but in the period 1860-June 1863, New Zealand emerged as the most preferred destination. We know this from a return kept only for the period from 1860 to June 1863 which recorded emigration from the United Kingdom.⁵ The return shows that in all three years and for the first six months of 1863, New Zealand was the preferred destination, taking an astonishingly high 30.6 per cent in 1860, 27.2 per cent in 1861, 37.3 per cent in 1862, and 29.2 per cent in the first six months of 1863. Those proportions exceeded those choosing any other destination, including British North America and despite the long-established and strong migratory

² David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1801-1870,' in W.E.Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland, V, Ireland under the union, 1, 1801-1870*. Oxford, 1989, p.577.

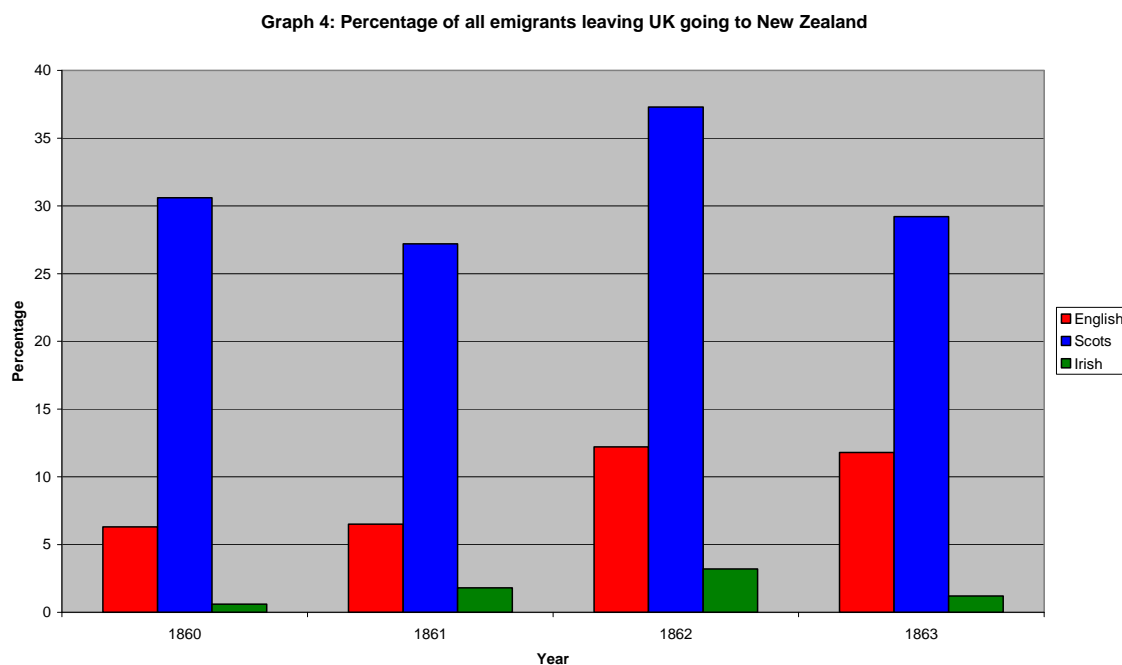
³ Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history*. Harlow, Essex, 2000, p.138.

⁴ Dudley Baines, *Migration in a mature economy: emigration and internal migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900*. Cambridge, 1985, p.62.

⁵ *Emigration: return for years 1860, 1861, 1862, and first six months of 1863*, BPP 1863.xxxviii.19. The estimates which follow exclude, unless otherwise indicated, a category in the return termed 'Not distinguished,' that is, in terms of nationality. It is worthwhile noting that those 'not distinguished' formed a significant proportion of the total number recorded as leaving the United Kingdom in each year, ranging from a low of 11.8 per cent of the total for the first six months of 1863 to a high of 25 per cent for 1861. For New Zealand, the proportion described as 'not distinguished' was much lower, ranging from a low of 4.6 per cent for the first six months of 1863 to a high of 13.3 per cent in 1861. Whether this lack of classification affected one nationality more than another is not known.

links between Scotland and Canada. It is worthwhile noting that the numbers of Scots-born emigrating to New Zealand, according to this return, actually exceeded the number of English born. Upon the conclusion of the American Civil War, the flow again turned towards the United States. Australia's Scots immigrants included a substantial number assisted by the Highland and Island Emigration Society, with most arrivals favouring Victoria.⁶ It was from Victoria that the South Island gold-fields would draw a large proportion of their Scots miners.

The emigration return revealed that the numbers choosing to go direct to New Zealand from the United Kingdom varied between 4.1 per cent of all emigrants in 1860 to 9.4 per cent in 1862.

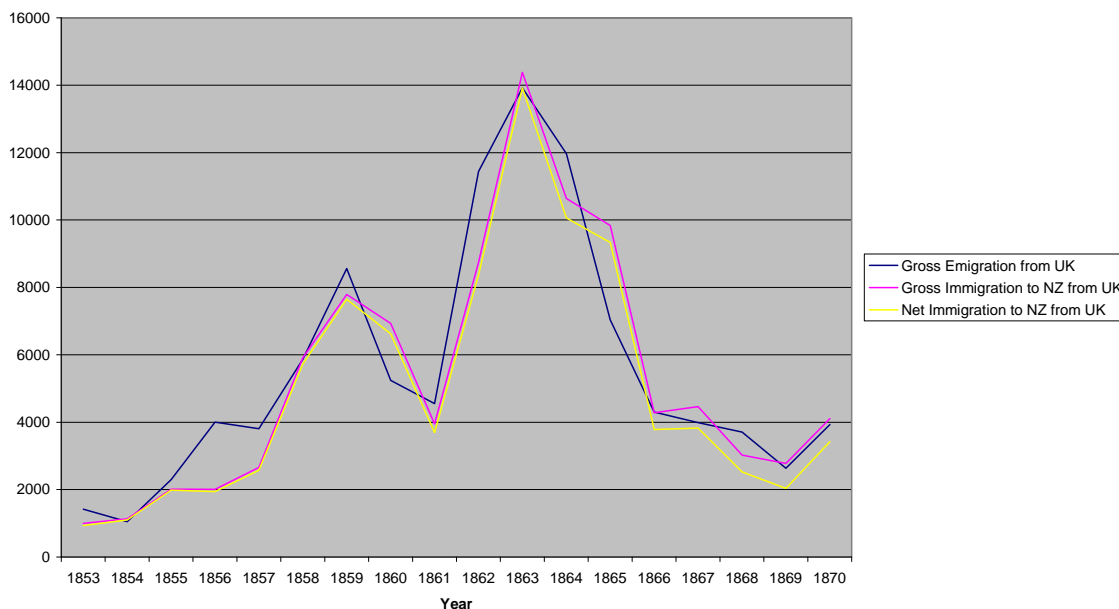


As Graph 4 shows New Zealand was less preferred by the English who reached a peak of 12.2 per cent of all emigrants in 1862, and even less by the Irish. In none of the three years did the numbers travelling direct from Ireland to New Zealand exceed 1600. Over the period of three and half years, the English-born formed 42.4 per cent of the total of

⁶ See Ian Donnachie, 'The making of "Scots on the make:" Scottish settlement and enterprise in Australia, 1830-1900,' in T.M.Devine, editor, *Scottish emigration and Scottish society*. Edinburgh, 1992; and Robin F.Baines, *Emigration and the labouring poor: Australian recruitment in Britain and Ireland, 1831-60*. Houndmills, 1997.

those emigrating directly from the United Kingdom to New Zealand, the Scots-born 44.3 per cent and the Irish-born just 13.3 per cent.

Graph 5: Migration from UK to NZ, 1853-70



Graph 5 provides annual details of gross emigration from the United Kingdom to New Zealand during the period according to the Emigration Commissioners, and gross and net immigration from the United Kingdom according to New Zealand statistics. The sets of data generally accord, with variations probably reflecting differences with respect to the year of departure and year of arrival, and some diversion to Australia. There were two main immigrant inflows, in the late 1850s and again in the early 1860s, the peak years being 1862-1864 when the discovery of gold coincided with the Civil War in the United States. From 1865 onwards, both the numbers embarking for and gross arrivals in New Zealand fell sharply as the flow across the Atlantic rose at the conclusion of the Civil War.

Few of these emigrants left the United Kingdom with public assistance from home sources. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners continued to facilitate emigration funded by land sales in the colonies. However of 242,229 persons assisted by the Commissioners at the expense of public funds over the period 1853-1870, just 839 (or

less than one per cent) reached New Zealand. They included 212 adult males, 264 adult females, and 167 children sent from Lancashire's 'manufacturing districts.'⁷ There was also a trickle assisted by the Poor Law Board, but out of a total of 3,168 over the period 1853-1870, just 97 departed for New Zealand.⁸ Further of the 20,500 workhouse inmates subsidised to emigrate by the Guardians of the Poor Law Unions in Ireland, just four reached New Zealand.⁹ Private emigration organisations facilitated some emigration, notably the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (established in 1859), and Female Middle Class Emigration Society (established in 1862). The latter began despatching groups of female emigrants to the colonies in 1862, including 12 for Canterbury and 19 for Otago. Its secretary, Maria Rye, accompanied by some 100 emigrant women, arrived in Dunedin in 1863, and immediately created a storm over the condition of the city's immigration barracks.¹⁰ She found that there was little enthusiasm for middle-class emigrants in a colony which above all desired domestic servants.

So the inflow from the United Kingdom either came through the actions of the New Zealand provincial governments or was a voluntary movement of the migrants themselves.

⁷ 24th *General report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, BPP 1864.xvi.477. For accounts of Lancastrian families, see Esther Harper, *James and Mary Whittaker, 1863-1983: Lancashire-Canterbury*. [Taupiri, 1984]; and Janette Lewis, *The Lancaster connection: Ohoka, Canterbury, 1863-2000*. Christchurch, 2000. It is worth noting that others affected by the 'cotton famine' were assisted directly by the Canterbury Provincial Government, among them weavers Hannah and Albert Dunstall of Milltown, Glossop, in Derbyshire. See Thelma Dunstall, 'I birthed him myself,' in Colleen P. Main, editor, *Our lesser stars: twelve New Zealand family biographies*. Auckland, 1990, pp.174-198. A good many of these arrivals appear to have settled in Kaiapoi where they formed a majority of the early employees of the Kaiapoi Woollen Mills. See Pauline Wood, *Kaiapoi: a search for identity*. Rangiora, 1993, p.104.

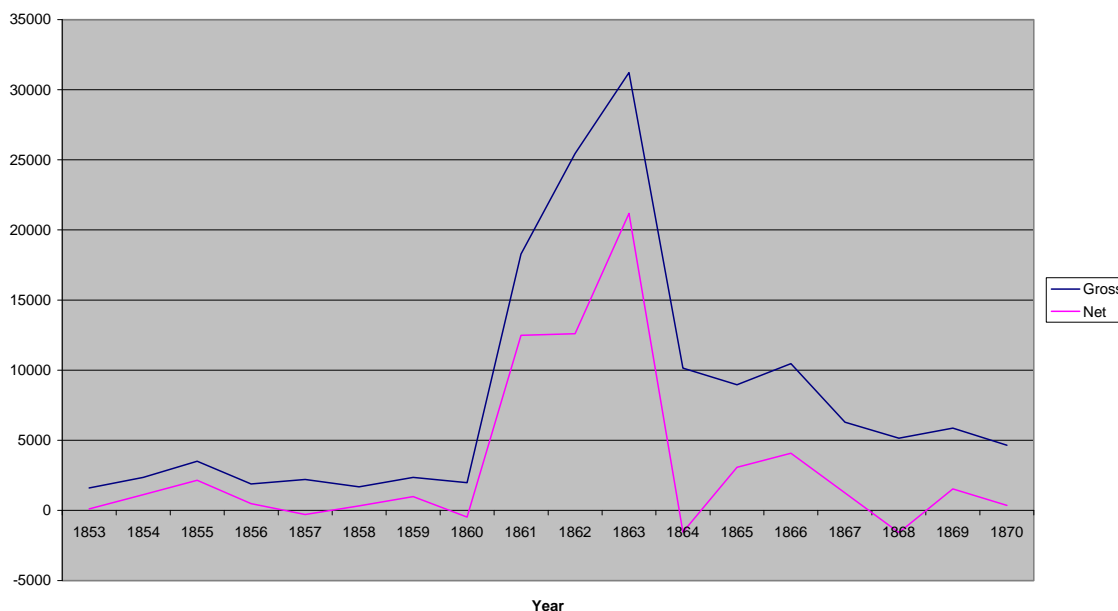
⁸ The Poor Law Commission was wound up in 1847 following the Andover scandal of 1845-1846. The Poor Law Board which in 1854 replaced the Commission was merged with the Public Health Board in 1871 to form the Local Government Board.

⁹ 18th *Annual report of the Commissioners for Administering Laws for Relief of Poor in Ireland*, BPP 1865 xxii.341; and 24th *Annual report of the Commissioners for Administering Laws for Relief of Poor in Ireland*, BPP 1870.xxviii.1. See Acts 12 & 13 Vic. c 104, section 26. See also 1st *Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Ireland*, BPP 1873.xxix.417.

¹⁰ For an account of Rye's visit, see Charlotte Macdonald, *Single women as immigrant settlers in New Zealand, 1853-1871*. PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 1986. See also A.H.McLintock, *The history of Otago: the origins and growth of a Wakefield class settlement*. Dunedin, 1949, pp.492-493; and W.H.Scotter, 'The moderate success of the assisted immigration scheme,' Chapter IX in W.J.Gardner, editor, *A history of Canterbury. Volume II*. Christchurch, 1971, p. 228. For Rye, see Marion Diamond, *Emigration and empire: the life of Maria S.Rye*. New York, 1999. The Dunedin controversy attracted widespread interest and comment. See, for example, *Mount Alexander Mail* 15 April 1863.

Inflow from the Australian Colonies

Graph 6: Annual immigration from Australia to New Zealand, 1853-70



Graph 6 provides the annual gross and net inflow from the Australian colonies. This shows a very different pattern from the inflow direct from the United Kingdom. In brief the numbers were relatively low (although positive) in the 1850s, and then rocketed upwards with the Otago gold-rushes. Such statistics as are available suggest that for the period 1853-1860 as a whole, trans-Tasman migrants made up about one-third (34.6 per cent) of all migrants arriving in New Zealand. The inflows were particularly important for Nelson and Auckland Provinces, the Aorere and Coromandel gold discoveries being the major attractions. Almost 45 per cent of Wellington's gross immigrants over the period 1853-1860 came from the Australia, reflecting the recruitment programme it conducted in Australian Colonies. Towards the end of the 1850s, trans-Tasman migrants began to turn southwards to Canterbury and Otago as the pastoral industry expanded in and beyond the Canterbury and Otago Blocks.

The *Passenger lists, Victoria to all New Zealand ports, 1852-1860* offer some insights into the character of this flow. A comparison between the gross inflow from all the Australian colonies and the gross inflow from Victoria indicates that the latter contributed

just over half (52.8 per cent) of the total gross inflow of almost 17,600 persons.¹¹

Although the information offered is frequently imprecise and incomplete, analysis of a random sample of 1,000 persons indicates that almost three-quarters (74.6 per cent) of the inflow was male, and indeed that males formed 88.3 per cent of the inflow in 1857, the year of the Aorere gold rush. Almost 65 per cent of the males fell into the age range 21-35 years, compared to almost 42 per cent of the females, a larger proportion of the latter being aged up to 20 years (41.6 per cent compared to 17.4 per cent of males). There was a pronounced dearth of all persons aged over 45 years. Details with respect to marital status are incomplete, but the inflow appears to have been dominated by single males. The much smaller numbers of adult females in the inflow were more likely to have been married. Young married couples without children made up 19.5 per cent of all families arriving from across the Tasman, and married couples with children 68.4 per cent. A further 8.7 per cent were married, with children, but without a (usually male) spouse, and almost certainly were wives and families following some months after the initial movement of the male heads of household. The balance was made up of widowed persons, and married persons travelling alone and without children. With respect to family life cycle, 19.0 per cent were units in which the wife was aged under 45 years and was childless, suggesting that many of the married couples making the move were relatively newly married. A further 42.6 per cent comprised families in which all the children were aged under ten years, so that family units as a whole were dominated by those in the pre- and early stages of family formation.

Country of origin was recorded, but this was the least satisfactory of the information offered. It is not clear whether country of origin meant country of birth or country of last residence. For many no 'country of origin' was given at all or was simply noted as the United Kingdom. Country of origin within the United Kingdom was secured for 625 persons. Of that number, 74.6 per cent were from England, 0.3 per cent from Wales, 16.5 per cent from Scotland, and 8.6 per cent from Ireland. Occupations were given for 497 persons, almost all males: labourers made up 29.2 per cent, miners 21.1 per cent, and gentlemen 15.1 per cent, while farmers, mechanics, merchants, carpenters, and farm

¹¹ See *Passenger Lists, Victoria to all New Zealand Ports, 1852-1860*, and *Statistics of New Zealand, 1871*,

labourers made up a large part of the balance. The efforts of the Wellington Provincial Government to recruit labour for its public works programme, and the gold discoveries are clearly reflected in the distribution of occupations. Quite what the large number of 'gentlemen' suggests is not clear, although among them were Australian pastoralists who were beginning to make their move on to the South Island's indigenous grasslands.

During the 1860s, gross inflows into New Zealand from both the United Kingdom and the Australian Colonies surged, especially during the years from 1861 to 1863. In net terms the inflow reversed in 1864, and then recovered again during the West Coast gold rushes in 1865-1867, although both the gross and net inflows were modest compared with those of the first half of the decade. While the gross inflow from the Australian Colonies greatly exceeded that from the United Kingdom the net inflow from the latter exceeded the gain from the trans-Tasman inflow. How far the large outflow to Australia represented Australians returning to their homeland, how far it represented New Zealand-born migrating to Australia and how far, which is most likely, UK-born moving on to Australia after first migrating to New Zealand, it is impossible to tell.

The available evidence indicates that the inflow from the United Kingdom was in terms of gender reasonably balanced, while that from Australia was generally heavily male dominated. With respect to Otago, for example, the numbers of males per 100 females were consistently and significantly lower among the migrants arriving directly from the United Kingdom. The Australian ratio was very high in 1861, indicating quite clearly the heavily male-dominated character of the first miner influx. The ratio improved during the years 1864 -1866, reflecting the later arrival of wives and families. Similarly, the ratio of children per 100 adults, with the exception of 1864, was higher for the group arriving directly from the United Kingdom. The ratio for the Australia group rose over the years from 1863-1866, again reflecting the delayed arrival of wives and families.

National Origins

A sample of 2,464 individuals who arrived in New Zealand over the period 1853-1870 was drawn from the registers of deaths. A comparison between their year of arrival and that of New Zealand's total net immigrants indicates that the former corresponds well with the latter.

Table 1: The national composition of New Zealand's immigrant inflow, 1853-1870 (per cent)

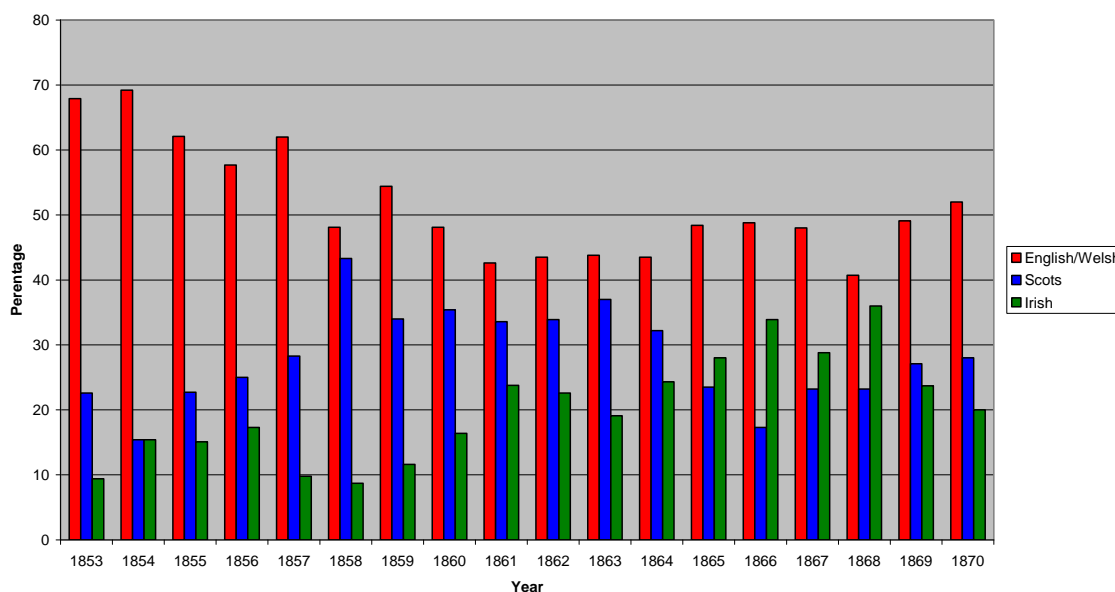
Born in	1840-1852	1853-1870	Share of UK resident native-born, 1861	Representation indices 1853-1870
England	64.3	46.6	62.7	74.3
Wales	1.1	1.1	4.0	27.5
Scotland	20.6	30.2	10.3	293.2
Ireland	13.5	21.4	22.6	94.7
Off-shore islands ¹	0.5	0.7	0.4	175.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	
n=	1 061	2 464		

Source: Registers of Deaths, Census of New Zealand 1871, and Censuses of Great Britain and Ireland, 1861. ¹ Channel Islands and Isle of Man.

Table 1 provides the country of birth of the total sample. Compared to their respective shares of the United Kingdom's total population in 1861 the English- and Welsh-born were markedly under-represented, the Scots were markedly over-represented, while the Irish were evenly represented. Those born in the off-shore islands formed a small proportion of the inflow but were, nevertheless, over-represented. A comparison with the national composition of the inflow for the previous period, 1840-1852, reveals some marked shifts, the proportion born in England declining sharply, and the proportions born in both Scotland and Ireland increasing as markedly. It should be noted that the national composition of the samples as set out in Table 1 accords well with the data provided by the New Zealand censuses of both 1858 and 1871. Thus the proportion of those who had been born in England (including the off-shore islands) declined from 65 per cent at the time of the census in 1858 to 49.7 per cent at the time of the census in 1871. Those born in Wales remained a very small fraction, 0.6 per cent in 1858 and 1.0 per cent in 1871. On the other hand, the proportion who had been born in Scotland rose from 21.9 per cent in 1858 to 27.3 per cent in 1871, and those who had been born in Ireland from 12.5 per cent in 1858 to 22.0 per cent in 1871.

As these figures suggest, the national composition of the inflow changed through the period (Graph 7).

Graph 7: Country of Origin of UK Immigrants to New Zealand
(Source: Registers of Deaths)



Initially the English/Welsh dominated, but their share declined from a peak of 69.2 per cent in 1854 to reach just 41.3 per cent in 1862. On the other hand, the Scots increased their share from 15.4 per cent in 1854 to 37.0 per cent in 1863 (consistent with the British data cited above), and still formed 28.0 per cent of the total inflow in 1870. The Irish also increased their share, from just 9.4 per cent in 1853 to a period peak of 36.0 per cent in 1868. In large part these trends reflected the impact of the gold rushes in attracting the Scots to Otago and the Irish to the West Coast. But interestingly things had started to change even before the major gold discoveries.

Gender

Table 2: Men and Women by nationality, 1853-70 (percentages)

Born in	Women	Men
England	45.1	47.8
Wales	0.8	1.2
Scotland	31.7	29.3
Ireland	22.0	21.0

Off-shore Isles	0.4	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Death Registers

The inflow over the period 1853-1870 was dominated by males, the general sex ratio being 147.6 males per 100 females, but varying from 158.6 in the case of the English and Welsh, to 136.5 for the Scots, and to 140.6 for the Irish. These figures are slightly higher, but not radically so, from the previous period. Interestingly the very even sex ratio among the Irish in the 1840s disappeared in this period. Indeed Lyndon Fraser's data indicate that the general sex ratio among the West Coast's Irish who arrived in New Zealand up to 1869 was a much higher 263 males per 100 females, a not unexpected result given the recency of the gold rushes.¹² The greater imbalance among the English is also reflected in Table 2 where we see that the English comprised a higher proportion of the total males, while the Scots in particular were well represented among the females.

When we examine the figures for immigrants aged 20 or over, the overall ratio was 166.7, consisting of 181.2 for the English/Welsh, 161.9 for the Irish, and only 150.7 for the Scots. In other words despite the migration of Scots miners, quite a number of adult Scots women also came into New Zealand during this period. On an age-specific basis, the greatest imbalances were among those in the age range from 20 to 39 years and especially among those aged 30-34, the ratio in the latter case reaching 229.2 males per 100 females. The pattern of imbalance was similar among the three major national groups. The rates fluctuated considerably through the period, the general rate rising from 108.2 males per 100 females in 1857 to 190.5 in 1861, as the largely male gold-rush immigrants began to flood in. As this flow declined toward the end of the decade the sex ratio evened up again to reach exactly 100.0 in 1870. The trends were similar for the English/Welsh and the Scots, but the Irish inflow remained reasonably balanced until 1859 when the rate started to increase sharply to reach 333.3 males per 100 females in 1860 before contracting rapidly to reach 66.7 in 1870.

¹² Lyndon Fraser, 'Irish migration to the West Coast, 1864-1900, *New Zealand journal of history* 34, 2, 2000, pp.197-225. See Table 5 on p.207.

Age

Table 3: Ages of Immigrants 1853-70

Ages	English males	<i>English females</i>	Scots males	<i>Scots females</i>	Irish males	<i>Irish females</i>
0-4	4.7	9.5	3.7	6.4	4.2	3.7
5-9	6.8	10.6	6.3	6.4	1.9	3.2
10-14	6.8	7.6	7.7	7.3	3.2	7.8
15-19	13.3	12.4	11.2	15.3	9.1	14.2
20-24	20.1	16.1	21.4	23.6	24.4	30.3
25-29	14.5	15.0	18.1	14.6	23.1	19.7
30-34	13.0	9.1	13.0	8.0	17.2	10.1
35-39	10.4	8.9	7.9	8.3	5.2	2.8
40-44	3.8	3.7	5.1	3.5	6.5	5.0
45-49	3.1	3.3	2.6	1.6	2.3	1.4
50+	3.4	3.9	3.0	5.1	2.9	1.8
n	731	461	430	314	308	218

Ages	English males	<i>English females</i>	Scots males	<i>Scots females</i>	Irish males	<i>Irish females</i>
0-14	18.3	27.8	17.7	20.1	9.4	14.7
15-24	33.4	28.4	32.6	38.9	33.4	44.5
25-34	27.5	24.1	31.2	22.6	40.3	29.8
35-44	14.2	12.6	13.0	11.8	11.7	7.8
45+	6.6	7.2	5.6	6.7	5.2	3.2
Ave. age	24.9	23.0	25.0	23.8	26.7	23.7
n	731	461	430	314	308	208

Ages	All males	All females	All
0-14	16.3	22.5	18.8
15-24	33.2	35.2	34.0
25-34	31.2	24.9	28.7
35-44	13.3	11.3	12.5
45+	5.9	6.1	6.1
average	25.3	23.5	24.6
n	1468	993	2461

Source: Death registers

As in the previous period the findings with respect to age must take into account the fact that the figures are derived from death registers from 1876, so people who died before that date were not included. This naturally biases the sample towards the younger age groups. Nevertheless on these figures the suggestion remains that the immigrants during this period were a young group with over 80 per cent under the age of 35. However, and in this respect the findings are less affected by the bias of the sample, compared with the 1840s there were proportionately fewer children and significantly greater numbers in the young adult years. Whereas in the earlier period about a third (32.2 per cent) had been under the age of 15, in the 1850s and 1860s under a fifth (18.8 per cent) were children. Instead the inflow as a whole was dominated by those in the age range 15-29 years in the case of females, and 20-34 years in the case of males. During the 1840-1852 period 51.6 per cent of all arrivals fell into the age range 15-34 years, but the corresponding proportion for 1853-1870 was a much higher 62.7 per cent. Almost certainly, such differences reflect the importance of assisted families among the arrivals of the 1840-1852 period and the influx of adult males on to the colony's goldfields during the 1860s. This explains why the numbers of immigrants under the age of 14 contracted strongly in the gold rush years before increasing again in the late 60s as family migration reasserted its dominance.

The age findings also reveal interesting differences among the national groups, findings which are also independent of the sample bias. The Irish had a distinctive pattern with comparatively few children and a heavy concentration among the young adults. In fact exactly a half of the Irish women were in their twenties (compared with 31.1 per cent of

English/Welsh women and 38.2 per cent of Scots), no doubt a reflection of the migration of young single women coming in as servants. As regards young men, while 47.6 per cent of the English/Welsh and 52.5 per cent of the Scots males were aged from 20 to 34 years, the corresponding proportion for the Irish was 64.5 per cent. It would seem that even though a great deal of Irish migration to New Zealand was channelled during the period 1853-1870 through the Australian colonies, it remained a movement dominated by young adults.

Marital Status

Table 4: Percentage married on arrival of UK Immigrants 1853-70

	Eng/ Wales males	Scots males	Irish males	All males	Eng/ Wales females	Scots females	Irish females	All females	All
All	31.1	27.3	26.6	29.1	43.2	37.1	37.4	39.0	33.2
Aged 20+	45.4	38.2	32.7	40.3	71.4	55.7	49.0	60.9	48.0

Death registers

With respect to marital status, the inflow as a whole over the entire period 1853-1870 was dominated by single persons (66.8 per cent), married persons making up just a third of the overall and the individual country totals, slightly lower than in the previous period. As expected, males were more likely to be single than females. When we look at the whole flow there were no marked differences among countries of origin. However once we examine the marital status of those 20 or over, some significant changes from the previous period become obvious. First we note that there has been a significant reduction in the proportions of married adults – from over six in ten in the 1840s to under half in this period. Second while there were more single adults among both men and women, the reduction was greatest among the women where the proportions married dropped from 81 per cent in 1840-52 to 61 per cent in this period. Third when we examine the countries of origin, the reduction was particularly striking among the Irish. In the 1840s they had been most likely to be married; now they were the least likely. Among Irish women aged 20 and over now under half were married whereas in the earlier period 80 per cent had

been so. Even among Irish adult men the numbers of married dropped from over half to under a third. The Scots too saw significant reductions in the numbers of married people with the proportions dropping by over 17 per cent. Among the English the decline in married adults was less marked, although still significant among the women. There are three explanations for these patterns. The first was the distinctive character of the gold rush which attracted largely single people and in which Scots and Irish were well represented. The second was settlement by single male soldiers in which the Irish were well represented. The third, and perhaps most important, was the deliberate attempt to recruit single women for domestic servants and as future marriage partners. In this respect particular efforts were made to recruit women in northern Ireland and Scotland.

The balance between single and married persons fluctuated considerably during the period: the proportion of the total inflow who were single rose from 64.1 per cent in 1857 to 70.7 per cent in 1859, that is, on the eve of the major gold rushes, and then remained relatively steady until 1862 when it began to decline to reach 59 per cent in 1864. The decline in the proportions of single people in the early 60s is interesting given that these were years of immigration into the gold fields and one might have expected a domination by single migrants. The explanation lies partly with the inflows associated with Auckland's forty-acre scheme and Canterbury's assisted programme which also reached a peak during the years 1862-1865: both of those inflows tended to attract the married. Further, the gold rush population of Otago and, to a lesser extent, the West Coast quickly passed through a cycle in which the initial influx was dominated by single males, while married men and especially married women tended to follow once the permanency of the new fields had apparently been established. That the proportions of single males rose to higher levels during the final years of the decade reflects the contraction of the inflows into both Auckland and Canterbury at the very time a new influx dominated by single males was making its way across the Tasman to the West Coast. The increase in the proportion of single women among all female arrivals from 1867 reflected those continuing efforts by provincial councils to recruit single women immigrants. Again, it must be borne in mind that the population being analysed is composed of those who arrived and remained in New Zealand.

Table 5: Place of Marriage Prior to Arrival (percentages)

	English males	English females	Scots males	Scots females	Irish males	Irish females
England	75.7	85.3	4.2	2.6	9.8	3.7
Scotland	1.8	0.0	80.5	85.2	0.0	1.2
Ireland	0.5	0.0	1.7	0.0	62.2	61.0
Australia	20.2	13.1	12.7	10.4	24.4	31.7
Other	1.8	1.6	0.8	1.7	3.7	2.4

Death registers

Of those who married prior to arrival in New Zealand, some marked contrasts emerged between the genders and among the three major national groups. Among the females, although over 85 per cent of the English-born and Scots-born had been married in their home countries prior to arrival in New Zealand, just 61 per cent of the Irish-born had married in Ireland. A slightly less strong pattern emerges among the males, with significant number of the English having been married in Australia. The Irish figures clearly reflect the large number who had spent time across the Tasman before reaching New Zealand. One also notes the interesting number of Scots men, and to a less extent Irish men, who had first gone to England, got married and then emigrated. Largely unskilled and semi-skilled, these migrants were a part of the great nineteenth century drift from rural to urban Britain.¹³

Religion

Table 6: Religious Denomination at Death of Immigrants 1853-70 (percentages)

	All	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish	1871 NZ census
Church of England/Ireland	38.4	61.4	10.6	26.5	39.9

¹³ David Fitzpatrick, "'A peculiar tramping people:' the Irish in Britain, 1801-1870,' in W.E.Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland, Volume V, Ireland under the union, 1, 1801-1870.* Oxford, 1989, pp.623-660.

Presbyterian	31.9	11.6	75.1	15.7	24.8
Methodist	11.0	17.1	6.6	3.5	8.5
Jewish	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5
Other Protestant	5.2	6.5	6.2	0.4	6.3
Roman Catholic	13.4	3.0	1.5	53.9	13.9
Not stated	304	155	83	66	6.1 (others)
n	2463	1037	745	526	

Source: Death registers; New Zealand census 1871

Table 6 provides the religious denomination of the person officiating at the funeral of the immigrant sample. The figures are very similar to those in the 1840-52 period with the same distinctive characteristics – the high number of Methodists among the English, and the comparatively low number of Roman Catholics among the Irish. They are also close to the census figures for 1871.

Occupational Background

Table 7: Occupational backgrounds of immigrant arrivals aged 20 and over, 1853-1870 (per cent)

Occupations	English/ Welsh	Scots	Irish	All arrivals 1853-1870	All arrivals 1840-1852
<i>Agriculture</i>					
Farmers	20.3	36.0	57.6	34.1	28.4
Agricultural labourers	4.0	8.1	2.5	5.0	4.6
Total agriculture	24.4	44.0	60.1	39.1	33.0
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	6.7	4.0	6.6	5.9	7.5
<i>Servants</i>	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.9
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>					
Building	8.6	8.1	4.4	7.4	6.8
Mining	3.9	1.7	1.3	2.6	1.5
Transport (traditional)	1.2	1.9	0	1.1	1.8
Other pre-industrial skills	25.9	18.6	7.6	19.2	16.9
Total pre-industrial	39.5	30.2	13.3	30.4	27.0
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>					
Total industrial	6.7	4.5	2.8	5.1	6.8
<i>White collar</i>	15.8	9.8	12.0	13.0	19.6
<i>Other occupations</i>					
Soldiers	1.5	0.7	1.9	1.4	2.0
Seamen	4.2	5.5	0.9	3.8	2.2

Other occupations	1.2	1.0	1.9	1.3	1.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	181	89	90	360	149
n=	776	509	406	1691	604

Sources: Death registers

Table 7 gives the occupations of the fathers of those who arrived 1853-70. There is a striking similarity with the occupational background of the immigrants from the previous period except that the concentration of those with an agricultural and pre-industrial background is even more marked. The main reason for the increased numbers of farmers is the Irish, three fifths of whom came from this background in the 1850s and 60s, but only two fifths in the previous period. The other points of difference are the fewer number of white collar workers reflective of the more elite migration of the 1840s, and the fact that the number of migrants with an industrial background is even smaller. The same points are revealed by Table 8 which compares the backgrounds of New Zealand's British immigrants (i.e. those from England, Wales and Scotland) with the occupations of British emigrants to Australasia in 1857 (one of only two years for which such data is available) and the male occupational distribution for Britain in the census of 1851. Compared with the census figures the immigrants to New Zealand were over 5 per cent more likely to be from both the agricultural or craft sectors, while they were under-represented among industrial workers by over 10 per cent.

Table 8: Occupational backgrounds of New Zealand's British immigrants aged 20 and over, 1853-1870, occupations of British emigrants for Australasia, 1857, and occupations of British adult males, 1851 (per cent).

Occupations	New Zealand's British immigrants	Emigrants to Australasia, 1857	Census, Great Britain, 1851
<i>Agriculture</i>			
Farmers	26.8	10.5	6.5
Agricultural labourers	5.7	17.6	20.4
Total agricultural	32.5	28.1	27.3
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	5.6	25.6	6.9
<i>Servants</i>	0.1	1.8	9.3
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>			
Building	8.4	8.2	7.4

Mining	3.0	12.7	5.2
Other pre-industrial	24.3	6.8	17.6
Total pre-industrial	35.7	27.7	30.2
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>			
Total industrial	5.8	2.9	16.0
White collar	13.3	9.2	10.5
Others	7.0	4.8	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	270		
n=	1 285	27 177	6 625 000

Sources: BPP 1868-1869.1.; Death registers; and Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: essays on British emigration in the nineteenth century*. Ithaca, 1994, pp.106-107

English and Welsh Immigrants: Regional Origins

Table 9: Regions of birth, New Zealand's English and Welsh immigrants, 1853-1870 (per cent)

Regions	Immigrants 1853-1870	Share of resident native-born E/W 1861	Representation indices	Immigrants 1840-1852
London-Middlesex	17.3	8.8	197	14.8
South-east	13.0	11.0	118	21.5
East	7.6	10.9	70	7.1
South-west	15.9	10.6	150	22.8
Midlands				
East	6.2	6.1	101	3.1
Central	5.4	6.2	87	5.8
West	5.4	6.4	84	4.9
South	3.5	4.8	73	4.6
Yorkshire	8.5	10.5	81	5.8
Lancashire-Cheshire	8.4	12.7	66	5.2
North-east	3.4	3.9	87	1.2
North-west	2.2	1.5	147	1.5
North Wales	0.5	3.6	14	0.6
South Wales	1.1	2.9	38	0.4
Off-shore islands	1.6	0.6	266	0.7
	100.0	100.0		100.0
Not stated (number)	35			25
n=	1 192			698

Source: Death registers, and Census of England and Wales, 1861.

Table 9 sets out the regions of birth of the English and Welsh immigrants who arrived in New Zealand during the period 1853-1870. As for the period 1840-1852, three regions stand out as major contributors, namely, London-Middlesex, the south-west, and the south-east. However the proportions of these three key regions did decline relatively and in total they comprised 45.8 per cent of the whole inflow compared with 59.1 per cent in the previous period. Their decline is made up with small increases in Yorkshire, Lancashire and the Midlands and a disproportionate representation from the off-shore islands. The increase in the proportions born in the east Midlands and Yorkshire in all likelihood reflected the establishment of Albertland, and that in the proportions born in the north-west the attraction exerted by the discovery of gold, particularly at a time when the mining industry of Cumberland was experiencing increasingly serious difficulties. The period sees the first signs of growing interest from the Channel Islands in New Zealand which seems to have begun in the early 1860s, perhaps also in response to the attraction of gold. In general terms the widening in the geographical origins of New Zealand's immigrants reflected a number of factors. First, whereas two major immigrant inflows arrived in the period 1840-1852 (the 'Company' and 'Auckland' streams), several major migrant inflows arrived during the period 1853-1870, among them, Auckland's land grant settlers and its Albertlanders, Canterbury's assisted immigrants, and the gold rush influx which arrived in Otago and on the West Coast. Second, a large proportion of New Zealand's immigrants arrived from the Australian Colonies, and, third, a large proportion of all arrivals comprised self-payers rather than assisted and hence selected immigrants.

In terms of gender, higher proportions of females were drawn from London-Middlesex and the south-east. As a result, both regions had the lowest gender imbalances of all regions, namely, 112.8 and 116.2 males per 100 females respectively. The flows from the east and the Midlands, in particular, were weighted rather more heavily in favour of males.

Table 10: County of Birth of English and Welsh immigrants to New Zealand, 1853-70 (percentages)

Regions and Counties	1840-1852	1853-1870	Representation Indices, 1861
England & Wales			
London-Middlesex			
London	14.2	16.1	199
Middlesex	0.6	1.2	171
South East			
Hampshire	5.2	3.7	161
Kent	10.7	5.6	160
Surrey	2.5	1.9	59
Sussex	3.1	1.6	84
East			
Cambridgeshire	0.	0.9	90
Essex	2.1	2.3	100
Huntingdonshire	-	0.1	25
Lincolnshire	0.7	1.3	54
Norfolk	2.8	1.2	46
Suffolk	1.0	1.8	86
South West			
Cornwall	6.7	6.0	295
Devonshire	6.8	3.6	109
Dorsetshire	1.6	0.9	82
Somersetshire	4.9	4.2	162
Wiltshire	2.8	1.2	75
Midlands East			
Derbyshire	1.5	0.9	50
Leicestershire	0.4	1.6	114
Northamptonshire	0.3	1.0	77
Nottinghamshire	0.9	2.6	163
Midlands Central			
Staffordshire	1.6	1.8	50
Warwickshire	4.1	3.5	135
Midlands West			
Gloucestershire	3.3	2.1	81
Herefordshire	0.3	1.1	157
Shropshire	0.4	1.0	67
Worcestershire	0.9	1.1	67

Mid South			
Bedfordshire	0.9	0.7	100
Berkshire	1.2	0.7	70
Buckinghamshire	0.6	0.6	60
Hertfordshire	0.7	0.6	60
Oxfordshire	1.2	0.9	90
Lancashire-Cheshire			
Cheshire	1.3	1.4	58
Lancashire	3.9	7.1	69
Yorkshire	5.8	8.5	84
North East			
Durham	0.3	1.9	90
Northumberland	0.9	1.4	82
North West			
Cumberland	1.2	1.7	155
Westmorland	0.3	0.5	125
North Wales			
Cardiganshire	-	0.1	25
Montgomeryshire	0.1	0	-
Pembrokeshire	0.3	0.3	50
Radnorshire	0.1	0	-
Other north Wales		0.2	
South Wales			
Carmathenshire	-	0.1	14
Glamorganshire	0.1	0.5	42
Monmouthshire	0.1	0.3	43
Other south Wales		0.2	
Off-shore islands			
Channel Islands	0.6	1.1	275
Isle of Man	0.1	0.4	200
Total England & Wales	100.0	100.0	

Sources: Death Registers, and Census of England and Wales, 1861.

As Table 10 shows, despite the shifts in relative contributions among the various regions, the same nine counties which emerged as principal contributors during the period 1840-1852 continued to furnish the bulk of New Zealand's English/Welsh immigrants in the period 1853-1870 (viz. London, Hampshire, Kent, Cornwall, Devonshire, Somerset,

Warwickshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire). Six were concentrated in the south-east and south-west of England. Further, the natives of all but Yorkshire and Lancashire were over-represented. It should be noted that the natives of a further three counties, namely, Nottingham, Leicester, and Hereford, together with those born in the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands were also over-represented although each contributed less than 3.5 per cent of the inflow. It is also apparent that several northern counties, especially Yorkshire and Lancashire increased their shares, while those in the south, especially Kent and Devon, significantly declined.

Looking at the characteristics of the leading counties, we note the continued importance of those with a mining background among the Cornish (over a quarter) and the fact that almost a third were Methodists. Among those from London under 4 per cent were children of farmers, but about half were children of traditional craft workers and 30 per cent were from a white collar background. In other words the Londoners were still not refugees from the farm.

The Scots: Regional Origins

Table 11: Regional origins of New Zealand's Scottish immigrants, 1853-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Immigrants 1853-1870	Share of resident native-born Scots 1861	Representation indices	Immigrants 1840-1852
Far North	5.9	3.9	151	6.1
Highlands	16.0	11.8	136	10.3
North-east	10.2	13.3	77	7.9
Eastern Lowlands	32.7	33.7	97	36.2
Western Lowlands	26.6	27.7	96	36.2
Borders	8.6	9.6	90	3.3
	100.0	100.0		100.0
Not stated (number)	38			6
	745			213

Source: Death registers, and Census of Scotland, 1861.

Table 11 sets out the regions of birth of the Scottish immigrants who arrived in New Zealand over the period 1853-1870. As in the previous period, there remains a remarkably close correlation between the origins of the emigrants to New Zealand and the distribution of the Scots population. The most striking differences were the high representation of people born in the Highlands and the continued strong representation from the Far North.

There were no marked gender differences, although there was a tendency for a larger proportion of females to have been born in the Eastern and Western Lowlands, with the result that they had the lowest gender imbalances, namely, 122.1 and 116.1 males per 100 females respectively. The Borders had the greatest imbalance, 221.1 males per 100 females, a not unexpected result for a region from which females in search of employment largely moved south into England.

Table 12: Counties of birth of Scots Immigrants 1853-70 (percentages)

Regions and Counties	1840-1852	1853-1870	Representation Indices, 1861
Far North			
Caithness	4.2	3.1	233
Orkney	0.5	0.9	81
Shetland	1.4	2.0	189
Highlands			
Argyll	1.9	3.1	119
Bute	1.9	2.0	379
Inverness	2.8	4.0	137
Ross	1.9	4.7	177
Sutherland	1.9	2.3	278
North-east			
Aberdeen	5.6	7.8	109
Banff	-	0.7	37
Moray	1.4	1.3	90
Nairn	-	0.1	43
Eastern Lowlands			
Angus	5.2	5.4	79
Clackmannan	0.5	0.6	83
Dunbarton	1.9	1.4	84
East Lothian (Haddington)	0.9	0.4	34

Fife	3.8	4.0	78
Kincardine	-	0.4	29
Kinross	-	0.3	107
Mid Lothian (Edinburgh)	16.9	9.5	109
Perth	2.8	6.2	142
Stirling	3.8	3.5	118
West Lothian (Linlithgow)	1.4	0.7	56
Western Lowlands			
Ayr	8.9	7.9	122
Lanark	18.8	15.0	75
Renfrew	8.5	3.4	58
Borders			
Berwick	1.4	2.0	164
Dumfries	0.5	2.5	103
Kirkcudbright	-	0.7	52
Peebles	-	0.7	198
Roxburgh	0.9	1.7	96
Selkirk	-	0.3	86
Wigtown	0.5	0.7	51
Not stated	6	38	
N	213	745	
Total Scotland	100.0	100.0	

Sources: Death registers, and Census of Scotland, 1861.

Table 12 sets out the principal county contributors. Whereas in 1840-1852, the top seven counties contributed 68.1 per cent of all Scots immigrants, in 1853-1870 the top seven counties contributed 56.5 per cent. This suggests that in the period 1853-1870 New Zealand drew its Scots immigrants more widely within Scotland than it had done in the earlier period 1840-1852. This was partly because there were proportionately fewer migrants from Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Irish: Regional Origins

Table 13: Provinces of birth of New Zealand's Irish arrivals, 1853-1870 (per cent)

Provinces	Immigrants 1853-1870	Share of resident native-born 1861	Representation Irish, indices	Immigrants 1840-1852
Connacht	8.5	15.9	53	6.3
Leinster	19.9	24.5	81	34.1
Munster	31.7	26.3	121	27.8
Ulster	39.8	33.3	120	31.7
	100.0	100.0		100.0
Not stated (number)	45			18
n=	527			144

Sources: Death registers, and Census of Ireland, 1861

Table 13 sets out the provinces of birth of all Irish arrivals over the period 1853-1870. Munster and Ulster were clearly the two major provincial sources. Munster and Connacht supplied a slightly higher proportion of female arrivals than their share of total arrivals. The small flow from Connacht was dominated by females (70.8 males per 100 females), while that from Leinster was dominated by males (174.3 males per 100 females), the flows from Ulster and Munster being only modestly dominated by males (116.7 and 125.0 males per 100 females respectively). Individual provincial contributions fluctuated during the 1850s when the annual number of arrivals was small, but from 1860 a significant degree of consistency prevailed, with the exception of a modest increase in the proportion of Connacht natives during the latter half of the 1860s. Interestingly if we divide the period at 1860 (before the gold rushes), we find that there was actually a higher proportion of people from Munster (37.7 per cent 1853-60) before 1861 than after (30.8 per cent 1861-70), while the figures from Ulster are in reverse (1853-60: 29.9 per cent; 1861-70: 41.9 per cent). Of course the numbers were small in the 1850s, but this finding nevertheless dispels the notion that it was only the gold rushes which drew people from Munster.

When each province's contribution is compared to its share of Ireland's total native-born population in 1861, it is apparent that natives of both Munster and Ulster were over-represented among New Zealand's Irish arrivals, while Leinster natives were modestly and Connacht natives were significantly under-represented. Table 13 also indicates that a clear shift in regional origins occurred between the two periods 1840-1852 and 1853-

1870 as the contribution of Leinster declined sharply and that of Ulster increased. In part, at least, that shift reflected the efforts of the Canterbury provincial government as it endeavoured to ensure that it drew as large a proportion as possible its assisted Irish immigrants from Ulster (see below). The modest increase in the proportion born in Munster is also noteworthy, especially given the prominent part the Munster Irish are generally held to have played in the West Coast (and, to a lesser extent, the Otago) gold rushes. Thus Fraser indicated that of 1,081 Irish who arrived in New Zealand over the period 1864-1869 and settled on the West Coast, 29.3 per cent had been born in Ulster, 19 per cent in Leinster, 9.5 per cent in Connacht, and 42.1 per cent in Munster.¹⁴ Despite the inflow of the 'southern Irish' into Otago and on to the West Coast, Ulster emerged as the most important provincial source.

Table 14: County of birth of Immigrants from Ireland, 1853-70

Regions and Counties	1840-1852	1853-1870	Representation Indices, 1861
Connacht			
Galway	4.0	5.7	119
Leitrim	0.8	0.8	45
Mayo	1.6	0.2	46
Roscommon	-	1.3	46
Sligo	-	0.4	19
Leinster			
Carlow	-	2.1	210
Dublin	19.8	6.9	96
Kildare	0.8	0.6	39
Kilkenny	2.4	1.3	58
King's Country	2.4	2.3	146
Longford	0.8	0.6	50
Louth	0.8	-	-
Queen's Country	1.6	0.8	52
Westmeath	0.8	1.7	118
Wexford	2.4	1.5	58
Wicklow	1.6	1.9	125
Munster			

¹⁴ Lyndon Fraser, 'Irish migration to the West Coast, 1864-1900,' *New Zealand journal of history* 34, 2, 2000, p.205. See also Lyndon Fraser, 'Irish migration to the West Coast 1864-1900', in Lyndon Fraser, editor, *A distant shore: Irish migration and New Zealand settlement*. Dunedin, 2000, pp.86-104.

Clare	1.6	7.5	252
Cork	10.3	6.3	66
Kerry	-	4.2	119
Limerick	8.7	4.6	116
Tipperary	4.8	6.3	144
Waterford	2.4	2.7	116.
Ulster			
Antrim	5.6	12.6	275
Armagh	4.8	4.4	132
Cavan	1.6	2.9	109
Donegal	2.4	2.5	61
Down	5.6	6.9	132
Fermanagh	3.2	2.7	147
Londonderry	4.8	4.0	124
Monaghan	0.8	0.6	28
Tyrone	3.2	3.4	80
Not stated	18	50	
N	144	427	
Total Ireland	100	100	

Sources: Death registers, and Census of Ireland, 1861.

Table 14 sets out the county contributors. Just 11 of Ireland's 32 counties supplied 69.2 per cent of all Irish arrivals, among them five of Munster's six counties and four of Ulster's nine counties (with County Tyrone contributing another 3.4 per cent). Nine of those counties were also principal contributors in the previous period 1840-1852. Nevertheless, some pronounced changes are apparent, including the emergence of Counties Clare and Kerry as principal contributors, a contraction in the contributions made by Counties Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, and a sharp increase in the proportion contributed by County Antrim.

Irish: Religious Affiliation

Table 15: Religious affiliations at death, Irish immigrants, 1840-1852 and 1853-1870 (per cent)

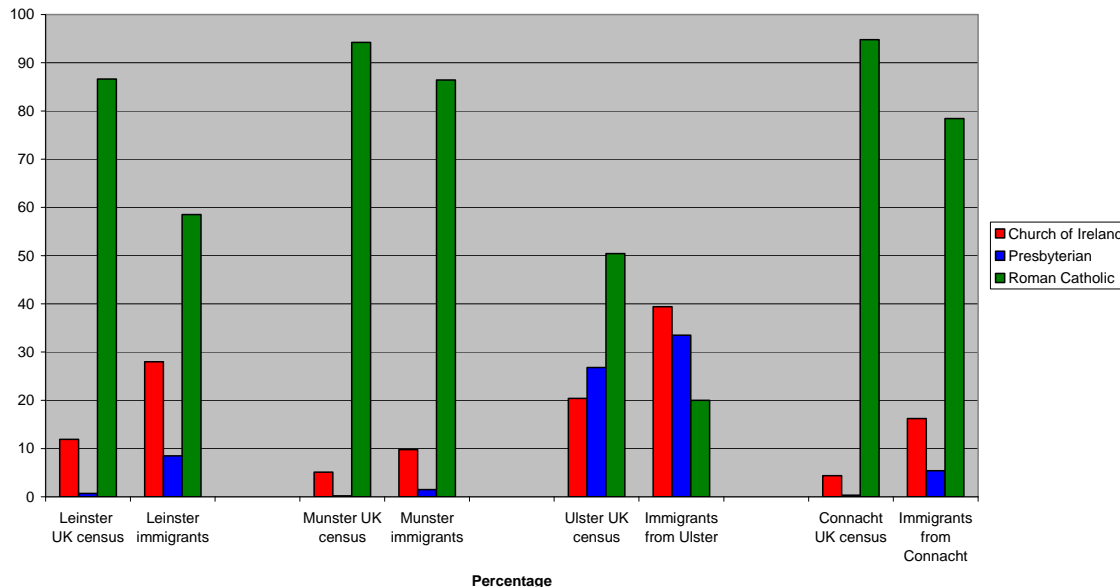
	1853-70 arrivals	1840-52 arrivals	Ireland 1861 census
Catholic	53.9	56.8	77.9
Anglican (or Church	26.5	28.8	11.8

of Ireland)			
Presbyterian	15.7	9.0	9.2
Other dissenters	3.9	5.4	1.1

Source: Death registers; census of Ireland

Table 15 shows the continued and disproportionate importance of Protestants among Irish immigrants to New Zealand with a particular increase during the period among the Presbyterians. On the other hand, for the West Coast, Fraser indicated that of 1,148 Irish men and women who arrived in New Zealand over the period 1860-1869 and for whom information was available, 13.5 per cent were ‘Anglicans,’ 6.3 per cent belonged to the Presbyterian Church, 78.7 per cent to the Catholic Church, and 1.5 per cent were ‘Wesleyans.’ He thus concluded that the balance of religious affiliations closely resembled the patterns found in Ireland. In large part, the mix of religious affiliations among the West Coast’s Irish arrivals reflected their regional origins which, as will be discussed below, were weighted towards Munster.

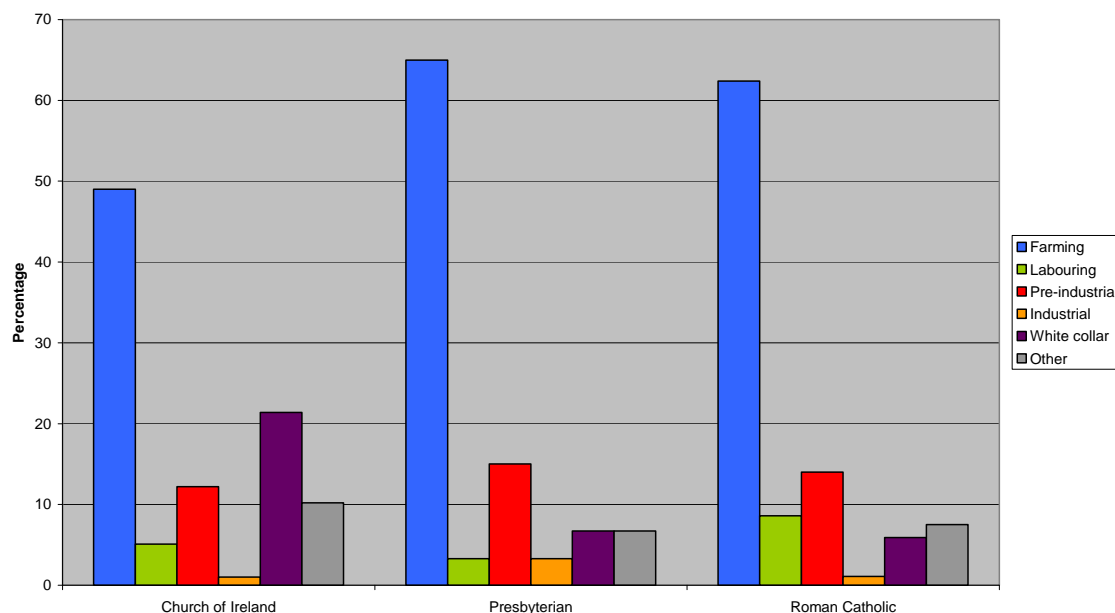
Graph 8: Religious denomination of immigrants from Ireland, 1853-70
Sources: UK Census 1861, Registers of Deaths



Thus when we examine Graph 8, which sets out the religious affiliations of Ireland’s resident population in 1861 by province, and New Zealand’s Irish arrivals according to province of birth, we discover that of all the provinces Munster arrivals were overwhelmingly Catholic and only marginally less Catholic than at home. By contrast

those arriving from the other three provinces were consistently more of an Anglican (Church of Ireland) or Presbyterian faith than at home.

Graph 9: Occupational background of immigrants from Ireland by religious denomination, 1853-70



It is interesting that as Graph 9 reveals, the Anglican immigrants were rather less likely than the other faiths to be from a farming background and rather more likely to be of a white collar origin. Taken together these statistics suggest three important flows into New Zealand from Ireland. The first was a Catholic stream originating largely in Munster and Leinster and drawing on people with a farming, labouring or pre-industrial background; the second was an Anglo-Irish stream coming from Ulster and Leinster with a farming or white collar background; and the third was a Presbyterian inflow, especially from Ulster, and which included many with a farming or pre-industrial background. What is clear is that Irish immigration during the period 1853-1870 cannot be reduced to an ‘over-spill’ of largely Munster-born gold miners channelled through Victoria.

Place of death

Table 16 : Place of death of immigrants 1853-70 (percentages of country of birth)

Region	Eng./Wales	Scotland	Ireland	All
Northland	1.8	1.1	0.8	1.3
Auckland	17.3	9.7	20.3	15.6
Waikato/Coro.	4.4	2.0	5.9	4.0
Bay of Plenty	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.6
Gisborne	0.8	0.4	0.8	0.7

Taranaki	2.4	1.2	1.5	1.9
Hawkes Bay	3.0	1.2	2.5	2.4
Manawatu/Wang	4.1	3.4	3.0	3.7
Wairarapa	1.8	0.8	0.6	1.2
Wellington	4.7	3.5	5.3	4.5
Nelson	3.5	1.1	1.5	2.4
Marlborough	1.6	2.0	1.3	1.7
Canterbury	27.6	16.8	22.2	23.2
West Coast	7.1	4.2	12.1	7.3
Otago	14.9	36.4	17.4	22.0
Southland	4.1	15.8	4.0	7.7
Offshore islands	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
unknown	3	0	0	0
Number	1189	745	527	2461

Source: Death registers

Table 17: Place of death of immigrants 1853-70 (percentages of region of death)

Region	England/Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Number
Northland	66.7	24.2	12.1	33
Auckland	53.4	18.8	27.9	384
Waikato/Coro.	53.1	15.3	31.6	98
Bay of Plenty	46.7	26.7	26.7	15
Gisborne	56.3	18.8	25.0	16
Taranaki	63.0	19.6	17.4	46
Hawkes Bay	62.1	15.5	22.4	58
Manawatu/Wang	54.4	27.8	17.8	90
Wairarapa	70.0	20.0	10.0	30
Wellington	50.9	23.6	25.4	110
Nelson	72.4	13.8	13.8	58
Marlborough	46.3	36.6	17.1	50
Canterbury	57.5	22.0	20.6	569
West Coast	46.9	17.3	35.8	179
Otago	32.8	50.2	17.0	540
Southland	26.1	62.8	11.2	188
ALL	48.3	30.3	21.4	
unknown	3	0	0	4
Number	1189	745	527	2461

Source: Death registers

Table 18: Places of birth of residents born in the United Kingdom by province, 1871

	England	Scotland	Ireland

Auckland	54.9	17.0	27.2
Taranaki	69.6	9.5	20.5
Hawke's Bay	55.2	20.9	23.2
Wellington	63.5	20.0	15.4
Nelson	56.4	15.9	25.9
Marlborough	62.1	20.4	16.4
Canterbury	62.7	16.9	19.4
Westland	40.1	19.9	37.9
Otago	31.0	51.5	16.9
Southland	24.4	61.4	13.9
New Zealand	49.7	27.3	22.0

Source: New Zealand census, 1871

Tables 16 and 17 are derived from the death registers, and while people may obviously have moved between the time they arrived in New Zealand and their deaths, the figures do provide some indication of where and how far immigrants from different national groups clustered within New Zealand. The first table distributes the whole of the sample of each national group by modern regions, the second table looks at each modern region in terms of the national origin of the British immigrants. Table 17 can also be compared with Table 18 which uses the provinces in existence in 1871 to examine the country of origin of people born in the United Kingdom. There is a striking consistency between the two tables which suggests that the evidence from the death registers is of real value.

Where there are differences, as with respect to Nelson, this is largely because the province of Nelson included the Buller region of the west coast where large number of Irish were congregated. For reassurance on the reliability of our sample it is also worth looking at the national origins in Table 25 which is derived from a different sample of immigrants who died in Auckland.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these tables. The first is that there was no extreme clustering of national groups in New Zealand during this period. The most extreme case is the number of Scots in Southland and Otago, where both tables 17 and 18 suggest that over half of the United Kingdom-born people were from Scotland. Yet when

we look at the distribution of Scots throughout the country in Table 16, those two regions attracted little more than half the Scots. In other words almost half went to other places in New Zealand – to Canterbury and Auckland for instance. Table 17 does point up some particular clustering of Scots – the relatively high proportions in Northland was a reflection of the Waipu settlement, and the numbers in Manawatu-Wanganui probably followed from those who settled around Turakina. Marlborough also attracted a disproportionate number of Scots. As regards the English Table 16 does suggest that well over a quarter went to Canterbury, but there is no extreme clustering and they were well represented everywhere outside Otago and Southland. Further even in Canterbury under three fifths of the United Kingdom-born came from England. As previously the Wakefield settlements of Nelson and Taranaki were strongly English. Table 16 suggests that the Irish went either to Auckland province or to the South Island regions of Canterbury, Otago and the West Coast. The latter two places reflect the attraction of gold. Tables 17 and 18 reinforce the significant representation of Irish in the Auckland region, Waikato and the Bay of Plenty. This was partly a perpetuation of the patterns of the 1840s and even more an expression of the presence of the military settlers. Canterbury and Wellington have an impressive representation of Irish-born, while not unexpectedly over a third of the United Kingdom immigrants to the West Coast were Irish (in both Tables 17 and 18).

The military immigrant stream, 1853-1870

As the figures for Auckland's Irish have suggested, military immigrants continued to arrive in the colony in the period 1853-1870, although they made up a small proportion, probably less than five per cent, of all those who arrived in New Zealand. There were two separate inflows. The first and smaller of the two comprised 2,042 men discharged from imperial foot regiments, and the second and larger the men recruited to form the four Waikato militia regiments, the census of December 1864 recording 3,150 men. It should be noted that some of the discharged soldiers enlisted in the Waikato militia, but they have not been separately identified. The militia regiments also included men recruited from elsewhere in New Zealand (notably the Otago gold fields), but the analysis has been

limited to those recruited in the Australian colonies, such men (and their families) being regarded as new immigrants.

Discharged soldiers

It is not known definitely how many of those discharged from the imperial regiments of foot remained in New Zealand. Such information as is available suggests that a good proportion of those discharged did select land and remain in New Zealand.¹⁵ Country of birth was established for 1,694 of the 2,042 men discharged during the years from 1853 to 1870. Of that number, 40.2 per cent had been born in England, 0.4 per cent in Wales, 2.6 per cent in Scotland, and 56.8 per cent in Ireland. Most of these men were discharged in 1857-1858 and, especially, over the period 1865-1867, that is, following the end of the conflicts in Taranaki and the Waikato.¹⁶ Most took their discharges in Auckland, with smaller numbers in New Plymouth, Wanganui, and Wellington. The two significant groups, then, were the English and the Irish.

Table 19: Regions of birth, English/Welsh soldiers discharged in New Zealand, 1853-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Share of discharged soldiers	Share of all E/W male immigrants 20 years and over
London-Middlesex	8.8	14.0
South-east	11.8	11.7
East	18.5	9.4
South-west	15.8	16.9
Midlands		
East	2.0	6.9
Central	4.4	4.6
West	5.0	4.6
South	5.0	5.2
Yorkshire	9.3	7.5

¹⁵ See AJHR H21, 1911, and W.R.Jourdain, *Land legislation and settlement in New Zealand*. Wellington, 1925, pp.22-23. For the stories of two soldier, see Dixie Day, *Waiheke pioneers*. Waiheke Island, 1989; and Miles Barker, *Barracks, babes, and boot-makers: the lives of Robert and Amy Barker and their family, 1824-1905*. Hamilton, c.1995.

¹⁶ The men were drawn largely from 12th, 2/18th, 57th, 58th, 65th, 70th, and 99th regiments.

Lancashire-Cheshire	14.9	9.0
North-east	1.4	3.4
North-west	1.3	3.4
North Wales	0.7	0.6
South Wales	0.3	0.4
Off-shore islands	0.7	2.3
	100.0	100.0
Not stated	3	16
n=	688	494

Source: Hugh and Lyn Hughes, *Discharged in New Zealand: soldiers of the imperial foot regiments who took their discharge in New Zealand 1840-1870*. Auckland, 1988; and Death registers.

Table 19 shows that while the south-east and south-west were well represented as in the overall flow to New Zealand, there were proportionately fewer from London and considerably more from the East and from Lancashire. Such contrasts reflected the particular regiments of foot which served in New Zealand and the regions from which they had drawn their personnel. Although the numbers of discharged soldiers were small, nevertheless the importance of the East and Lancashire-Cheshire represented a distinctive element, especially in the case of Auckland Province. This may also help to explain why in Table 9 Yorkshire and Lancashire-Cheshire increased their contributions to New Zealand during the period 1853-1870.

Table 20: Provinces of birth, Irish soldiers discharged in New Zealand 1853-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Share of discharged soldiers	Share of all Irish male immigrants 20 years and over
Connacht	9.2	7.0
Leinster	23.8	20.2
Munster	29.4	30.7
Ulster	37.6	42.1
	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	9	23
n=	962	251

Source: Hugh and Lyn Hughes, *Discharged in New Zealand Soldiers of the imperial foot regiments who took their discharge in New Zealand 1840-1870*. Auckland, 1988; and Death registers

Table 20 suggests that the provinces of birth of the Irish soldiers discharged over the period 1853-1870 were remarkably similar to those of all Irish males aged 20 years and over who arrived in New Zealand. Unfortunately no details are available with respect to religious allegiance. Galbraith notes that the Royal Irish (2/18th or 'Paddy's Blackguards') was raised in Enniskillen in County Fermanagh in 1858, and that those of Ulster origin formed a 'disproportionately large' number of the discharges, leading him to suggest that Protestants were strongly represented. He also noted that of the Ulster-born soldiers discharged from the 18th, 65th, and 68th regiments, almost a third had been born in each of the province's predominantly Protestant counties, namely, Down and Armagh, and very small proportions in the predominantly Catholic counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, Donegal, and Cavan.¹⁷ The Irish had been largely either labourers (61.7 per cent) or weavers (11.1 per cent) on enlistment, the presence of significant numbers of the latter a sign of the difficulties and accompanying job losses being experienced by the Irish textile industry.

One further group of some interest consisted of imperial army and naval deserters. It is likely that a good number of these men fled New Zealand, but in all likelihood some remained. Quite full details relating to each man, with the exception of those deserting naval vessels, are available.¹⁸ The inclusion of naval deserters is reflected in the national origins of the 423 deserters for whom country of birth was given, 51.1 per cent being English, 1.4 per cent Welsh, 39.5 per cent Irish, and 8.0 per cent being Scots, few Scots having enlisted in any of the foot regiments which served in New Zealand. It is interesting to note that 20.3 per cent of the Irish deserters had enlisted in Liverpool and Manchester, and a further 7.4 per cent in Melbourne. Desertion was a serious problem for four units, the 2nd/14th, 40th, 65th, and 75th, while the two naval vessels most affected were the HMS *Fawn* and the HMS *Harrier*. The great majority of desertions took place in the three years from 1861 to 1863, that is, at the end of the Taranaki War in 1861, and before the outbreak of the Waikato War in 1863, but coinciding with the discoveries of gold in

¹⁷ Alasdair Galbraith, *New Zealand's 'Invisible Irish.'* *Irish protestants in the North Island of New Zealand, 1850-1900.* MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1998, pp.178 and 180.

Otago in 1861 and 1862. It was well known that the ranks of the gold miners included many men who had deserted. The men concerned were mostly young (11.3 per cent were aged up to 20 years, and a further 49.5 per cent from 21 to 25 years). Most deserted in Auckland, with smaller numbers leaving their units in Wellington, Napier, and Wanganui.

The Waikato Militia

In July 1863, some months before the Waikato War ended with the siege of Orakau in March-April 1864, the general government set out its proposals for ‘the introduction of an armed population, to be located on the land taken from the enemy ...’ These military settlements, modelled on the those established in the British Kaffrari, would offer protection to European settlements and act as springboards for the further acquisition of Maori lands. A greatly increased settler population, drawn from the goldfields of Australia and Otago, would create a barrier between Auckland and the frontier, between the colonists and Maori. The Domett ministry envisaged a similar plan being implemented in Taranaki. The original proposals envisaged the settlement of 5,000 men, ‘from Australia and elsewhere,¹⁹ while the Auckland Provincial Government agreed to contribute £15 000 to passage costs and assist wives and families, while also carrying out a scheme of female immigration to balance the sexes.²⁰ At the same time similar terms were issued for settlers prepared to enrol in the militia.²¹ These regulations were amended in September 1863 so as to allow the extension of the scheme to the whole of the North Island. In October 1863 Domett set out the government’s by now much more ambitious plans in his *Memorandum on Roads and Military Settlements in the Northern*

¹⁸ Lists were published in the *New Zealand Gazette*, No.1, 15 January 1863, p.12; No.2, 23 January 1863, p.24; No.4, 7 February, 1863, p.45; No.8, 2 March 1863, p.77; No.10, 13 March 1863, pp.89, 104-128; No.13, 10 April 1863, p.134; No.15, 4 May 1863, p.154; and No.18, 15 May 1863, p.184.

¹⁹ See AJHR A8, 1863. See also R.B.Hamilton, *Military vision and economic reality: the failure of military settlement in the Waikato, 1863-1880*. MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1968; P.D.H.Allen: *Military settlement in the middle Waikato basin*. M.Phil Thesis, University of Waikato, 1969; and H.C.M.Norris, ‘Early Europeans in the Waikato,’ in D.H.Goodall, editor, *The Waikato: man and his environment*. Hamilton, 1972, pp. 30-34.

²⁰ Journal, Auckland Provincial Council, Session 16, 1863, A2.

²¹ AJHR A8, 1863, pp.5-7. See also *New Zealand Gazette* 5 August 1863, pp.303-306.

*Island of New Zealand.*²² Among other things, it proposed the introduction of 10 000 into Auckland Province, 4 000 men in Taranaki, 4 000 in Wellington (1 000 to the north and 1 000 to the south of Wanganui and 2 000 in the Manawatu), and 2 000 in northern Hawke's Bay. Domett noted that 2 000 men had already been introduced from Australia and Otago and that the balance of 18 000 would be introduced from 'England and elsewhere.' Four fifths of the recruits would be young married men, although the number of children was not to average more than one per couple, while wives and children would accompany the menfolk. The immigrants would be introduced over three years. The Domett Ministry was replaced in October 1863 by the 'War Ministry' of Frederick Whitaker, but it adopted a similar policy, and by December 1863 the legal and financial foundations had been laid down in the *New Zealand Settlements Act*, the *Suppression of Rebellion Act*, and the *New Zealand Loan Act*.

Difficulties over raising the loan in London meant that the scheme fell far short of the government's original proposals. Four Waikato regiments were established. The 1st was settled on confiscated land at Tauranga and Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty,²³ and the remaining three in the Waikato, the 2nd being allocated the towns and farms of Whatawhata, Alexandra (Pirongia), Kihikihi and Ohaupo, the 3rd Cambridge, and the 4th Hamilton. Enlistment began in August 1863, at first in Otago where some 1 000 men enrolled for the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th regiments before recruiting ended on 23 April 1864, while a recruiting party set out to seek men from among Victoria's gold miners. Eleven ships were chartered to carry the 1 784 Australian recruits, together with some 1 000 wives and children, across the Tasman. That much of the enrolment was carried out in Victoria was to influence strongly the demographic character of the Waikato Militia.²⁴ Again, it is not known how long the militia settlers remained in New Zealand. It is known that of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Regiments, 46.1 per cent were granted land, and that in turn suggests that a

²² AJHR A8A, 1863.

²³ See Evelyn Stokes, *A history of Tauranga County*. Palmerston North, 1980, especially pp.86 – 118.

²⁴ See Cathy O'Shea-Miles, "'Bealoidis mo mhuintir:' three generations of an Irish community in Hamilton, New Zealand, 1864-1940,' Paper presented to the conference on the Irish in New Zealand, Stout Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, July 2000. See also her *Irishtown, Hamilton East: 1864-1940*. MA Thesis, University of Waikato, 1999.

sufficiently large proportion remained to have some influence upon the colony's demographic character.²⁵

The Census of December 1864 included some information relating to all of the militia in the North Island, although there is some disagreement over the accuracy of the data.²⁶

Table 21 sets out the details.

Table 21: Military settlers and their families, December 1864

	Males	Females	Total
<i>Province of Auckland</i>			
1 st Waikato	627	106	733
2 nd Waikato	725	41	766
3 rd Waikato	962	145	1 106
4 th Waikato	836	660	1 496
Auckland military settlers and Commissariat transport corps	859	137	996
Colonial Defence Force	27	-	27
Totals	4 035	1 089	5 124
<i>Province of Taranaki</i>			
Taranaki military settlers	969	118	1 087
<i>Province of Wellington</i>			
Colonial Defence Force	35	14	49
<i>Province of Hawke's Bay</i>			
Military settlers	72	21	93
Colonial Defence Force	28	1	29
Totals	100	22	122
Totals	5 139	1 243	6 382

²⁵ R.B.Hamilton, *Military vision and economic reality: the failure of military settlement in the Waikato, 1863-1880*. MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1968, p.38. For an account of two brothers, Alexander and Neil Buchanan, of Argyll, Scotland, who enrolled in Victoria in the 4th Waikato Militia, and who were joined in 1865 by their sister Catherine, see Marjorty Shute, *Records and memories*. [Huntly, 1979]. Neil was accompanied by his wife and four children.

²⁶ R.B.Hamilton, *Military vision and economic reality: the failure of military settlement in the Waikato, 1863-1880*. MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1968, p.32, suggests that the data are 'misleading' as they include women and children and do not appear to include all the men who would have been in the regiments at that time. P.J.Spyve, *The First Waikato Regiment and the settlement process of the Bay of Plenty, 1864-1874*. MSocSci Thesis, University of Waikato, 1981, p.67, also suggests that the census data appear to represent those who were at the regimental headquarters at the time of the census. On the other hand, with respect to the 4th Waikato Regiment, Norris noted that the data 'include all the Fourths, their wives and children, wherever they happened to be on that day.' See H.C.M. Norris, *Armed settlers: the story of the founding of Hamilton, New Zealand, 1864-1874*. Hamilton, 1956, p.56.

Source: Census of New Zealand, 1864

The Census recorded a total of 6 382 military settlers and their families, that number including the four Waikato militia regiments. Of the total number of males, 41.1 per cent had been born in England and Wales but just 26.8 per cent of the total number of females; 12.8 per cent of the males had been born in Scotland but just 6.8 per cent of the females; and 23.4 per cent of the males and 18.3 per cent of the females had been born in Ireland. Overall, 77.3 per cent of the males and 51.9 per cent of the females had been born in the United Kingdom. Most of the balance, especially the adult females, had been born in Australia, while a smaller proportion, largely children, had been born in New Zealand. The overall gender ratio was 413.4 males per 100 females. The significantly lower ratio of 126.7 males per 100 females in the case of the 4th Waikato Regiment reflects the effort made to recruit married men in the belief that they would be more likely to settle permanently.

With respect to age there were some strong gender contrasts, reflecting the small number of adult women. While 72.7 per cent of the males were aged from 21-40 years, the corresponding proportion for the females was 42.4 per cent, and while 38.5 per cent of the females were aged up to ten years just 10.2 per cent of the males were. Marked gender contrasts were also apparent with respect to marital status: just 17.6 per cent of the males were married but 45.9 per cent of the females.

The data with respect to religious affiliation indicate that 55.0 per cent of the males and 51.2 per cent of the females belonged to the Church of England, 17.8 per cent of the males and 14.4 per cent of the females to the Presbyterian Church, and 22.7 per cent of the males and 30.4 per cent of the females to the Catholic Church. That a much higher proportion of females professed allegiance to the Catholic Church than had been born in

Ireland suggests that many females born in Australia and who accompanied the militiamen as wives and daughters were of Irish origin.²⁷

Table 22: Regions of birth, Waikato militiamen born in England and Wales and all English and Welsh male immigrants aged 20 years and over, 1853-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Share of militiamen	Share of Auckland's male immigrants 20 years and over, 1853-1870
London-Middlesex	21.8	18.8
South-east	14.0	12.1
East	6.9	8.8
Yorkshire	5.4	9.6
North-east	2.7	1.8
North-west	2.0	1.6
Lancashire-Cheshire	14.4	7.3
Midlands		
East	4.4	5.8
Central	4.6	6.1
West	5.2	4.8
South	3.9	2.8
South-west	10.8	18.1
Other	1.7	1.6
North Wales	1.0	0.4
South Wales	1.0	0.3
	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	53	58
n=	644	728

Sources: Nominal and Descriptive Rolls, Waikato Militia Regiments, and Death registers

Table 22 sets out the regions of birth for 591 militiamen born in England and Wales. Again we note the importance of those three key areas for New Zealand immigration – London-Middlesex, the south-east, and the south-west, – but it is also worth remarking on the comparatively large numbers from Lancashire-Cheshire, the same region which contributed a large proportion of all discharged soldiers, many of whom took their discharge in Auckland. It seems possible that some of these men subsequently enrolled in

²⁷ For biographies of some of the Waikato militia settlers see R. Wilkinson, *The first families of Cambridge 1864-1899*. Cambridge, 1972.

the militia. Of the small number of Scots-born, most had been born in the Western and Eastern Lowlands (33.1 and 35.3 per cent respectively), although 14.3 per cent had been born in the Highlands.

Table 23: Provinces of birth of Waikato militiamen born in Ireland, discharged soldiers and Auckland's Irish male arrivals aged 20 years and over 1853-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Militiamen	Discharged Soldiers	Auckland male immigrants 20 years and over 1853-70
Connacht	10.0	9.2	4.2
Leinster	39.9	23.8	23.1
Munster	27.7	29.4	30.7
Ulster	22.6	37.6	48.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated	39	9	35
n=	420	962	343

Sources: Nominal and Descriptive Rolls, Waikato Militia Regiments, and Death registers

Table 23 sets out the provinces of birth of the Irish-born. What is striking, especially by comparison with both the discharged soldiers and Auckland's adult male immigrants are the large numbers from Leinster and the small numbers from Ulster. The importance of those born in Leinster is perhaps a little surprising in the light of the extent to which the Victorian gold rushes (in particular) drew their Irish immigrants from Munster, and in the light of the fact that 67.4 per cent of those of Irish birth recruited in Australia were enlisted in Victoria.

Waikato Immigration Scheme

Another immigration flow which followed from efforts to stabilise the frontier at the end of the New Zealand wars was the Waikato Immigration scheme. This scheme was a joint effort of the New Zealand General and the Auckland Provincial Governments to consolidate the colonists' territorial gains and provide security. It envisaged the recruitment of 20 000 immigrants, from the Cape Colony and the United Kingdom, and their settlement on some 146 000 acres of confiscated land, while some 5 000 military

settlers would be located on lands further to the south. Among the classes of immigrants sought were labourers and mechanics, small farmers (who would be offered free grants of land), and capitalists (who could possibly be attracted by much larger grants of land, up to 500 acres).²⁸ No persons were to be over 45 unless part of a family, and none under 16, unless again part of a family; no single females were to be recruited unless part of a family; and a 'reasonable' proportion of mechanics (carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers) was to be selected although 'the principal class is to consist of mechanics used to agricultural pursuits.'²⁹ An emigration agent was appointed in Scotland with recruitment carried out largely in Glasgow and the surrounding towns and country districts, while in London a New Zealand Emigration Board was formed to handle emigration from England and Ireland. From Cape Town, 1 000 statute adults were sought, the agent in fact being overwhelmed with applications and able consequently to select single men and families, mechanics and tradesmen who, 'having experience of Colonial life, will be far superior to those settlers to those ... from England, and other places.'³⁰

Thirteen ships arrived in Auckland over the months from November 1864 to June 1865 carrying immigrants from Cape Town, London, Glasgow, and Queenstown and Kingstown in Ireland.³¹ Comparatively little is known about these immigrants,³² although Galbraith described the Ulster Irish who, having arrived in New Zealand *via* the *Ganges*, settled at Pukekohe. The immigrants brought by the *Ganges* and the *Dauntless* represented the first large-scale *organised* settlement of Ulster settlers in New Zealand, some 1 500 being settled in the vicinity of Pukekohe. This group included a number of nuclear and extended families predominantly from rural Ulster and largely protestant in religious affiliation. Most of the males were farmers and agricultural labourers, while the predominance of families reflected the offer of additional land grants for accompanying

²⁸ AJHR, D2, 1864, p.2.

²⁹ AJHR, D2, 1864, p.5.

³⁰ AJHR D3, 1864, p.18.

³¹ Christine Clement, 'The ships of the Waikato immigration scheme 1864-1865,' *New Zealand genealogist* 17, 168, September 1986, 796-797. Queenstown is now known as Cobh and Kingstown as Dun Laoghaire.

³² AJHR D2, 1865, p.16, carried a return with some details relating to the migrants departing from the United Kingdom. For an account of one family which took up land under the scheme, see G.A.Boddie, *The great book of Ware*. [Paekakariki, 1990].

children.³³ A second group of Irish immigrants, largely settlers from Counties Galway and Cork and who had originally emigrated to Cape Colony, were among those who arrived from South Africa.³⁴

A Register of Immigrants 1864-1865, made up of the passenger lists of the vessels bringing the Waikato settlers to New Zealand, includes, among other things, details of name, marital status, age, and occupation, but not place of birth.³⁵ An inspection of the surnames of the immigrants indicates that those proceeding from Cape Town included a small number of other than British origin, while those from the United Kingdom included a good many whose surnames – among them, Pinborne, Rowe, Trenwith, Wiskin, Lucas, and Peneluna - strongly suggest that they had been drawn from the south-west of England. The information contained in the *Register* was nevertheless analysed to create a general picture of the emigrants. There were 972 family units, comprising 949 males, 963 females, and 1 720 children, a total of 3 632 persons (or 82.6 per cent of the total), and 593 single men and 170 single women either travelling alone (and thus apparently kinless) or in the company of siblings or cousins. Of the 4 395 immigrants, 28.4 per cent embarked in Cape Town, and the rest in the United Kingdom - 29.4 per cent in London, 23.3 per cent in Glasgow, 10.7 per cent in Queenstown in Ireland, and the remaining 8.3 per cent in Kingstown also in Ireland. In general terms, members of nuclear families dominated all five flows, with the considerably smaller flows from the two Irish ports containing proportionately more single persons, consistent with the general character of Irish emigration generally following the Famine of the 1840s.

Of the 972 family units, 26.5 per cent consisted of married couples without children and 70.3 per cent married couples with children, the balance representing married persons travelling alone and with or without children or more likely wives and children

³³ See Alasdair Galbraith, *New Zealand's 'Invisible' Irish: Irish protestants in the North Island of New Zealand, 1840-1900. MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1998*; and his paper to the 2000 Stout Conference on the Irish in New Zealand, 'A forgotten plantation: the Irish in Pukekohe, 1865-1900.'

³⁴ On South Africa, see I.E.Edwards, *The 1820 settlers in South Africa: a study in British colonial policy*. London, 1934; G.B.Dickason, *Irish settlers to the Cape: history of the Clanwilliam 1820 settlers from Cork Harbour*. Cape Town, 1973; P.Philip, *British residents at the Cape 1795-1819: biographical records of 4 800 pioneers*. Cape Town, 1981; and Donal P.McCracken, 'Irish settlement and identity in South Africa before 1910,' *Irish historical studies* 28, 110, 1992, pp.134-149.

emigrating to New Zealand to join husbands serving in the Waikato Militia. Most families were in the early stages of the life cycle, with 55.4 per cent of male household heads and 61.0 per cent of female falling into the age range 21-30. Most married males were either labourers (36.5 per cent), agricultural labourers (26.2 per cent), building tradesmen (14.6 per cent), miners (5.7 per cent) or blacksmiths (3.1 per cent). From Ireland came over half of all agricultural labourers, but only a very small proportion of those engaged in the building trades. Miners were present only in the flows from Glasgow and London, suggesting that they included men drawn from the coalfields of western Scotland and the metalliferous mines of Cornwall and Devon. Any movement of married miners and their families from the south-west of England would have been consistent with the larger flow from that region after 1860. Among the married men, the small number of rail workers was drawn almost entirely from Cape Town. The Irish port of Queenstown provided over a quarter of the single women and practically all of the single women were described as domestic servants. In sum the limited evidence suggests that most of these immigrants were drawn from the south-west of England, the western lowlands of Scotland, and Ulster and Munster in Ireland.

Auckland's settlers

Given that the New Zealand Wars were fought largely in the northern part of the country, Auckland's population was heavily affected by the streams which flowed out of that conflict – the discharged soldiers, the Waikato militia and those who came in with the Waikato Immigration Scheme. There were two other important contributions to Auckland's immigration during the provincial years – the special settlements and the land grant settlers.

Special settlements

There were two significant special settlements. The first was the settlement of Norman McLeod and his followers who brought in more than 800 people between 1853 and 1860. The group had originally settled in St Ann's on Cape Breton Island in Canada, but following crop failure and facing an emerging shortage of land, 300 set out for Australia

³⁵ Place of birth was recorded in the emigration agreements, but few of these survive.

in 1851, in two ships, the *Margaret* and the *Highland Lass*. Two years later this group decided to move on to New Zealand and they arrived in Auckland in September 1853. Direct movement from Nova Scotia followed between 1856 and 1860, while eight families arrived directly from Scotland. Most settled at Waipu, with others at Whangarei Heads, Leigh, Okaihau and the valleys north of Whangarei.³⁶ One of the distinctive features of this movement was the extensive and dense kin connections and the number of three-generation families among the migrants. Most of the Waipu settlers were drawn originally from the Scottish Highlands, and indeed appear to have been among those affected by the clearances. Many of the birthplaces and marriage places of the oldest migrants were on the coast, including Helmsdale, Gairloch, Wick, Ullapool, Stoer Point, Applecross, Lochalsh, and little settlements on the Western Isles. 'It is probable,' noted Molloy, 'that this generation had been born, not on ancestral clan lands, but in coastal crofts and new towns to which their parents had been moved in the mid to late 18th century.'³⁷ Economic difficulties following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and mounting religious disaffection encouraged a rising tide of emigration from the Highlands to North America, a movement distinguished by the emigration of extended families and whole communities.

A second special settlement was Albertland. In 1861, under the auspices of the 'National Association for Promoting Special Settlements in New Zealand,' journalist William Brame (the son of a Birmingham Baptist minister) and his supporters formed the Association for the Establishment of a Colony of Nonconformists in New Zealand. The foundation of Albertland - named after the Prince Consort and described as 'the third and last church-sponsored settlement in New Zealand'³⁸ - was intended to mark the bi-

³⁶ See Gordon MacDonald, *The Highlanders of Waipu, or echoes of 1745*. Dunedin, 1928; N.R.McKenzie, *The Gael fares north*. Wellington, 1935, 1942; N. Robinson, *Lion of Scotland*. Auckland, 1952; Flora McPherson, *Watchman against the world: the story of Norman McLeod and his people*. Christchurch, 1962; L. Stanley, *The well-watered garden: the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton 1798-1860*. Sydney, 1983; Eric Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish emigration in the nineteenth century,' *Historical studies* 21 (85), October 1985, pp.473-494; and P. Molloy, *Those who speak to the heart: the Nova Scotian Scots at Waipu 1854-1920*. Palmerston North, 1991.

³⁷ The following section is based on P. Molloy, *Those who speak to the heart: the Nova Scotian Scots at Waipu 1854-1920*. Palmerston North, 1991.

³⁸ J.L.Borrows, *Albertland: the last organised British settlement in New Zealand*. Wellington, 1969, p.15. See also W.Ryburn, *Tall spars, steamers & gum: a history of the Kaipara from early European settlement 1854-1947*. Henderson, 1999.

centenary of the expulsion of nonconformist clergy from the Church of England.³⁹ Brame proposed to settle initially 1 000 emigrants on Albertland in a ‘model’ agricultural community, with other settler contingents to follow. Under Auckland’s forty-acre system, the Association secured some 70 000 acres on the Kaipara Harbour, adjacent to the Waipu settlement. Extensive publicity and the formation of committees in some 30 towns and cities – among them London, Birmingham, Castleford, Bradford, Cambridge, Coventry, Nottingham, Liverpool, Grimsby, Cowes, and Auchterarder (Scotland) – were followed by the departure of the first two ships, the *Matilda Wattenbach* and the *Hanover*, in May 1862, and six further vessels over the next 15 months. The *Matilda Wattenbach* carried 352 emigrants – largely farmers, carpenters, and other craftsmen – and the *Hanover* 336.⁴⁰ Ryeburn indicated that between 1862 and 1865, some 3 000 people arrived in Auckland under the auspices of the Association, although fewer than half made it to Albertland.⁴¹ Of 74 persons known to have emigrated to New Zealand as Albertlanders, all were drawn from England, and most from Yorkshire, followed by the East Midlands (primarily Nottinghamshire), the East of England (notably Norfolk and Lincoln), the South-east (primarily Hampshire), and Lancashire.⁴²

Forty-acre land grants

During the years 1853-70 the largest component of Auckland’s immigration came from the province’s ‘forty acre’ system. The *Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1858* provided for the reservation of land for ‘certain immigrants expected to arrive from the United Kingdom and elsewhere outside the Australian colonies’; for the appointment of emigration agents in the United Kingdom or elsewhere with authority to grant land orders to persons intending to emigrate and settle in the province at the rate of 40 acres for every person 18 years and over, and 20 acres for every person between five and 18 years; and for the

³⁹ H.Brett and H.Hook, *The Albertlanders: brave pioneers of the ‘sixties*. Auckland, 1927, pp.13-14. According to Fry, the Wesleyan missionary William Gittos ‘saw great advantage in having a ring of sympathetic Christian settlers around the Kaipara Harbour in his Mission District.’ See Ruth Fry, *Out of silence: Methodist women of Aotearoa 1822-1985*. Christchurch, 1987.

⁴⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 38 and 41.

⁴¹ W.Ryeburn, *Tall spars, steamers & gum: a history of the Kaipara from early European settlement 1854-1947*. Henderson, 1999, p.16.

⁴² Another smaller settlement was that established under *The Bay of Islands Special Settlement Act, 1858*. The first and only party of immigrants, some 100 adults, arrived *via* the *Mary Shepherd* in 1866, and most

continuation of the provisions relating to naval and military settlers. Thus was set into place the 'Forty Acre System.'⁴³ Emigration agents were appointed in England, Scotland, and in Ireland.⁴⁴ Several agencies were established in Canada (mostly in Nova Scotia), with others at Cape Town, on St Helena, and in Europe. In the United Kingdom a vigorous publicity campaign was launched and, according to the *Auckland Weekly Register*, created 'a sensation similar to that which, thirty years since, lured thousands upon thousands to take advantage of the free grant system without which Australia and Tasmania would never have been colonised ...'⁴⁵

The system indeed proved to be a major inducement. Between 1858 and the end of September 1862, 15 206 persons arrived in Auckland from United Kingdom and other British ports. Of that number, 6 943 held land orders representing 242 300 acres. Some 85 per cent of the orders had been issued by the agents in England, five per cent by those in Scotland, four per cent by those in Ireland, and a further five per cent in Canada.⁴⁶ By the end of October 1866, 13 316 orders had been issued and endorsed at Auckland, while 315 223 acres had been selected in the province.⁴⁷ An additional 1 200 orders were endorsed before the scheme was terminated some ten years after its introduction in 1858. There were thus two immigration surges into Auckland Province under this scheme – the first and smaller over the years 1858-1860 and the second and larger over the period 1862-1865.

of the new arrivals appear to have been recruited in Ulster, notably County Tyrone. See *Journals, Auckland Provincial Council*, Session XIX, 1865-1866, A.No.15.

⁴³ There were two major requirements: the first was that a land order had to be obtained before departure for New Zealand; and the second was that a Crown Grant would issue after five years from the date of arrival and then only if each of the persons named in the order had resided in Auckland for a minimum of 48 calendar months (reduced in 1863 to three years and 36 months respectively). No requirements regarding the occupation and improvement of any land granted were imposed. See W.R.Jourdain, *Land legislation and settlement in New Zealand*. Wellington, 1925, pp.68-76.

⁴⁴ In England in London, Southampton, Stamford, Hertford, Plymouth, Bristol, Liverpool, Leeds, Market Harborough, Birmingham, and Broadstairs; in Scotland in Inverness, Perth, Greenock, Dundee, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow; in Ireland in Castletown, Newry, Belfast, Strabane, Nenagh, Londonderry, and Dublin.

⁴⁵ *Auckland Weekly Register* 30 September 1858. The system was also criticised: see, for example, *Southern Cross* 10 November 1858. Many of the immigrants were dismissed as members of a 'useless class, broken down gentlemen, without even the wreck of their former means; clerks, shopmen, and others ...': see *Herald* 8 January 1866.

⁴⁶ *Journals, Auckland Provincial Council*, Session XV, 1862-1863, Appendix A. No.16.

⁴⁷ *Journals, Auckland Provincial Council*, Session XX, 1866, Appendix A.No.4. See also Session XIX, 1866, Appendix A.No.4.

While estimates suggest that the forty acre system ‘probably attracted’ between 40 and 50 per cent of all of Auckland’s immigrant arrivals over the ten years from 1858 to 1868,⁴⁸ surprisingly little appears to be known about this large body of immigrants, although Whitwell concluded that the forty acre men ‘were mostly of the lower middle class of urban England.’⁴⁹

Auckland Immigration Numbers 1858-70

Unfortunately provincial immigration data are incomplete for the years 1853-57, but for the years 1858-70 we know that Auckland Province’s net inflow exceeded 29,000, or almost 22 per cent of New Zealand’s net migration gain during those years. We have already identified that this increase derived from a number of distinct inflows and it is worth putting the figures together to get some sense of the respective scale of the different streams, bearing in mind that the figures for the particular migration streams are gross rather than net figures.

Table 24 identifies these flows:

Table 24: Immigration flows to Auckland Province 1853-70.

40 acre land grants	14 516 (land orders)
Special settlements	
Waipu	800
Albertland	3000
New Zealand Wars	
Discharged soldiers	2042
Military settlers	5124
Waikato immigration scheme	4395

Since these migratory flows were quite distinct from the streams arriving in other parts of New Zealand during these years, it may be that Auckland made a distinctive contribution to the character of New Zealand’s immigration flow. To test that proposition, a profile of

⁴⁸ W.Ryburn, *Tall spars, steamers & gum: a history of the Kaipara from early European settlement 1854-1947*. Henderson, 1999, p.26.

⁴⁹ See H.J.Whitwell, *The forty acre system*. MA Thesis, University of New Zealand, 1954, especially pp.13 and 162.

Auckland's 1853-1870 arrivals was prepared on the basis of a random sample of 2 751 persons drawn from the registers of deaths.⁵⁰

Countries of birth

Table 25: Countries of birth, Auckland and New Zealand's immigrants, 1853-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Auckland	New Zealand	Share of UK resident native-born, 1861	Auckland: representation indices	Auckland: 1871 census of UK born
England	52.9	46.6	62.7	84.4	54.9 ²
Wales	0.4	1.1	4.0	10.0	0.7
Scotland	17.8	30.2	10.3	172.8	17.1
Ireland	27.8	21.4	22.6	123.0	27.2
Off-shore islands ¹	1.0	0.7	0.4	200.0	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
n=	2 751	2 464			32 349

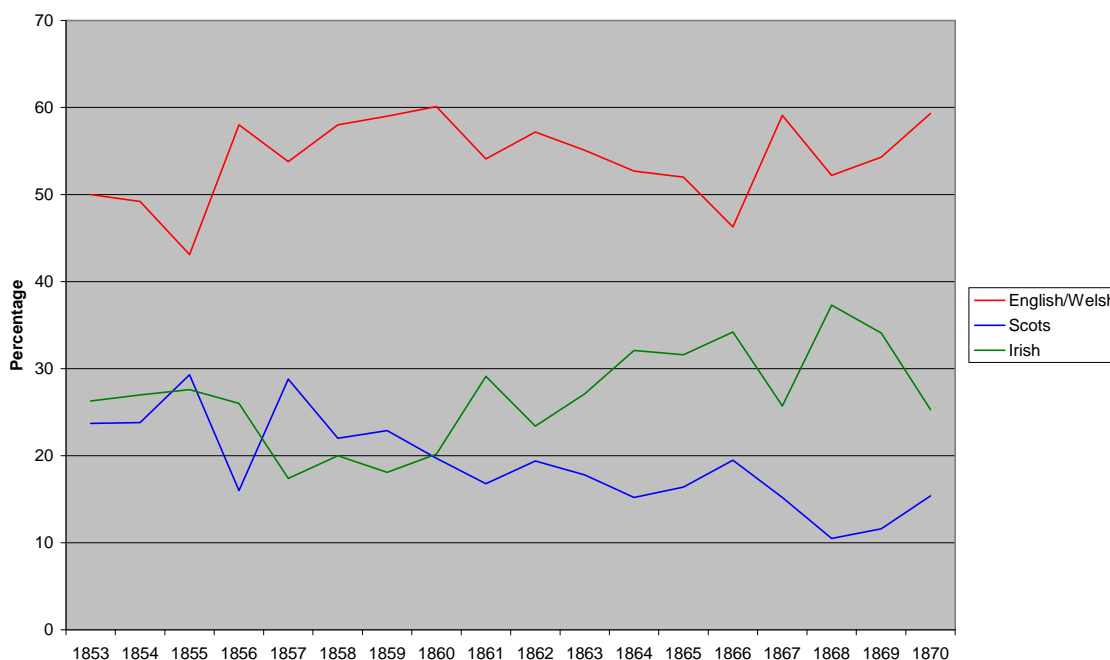
Sources: Death registers ; Census of New Zealand, 1871; and Censuses of England/Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, 1861. ¹ Channel Islands and Isle of Man; ² includes those born in Off-shore islands.

Table 25 sets out the countries of birth of both Auckland's and New Zealand's arrivals, together with representation indices for Auckland. The table includes the countries of birth of Auckland Province's residents according to the census of 1871 and it will be seen that there is a close correlation between the composition of the immigrant stream and the composition of Auckland's resident British-born population in 1871. A comparison with Table 18, based on a different sample, also confirms the distribution. On the other hand, the composition of Auckland's immigrant influx differed from that of New Zealand as a whole. There was a higher proportion drawn from England, a considerably smaller proportion drawn from Scotland despite the influence of the Waipu settlement, and a strong representation from Ireland. The poor representation of the Scots compared with the rest of New Zealand is emphasised when we examine the composition in particular

⁵⁰ It should be noted that the sample is of persons who died in the province and not necessarily of arrivals, although data relating to place of marriage indicate that a very high proportion of the sample population had also married in the province.

years of arrival (Graph10) which shows that after the Waipuu inflow the proportions from north of the border fell during the 1860s.

Graph 10: Country of origin of immigrants to Auckland by year, 1853-70
Source: Registers of deaths



The numbers from Ireland are in considerable part explained by the impact of those who settled as a result of the New Zealand Wars – the discharged soldiers who always had a strong Irish presence, the Waikato militia whose Irish representation reflected their Australian origins and the immigrants recruited under the Waikato Immigration scheme and which featured many Irish attracted from South Africa.

Gender

In the inflow as a whole, males outnumbered females, the general gender ratio being 148.1 males per 100 females, not dissimilar from the New Zealand-wide figure of 147.6. There were some marked contrasts among the three national groups: whereas the ratio was 165.1 in the case of the English/Welsh, and 140.2 in the case of the Scots, both of which were significantly higher than the New Zealand figures (158.6 and 136.5 respectively), the Irish coming into Auckland had a ratio of 124.6 which was distinctly more gender-balanced than both the other nationalities and the Irish immigrants to New Zealand as a whole (140.6). This is partly explained by the number of women who came

in as part of family groups in the Waikato immigration scheme. The annual figures also show up certain family-based flows: thus the Scots were reasonably balanced during the first half of the 1850s when the Waipu settlers were arriving, while the English had an even gender balance during the mid 1860s when the Albertlanders were arriving. Among the immigrants as a whole the years of most even balance coincided, unsurprisingly, with the years in which most of the land orders under Auckland's forty acre system were issued, families standing to gain most from that system.

Examining those aged 20 or over on arrival, we find that the sex ratio (males per 100 females) for the English was 175, for the Scots 154 and as with the whole inflow the Irish were the most balanced with a ratio of 131.9. All three were distinctly more balanced than the comparative New Zealand figures, especially with respect to the Irish where the New Zealand figure was 161.9. These figures confirm that the migrants into Auckland were more a family migration despite the presence of discharged soldiers.

Age

Table 26: Ages of Auckland Immigrants 1853-70 (New Zealand figures in brackets), percentages

Ages	English/ Welsh males	<i>English/ Welsh females</i>	Scots males	<i>Scots females</i>	Irish males	<i>Irish females</i>
0-14	12.4 (18.3)	<i>15.8 (27.8)</i>	11.5 (17.7)	<i>13.7 (20.1)</i>	7.8 (9.4)	<i>10.3 (14.7)</i>
15-24	30.1 (33.4)	<i>23.3 (28.4)</i>	26.2 (32.6)	<i>29.9 (38.9)</i>	33.6 (33.4)	<i>35.2 (44.5)</i>
25-34	30.2 (27.5)	<i>30.2 (24.1)</i>	33.9 (31.2)	<i>31.4 (22.6)</i>	36.4 (40.3)	<i>34.0 (29.8)</i>
35-44	18.0 (14.2)	<i>19.0 (12.6)</i>	14.0 (13.0)	<i>13.7 (11.8)</i>	13.9 (11.7)	<i>11.1 (7.8)</i>
45+	9.3 (6.6)	<i>11.7 (7.2)</i>	14.3 (5.6)	<i>11.3 (6.7)</i>	8.3 (5.2)	<i>9.4 (3.2)</i>
Ave. age	27.5	<i>23.4</i>	28.9	<i>27.3</i>	27.6	<i>27.0</i>
n	931	563	430	314	308	208

Ages	All males	All females	All
0-14	11.0 (16.3)	13.7 (22.5)	12.1 (18.8)
15-24	30.3 (33.2)	28.2 (35.2)	29.4 (34.0)

25-34	32.4 (31.2)	31.6 (24.9)	32.1 (28.7)
35-44	16.3 (13.3)	15.6 (11.3)	16.0 (12.5)
45+	9.9 (6.0)	10.9 (6.1)	10.3 (6.1)
average	28.4 (25.3)	24.7 (23.5)	26.9 (24.6)
n	1640	1108	2748

Source: Death registers

Once again we must bear in mind the distortion from the fact that all these figures derive from those born after 1876 and therefore are likely to undercount the very old immigrants. However since the New Zealand-wide figures derive from the same source, a comparison of the Auckland and New Zealand findings are valid and suggestive. The most interesting conclusion which can be drawn is that the Auckland flow was in general significantly older than the New Zealand flow. This reflected both a fewer number of children and young adults (there were a total of 41.5 per cent under 25 compared with 52.8 per cent of the New Zealand –wide immigrants) and a greater number of older people (26.3 per cent over the age of 35 compared with 18.6 per cent among the country as a whole). This tendency was true across both genders and across all places of origin. We can but speculate on the reasons, but it may be that despite the family nature of the provincial settlers, the high number of military settlers and discharged soldiers in the Auckland area is an explanation. This would also account for the particularly low numbers of children among the Irish who were well represented among the discharged soldiers. As in New Zealand as a whole, the English migrants to Auckland included more children than other nationalities.

Marital status

Table 27: Auckland Immigrants 1853-70: Percentages Married on arrival with New Zealand figures in brackets

	Eng/ Wales males	Scots males	Irish males	All males	Eng/ Wales females	Scots females	Irish females	All females	All
All	39.7 (31.1)	37.3 (27.3)	33.6 (26.6)	37.7 (29.1)	55.6 (43.2)	51.7 (37.1)	51.6 (37.4)	53.7 (39.0)	44.1 (33.2)
Aged 20+	50.9 (45.4)	46.4 (38.2)	41.1 (32.7)	47.5 (40.3)	73.9 (71.4)	67.8 (55.7)	64.6 (49.0)	69.8 (60.9)	56.2 (50.2)

Source: Death registers

Table 27 is particularly interesting since it shows that the immigrants into Auckland had a distinctly higher level of marriage than those entering New Zealand as a whole. One might argue that the higher levels of married in the whole sample was simply a statistical effect of the lower number of people under the age of 25 in the Auckland immigrants. But in fact when we examine those who arrived aged 20 or over we still find a higher level of marriage in the Auckland immigrants, especially among women. This might be explained in a number of ways – the fact that Auckland did not attract a large number of adult single male gold miners as did the South Island, which might account for the difference in the male figure. Perhaps there was less recruitment of single women domestic servants especially Irish and Scots women as occurred further south. Perhaps it was that that Auckland recruited more married couples without children or alternatively older married couples whose children did not come with them. Certainly the Scots who came to Waipu were of that character and so too were some of the military settlers. The high level of marriage among the Irish is also suggestive and presumably a reflection of the Waikato immigration scheme. It is also interesting to note that the Auckland migrants were both more married yet brought fewer people under the age of 14. Families in the early stage of formation which were such a characteristic of migration to the Wakefield settlements and to Canterbury province, as we shall see, do not seem to be so important in the case of Auckland.

Table 28: Place of Marriage Prior to Arrival for Auckland's immigrants 1853-70 with New Zealand figures in brackets

	English males	English females	Scots males	Scots females	Irish males	Irish females
England	84.6 (75.7)	88.9 (85.3)	6.6 (4.2)	2.9 (2.6)	10.6 (9.8)	6.2 (3.7)
Scotland	1.1 (1.8)	0.3 (0.0)	73.6 (80.5)	83.7 (85.2)	2.1 (0.0)	1.1 (1.2)
Ireland	1.3 (0.5)	0.3 (0.0)	1.9 (1.7)	1.0 (0.0)	67.6 (62.2)	67.4 (61.0)
Australia	7.0 (20.2)	7.8 (13.1)	9.4 (12.7)	5.8 (10.4)	12.0 (24.4)	20.2 (31.7)

Other	5.9 (1.8)	2.6 (1.6)	8.5 (0.8)	6.7 (1.7)	7.7 (3.7)	5.1 (2.4)
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Source: Death registers

Again Table 28 shows up revealing differences with immigration flows into New Zealand as a whole. While more Irish were married in Australia than among the Scots and the English, the proportions married there among the Auckland immigrants were significantly less for all three groups. This may reflect the number who came from Australia to the South Island's gold rushes. It is also a different pattern from the character of Auckland immigration in the 1840s when a large number seem to have come across the Tasman. In the 1850s and 60s a high proportion seem to have come to Auckland direct from their home countries, and the exception of the Scots is largely explained by the Waipu settlers who are shown in the statistics by the numbers married previously in Canada (revealed in this table by 'other'). The considerable numbers of Irish married in 'other' places is explained by the influence of the Irish settling in Pukekohe and who had previously married in Cape Town, South Africa.

Religion

Table 29: Auckland's immigrants 1853-1870, religious affiliations (percentages, with New Zealand immigrants in brackets)

	All	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish	1871 NZ census
Church of England/Ireland	45.0 (38.4)	61.2 (61.4)	20.0 (10.6)	28.8 (26.5)	47.2
Presbyterian	18.9 (31.9)	7.5 (11.6)	63.1 (75.1)	14.0 (15.7)	19.1
Methodist	13.3 (11.0)	18.4 (17.1)	8.6 (6.6)	6.2 (3.5)	
Jewish	0.5 (0.2)	0.8 (0.5)	0.0 (0.0)	0.2 (0.0)	
Other Protestant	7.5 (5.2)	9.7 (6.5)	6.2 (6.2)	3.9 (0.4)	5.5
Roman Catholic	14.8 (13.4)	2.4 (3.0)	2.2 (1.5)	47.0 (53.9)	18.4
Not stated	413	212	84	117	
n	2751	1495	490	766	

Source: Death registers, New Zealand census 1871

In general the pattern of the religious affiliation of Auckland's immigrants follows logically from the distribution of country of origin. Thus there were significantly more Anglicans in Auckland's immigrants because there were more English, there were more Catholics because there was a higher proportion of Irish, but there were fewer Presbyterians because of the low number of Scots. Beyond this there are four interesting points of note. The first is the large number of Methodists and other Protestants which in some measure reflects those who were involved in the Albertland settlement. Thus 41 per cent of the Methodists arrived in the three years 1863-65 reflecting the arrival of the Albertlanders. Second, one notes the comparatively small proportion of Catholics among the Irish which is a result of the numbers of Ulster Protestants among the Pukekohe settlers. Third, among the Scots the proportions of Presbyterians is lower than in New Zealand as a whole, and this may be because in a community where the absolute numbers of Presbyterians was smaller, those who were Presbyterians either married into other religions or decided to attend non-conformist or Anglican churches. It is also worth noting that Auckland was more Jewish than elsewhere. The numbers of course are small, but they are suggestive of the extent to which 19th century Auckland was the most important Jewish community in New Zealand (with the exception in proportional terms of Westland where the absolute numbers were very small).

Occupational backgrounds

Table 30: Occupational backgrounds of Auckland's United Kingdom arrivals aged 20 and over, 1853-1870 (per cent)

Occupations	English/ Welsh	Scots	Irish	Total Auckland	Total New Zealand
<i>Agriculture</i>					
Farmers	21.4	30.7	54.7	32.2	34.1
Agricultural labourers	3.7	3.7	2.4	3.3	5.0
Total	25.1	34.5	57.1	35.5	39.1
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	3.1	1.0	4.9	3.2	5.9
<i>Servants</i>	0.4	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.2
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>					
Building	8.5	9.1	5.3	7.8	7.4
Mining	2.2	2.7	0.0	1.7	2.6
Transport (traditional)	0.9	1.4	0.4	1.0	1.1
Other pre-industrial skills	25.2	18.2	11.1	20.1	19.2

Total	36.8	31.4	16.9	30.4	30.4
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>					
Total	8.7	10.8	3.1	7.4	5.1
White collar	18.4	12.2	13.1	15.8	13.0
<i>Other occupations</i>					
Soldiers	1.8	1.0	2.2	1.8	1.4
Seamen	3.6	7.8	1.3	3.7	3.8
Other	2.1	0.4	1.3	1.6	1.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated	242	85	152	479	360
n=	1 143	381	602	2 126	1 691

Source: Death registers

Table 30 sets out for each major national group the occupations of the fathers of Auckland's arrivals aged 20 and over. A comparison between the occupational backgrounds of Auckland's British arrivals and those for New Zealand as a whole (Table 30 last two columns) reveals marked similarities. There is one interesting difference. A higher proportion of Auckland's English/Welsh arrivals had fathers who had been engaged in 'Occupations with relatively great technical change' (7.4 per cent) than was apparent for New Zealand as a whole (5.1 per cent). This is consistent with the fact that Auckland Province drew a larger proportion of its immigrants from the industrial Midlands and that a good many of the Albertlanders were drawn from the textile industries. An even higher proportion of Auckland's Scots arrivals (10.8 per cent) had fathers who had been engaged in such occupations. As will be shown below, Auckland drew a very much higher proportion of its Scots immigrants from the Western Lowlands (41.3 per cent compared to 26.6 per cent for New Zealand as a whole), suggesting that the Scots inflow into Auckland had a significantly more marked urban-industrial character than that for the colony as a whole. It seems likely that the Scots inflow into the province during the period 1853-1870 built upon the inflow of the earlier period 1840-1852 which, as noted above, included the 'Paisley' immigrants.

Regional Origins of Auckland's English and Welsh immigrants

Table 31: Regions of birth of Auckland's and New Zealand's English and

Welsh immigrants, 1840-1852 and 1853-1870 (per cent)

Regions of birth	Auckland 1840-1852	Auckland 1853-1870	New Zealand 1840-1852	New Zealand 1853-1870
London-Middlesex	20.1	18.5	14.8	17.2
South-east	17.2	11.6	21.5	12.8
East	7.4	7.9	7.1	7.6
South-west	21.8	16.8	22.8	15.8
Midlands East	2.1	6.0	3.1	6.2
Central	3.6	7.6	5.8	5.3
West	4.3	4.8	4.9	5.4
South	4.5	2.8	4.6	3.5
Yorkshire	6.7	9.5	5.8	8.5
Lancashire-Cheshire	8.6	8.1	5.2	8.4
North-east	1.7	2.4	1.2	3.3
North-west	0.5	1.4	1.5	2.2
Off-shore islands	1.2	2.0	0.7	1.6
North Wales	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.5
South Wales	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	133	104	25	34
n=	550	1 495	698	1 189

Source: Death registers

Table 31 indicates that there are few striking points of distinction about the regional origins of Auckland's English/Welsh arrivals. Like New Zealand as a whole Auckland continued to draw the bulk of its from three regions, that is, from London-Middlesex, the South-east, and the South-west. There was one interesting variation. Both by comparison with the earlier period and with New Zealand's English immigrants, there was a strong representation from the central Midlands. Again this can largely be explained by the significant impact of the Albertland settlement which drew many of its immigrants from that area. Thus at a county level arrivals from three Midlands counties - Nottingham (2.9 per cent), Staffordshire (2.6 per cent) and Warwickshire (5.0 per cent) - were unusually well represented.

Regional Origins of Auckland's Scots Immigrants

Table 32: Regions of birth of Auckland's and New Zealand's Scottish immigrants, 1840-1852 and 1853-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Auckland 1840-1852	Auckland 1853-1870	New Zealand 1840-1852	New Zealand 1853-1870
Far North	4.0	3.7	6.1	5.9
Highlands	9.3	11.8	10.3	16.0
North-east	6.0	9.6	7.0	10.2
Eastern Lowlands	22.5	29.2	37.1	32.7
Western Lowlands	55.6	41.3	36.2	26.6
Borders	2.6	4.4	3.3	8.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	57	83	6	38
n=	208	490	213	745

Source: Death registers

Table 32 suggests two points of distinction among the Auckland migrants. The first is the comparatively low number from the Far North and the Highlands which is a consequence of the fact that people from those areas tended to go to the South Island especially the goldfields. The second point is the unusually high number from the Western Lowlands. This had also been the case in the 1840s and was largely explained by the influence of the Paisley settlers. It is probable that the continued impact of Scots from that area was a spill-over from that earlier migration and included relatives of those who had arrived earlier.

Regional Origins of Auckland's Irish Immigrants

Table 33: Regions of birth of Auckland's and New Zealand's Irish immigrants, 1840-1852 and 1853-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Auckland 1840-1852	Auckland 1853-1870	New Zealand 1840-1852	New Zealand 1853-1870
Connacht	7.5	5.9	6.3	8.5
Leinster	37.6	19.9	34.1	19.9
Munster	29.0	25.9	27.8	31.7
Ulster	25.9	48.3	31.7	39.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	169	66	18	45
n=	424	766	144	527

Source: Death registers

Table 33, on the regional origins of Auckland's Irish, shows that in common with New Zealand as a whole there was a marked shift during this period away from people born in Leinster and an equally marked shift towards people born in Ulster. However Auckland attracted an even higher proportion of migrants from Ulster, and this was a distinct change from the earlier period when Auckland had fewer people from Ulster than did New Zealand. The Ulster migrants of the 1860s were of course particularly to be found in the Pukekohe settlers. In terms of counties of birth the major contributors to Auckland's Irish came from Dublin (10.2 per cent) and the Ulster counties of Antrim (12.6 per cent), Armagh (7.2 per cent) and Down (7.2 per cent).

Canterbury's Assisted Immigrants, 1854-70

Provincial Immigration

In 1854 the provincial councils and governments established as a result of the *New Zealand Constitution Act, 1852* acquired control over immigration, allowing each to influence the pattern of its social and economic development, at least until 1867 when the provinces lost the power to raise overseas loans. Thereafter central government steadily took over responsibility for immigration. Comprehensive data relating to provincial immigration programmes are not available.

Hawkes Bay

Hawkes Bay, from its foundation in 1858, conducted, a small assisted immigration programme,⁵¹ but few statistical details are available.

Wellington

Wellington conducted a small programme, intended partly to provide labour for the province's public works and partly to improve its security. Over the period 1853-1870, Wellington assisted 2 881 British immigrants. Most of the English were drawn from the counties of the south-east and the south-west, most of the adult males were agricultural and general labourers and building tradesmen, and the adult females largely domestic

servants. The Scots were drawn mostly from the western lowlands (Lanark and Ayr) and the borders (Dumfries and Selkirk), with a few from the Ross and Inverness in the Highlands; and the Irish from Counties Antrim, Down, Tyrone, and Donegal in Ulster, Counties Galway and Roscommon in Connacht, Counties King's, Queen's, and Dublin in Leinster, and Counties Cork and Kerry in Munster.⁵² Some of Wellington's early arrivals utilised the provisions of Wellington's programme to assist family members to reach the colony.⁵³

Nelson

Nelson similarly conducted a small assisted immigration programme. Its agent's major success appears to have been to persuade a group of 170 agricultural labourers and their families, many of whom were drawn from the village of Preston Capes in Northamptonshire, to emigrate, at their own expense, to Nelson. Among 187 who arrived during the year to the end of March 1864, 85 were Cornish miners and their families, and 19 were female servants 'sent out by the National Emigration Society and Miss Rye...'⁵⁴

Otago

The Otago Provincial Government conducted a fairly extensive scheme of assisted immigration, but few records appear to have survived. In the year to July 1863 the province's agents, responding to the provincial government's wish to remedy the pronounced gender imbalance which followed the influx of thousands of young single men in search of gold, despatched over 1 400 female migrants, many being young women

⁵¹ See L.G.Gordon, *Immigration into Hawke's Bay 1858-1876*. MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965, especially pp.29, 43, and 97.

⁵² Latiffa Khan, *Immigration into Wellington Province 1853-1876*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1968, pp.136-143.

⁵³ See, for example, Donald Hansen, 'Cutting colts and biting dog tails,' in Colleen P. Main, editor, *Our lesser stars: twelve New Zealand family biographies*. Auckland, 1990, pp.40-62.

⁵⁴ The details relating to Nelson are drawn from *Journals, Nelson Provincial Council*, especially Session V, 1858, A.2; Session VI, 1859, C.5 and C.6; Session XII, 1864, A.2; Session XIV, 1866, A.21; Session 20, 1870, p.44; and Session 21, 1871, E.1, p.9. It is interesting to note that Nelson proposed that other provinces join it in funding an immigration agent in Britain. For Otago, Cargill indicated that 'Our means of selection for this Province are already perfect.' See also Jim McAloon, *Nelson: a regional history*. Whatamango Bay, 1997, p.60. McAloon noted that the Nelson Provincial Government also assisted immigrants from Victoria. It is worthwhile noting, too, that relatives of some of Nelson's original settlers continued to arrive during the 1850s. Job Russ and Elizabeth, his wife of 17 months, of East Lambrook in Somerset, arrived in Nelson in August 1842, accompanied by Elizabeth's older brother, William Satherley his young son, his wife and newborn daughter having died just days before arrival. By 1859 a number of both Russ and Satherley relatives had arrived in Nelson, among them two of Job's brothers and his widowed father, and Elizabeth's youngest brother and his family, together with Margaret Bisgrove from near the village of Kingsbury Episcopi in Somerset and who immediately married one of Job's brothers.

from Ireland and in particular from County Donegal.⁵⁵ Towards the end of 1863, as the post-rush recession deepened in Otago, the scheme was suspended and then resumed on a significantly reduced scale. Some details are available for 602 single migrants and 166 families assisted by the Otago Provincial Government over the period 1869-1871.⁵⁶ Of 248 single females – among whom domestic servants predominated - 68 per cent came from Scotland (almost 32 per cent from Edinburgh and Glasgow alone), 16.2 per cent from Ireland (largely from County Antrim in the north and County Clare in the south), 14.8 per cent from England (largely from London and the south-west counties of Cornwall, Dorset and Somerset), and just 0.9 per cent from Wales. Of 354 single males – among whom farm labourers and shepherds predominated - just over 62.4 per cent came from Scotland, 21.7 per cent from Ireland, 13.4 per cent England, and just 0.3 per cent from Wales. Of the Scots the most striking finding is that a high 19.1 per cent came from the Far North as compared with 5.9 per cent among all immigrants to New Zealand in 1853-70. Here we see the first signs of that migration from Shetland which would flower in the 1870s. The 16.8 per cent from the Highlands is also high and represents the recruitment of shepherds. The Western Lowlands (including Ayr) provided 32.7 per cent, the Eastern Lowlands (including Perth) 25.6 per cent, and the Borders 5.8 per cent. The Irish single males came from Counties Antrim and Down in Ulster, County Galway in Connacht, and Counties Cork, Clare, and Waterford in Munster. Most of the English single males came from Cornwall and Devon. Of 166 families, 73 per cent were drawn from Scotland (mostly from the Eastern and Western Lowlands), 25.2 per cent from England (again largely from the south-west and London), and a mere 1.8 per cent from Ireland. Most of the male heads of these were farm labourers and shepherds, building tradesmen, and labourers. In terms of family type, 23.5 per cent were married couples without children, 52.5 per cent were married couples without children, and 24.1 per cent

⁵⁵ See, for example, J.H.George, *Whither come – whither go: a history of Peter and Rebecca George*. [Dunedin, 1977; and Peter R.Mee, *The story of Henry & Frances Mee and their descendants*. [Dunedin, 1995], p.9. See also Otago Provincial Archives, National Archives OP 3/1. For an Australian comparison, see Janice Gothard, “Radically unsound and mischievous:” female emigration to Tasmania, 1856-1863,’ *Australian historical studies* 23, 93, October 1989, pp.386-404.

⁵⁶ These figures are derived from passenger lists of assisted migrants which were published in the *Otago Provincial Government Gazette* only for three years of the period under review, namely 1869, 1870 and 1871. These lists gave provided name, occupation, gender and what is assumed to be county of origin, while marital status and family type were, for most, readily apparent.

were married with children but with a spouse absent. With respect to the latter, in 75 per cent of the cases it was the male spouse who was absent, suggesting that wives and families were following husbands to New Zealand.

Southland

During its brief existence, Southland also ran a small immigration scheme. The surviving archival materials reveal few details. For the period February-June 1868, one return listed applications lodged by residents of Southland for assisted passages for relatives and friends. Most applications were made on behalf of single men and women aged largely from 15 to 25, most of whom were close relatives rather than friends, most of the females being domestics, and most of the males being agricultural labourers. Most of the applications lodged were on behalf of persons resident in Ireland (especially Galway) and Scotland (notably Perth and Inverness).⁵⁷ One summary indicates that 14 ships, which arrived during the period September 1862-October 1864, brought in 1 347 assisted and nominated immigrants, while an estimated 334 full fare paying passengers accompanied them. The assistance offered was not generous, except in the case of selected single women who were granted free passages. Of the 1 347 assisted and nominated migrants, just 14.3 per cent were from England/Wales, 10.3 per cent from Ireland, but 75.4 per cent from Scotland. The inflow was dominated by families and single females. The Irish in particular made extensive use of the provisions relating to nomination under which friends and relatives paid one third of the passage money in Southland and the balance by way of bills 'with reasonable security.' Of the English/Welsh migrants, 28.6 per cent were nominated, 25.2 per cent of the Scots, but 71.2 per cent of the Irish.⁵⁸ Families from Galway appear to have dominated Irish Catholic migration to Southland. All of the 46 Irish passengers on the *Chile* which arrived in 1868 had been nominated by friends and relations in Southland, most coming from the same parishes and town-lands in Galway as the original Otago Galway immigrants of the 1850s.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Southland Provincial Archives, National Archives SP 14/1.

⁵⁸ *Southland Provincial Government Gazette* 2, 34, 28 November 1864.

⁵⁹ See Sean Brosnahan, 'The greening of Otago: Irish [Catholic] immigration to Otago and Southland 1840-1880,' in Norma Bethune, editor, *Work 'n' Pastimes: 150 years of pain and pleasure, labour and leisure. Proceedings of the 1988 Conference of the New Zealand Society of Genealogists*, Dunedin, 1998, pp.33 -

Canterbury Provincial Immigration

It was Canterbury which conducted the most extensive provincial assisted immigration programme. For the period 1858-1870, the net inflow into Canterbury (excluding the West Coast) amounted to almost 18 per cent of New Zealand's net migration gain, and in Table 16 we note that 23.2 per cent of the sample of immigrants for the period 1853-70 went to Canterbury. Assisted immigrants formed a large proportion of Canterbury's gain. In March 1854 the Provincial Council adopted a scheme which offered assisted passages to 'labourers, mechanics and female domestics' under the age of 50, applicants being required to pay half of the cost of their passage in advance. The province's English agent established sub-agencies 'in such strategic places as the West Country and Ireland' and sought especially young married couples, skilled workmen, and single women.⁶⁰ The regulations also allowed settlers already in Canterbury to nominate friends or relatives. The programme was expanded in 1857 and, according to Hensley, 'helped tilt the balance towards vigorous development and high investment, towards a populous settlement rather than a slow-moving pastoral oligarchy.'⁶¹ Under the 1854 scheme 1 200 migrants were despatched to Canterbury, but under the 1857 expansion some 15 000 arrived between 1857 and 1868.⁶² Migration to Canterbury has attracted studies by Silcock, Macdonald, and Fraser. Silcock used passenger lists of assisted migrants to analyse 'county of origin'⁶³ and occupation, but the lists allow further analysis, of gender, marital status, age structure, family type and family life cycle stage, as well as comparisons among the three major national groups involved.⁶⁴ Macdonald analysed the demographic character and

64. See also Southland Provincial Government, Applications for assisted passages [1868], National Archives SP 14/1.

⁶⁰ G.C.Hensley, 'Labour and immigration, 1853-8,' in W.J.Gardner, editor, *A history of Canterbury, Volume II*. Christchurch, 1971, p.59.

⁶¹ G.C.Hensley, 'Labour and immigration, 1853-8,' in W.J.Gardner, editor, *A history of Canterbury, Volume II*. Christchurch, 1971, p.64.

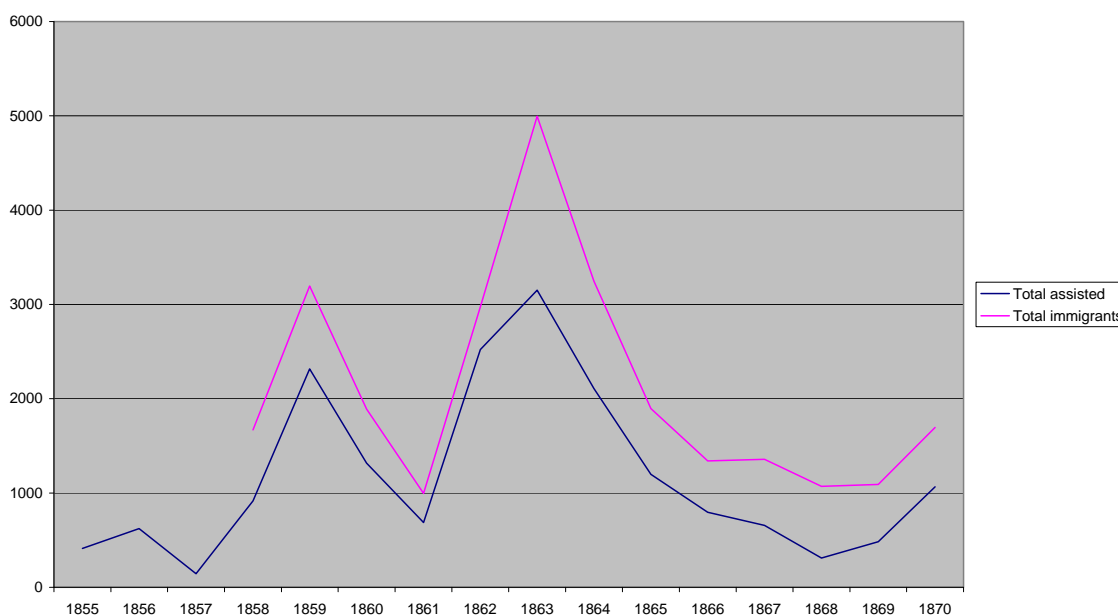
⁶² W.H.Scotter, 'The moderate success of the assisted immigration scheme,' in W.J.Gardner, editor, *A history of Canterbury, Volume II*. Christchurch, 1971, p.217.

⁶³ The passenger lists offer details of 'county where born and where living lately,' not just of county of birth.

⁶⁴ R.H. Silcock, *Immigration into Canterbury under the Provincial Government*. MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1963.

geographical origins of 4 028 assisted girls and young single women,⁶⁵ while Fraser focused on Irish Catholic migration to Christchurch.⁶⁶

Graph 11: Numbers of immigrants to Canterbury, 1855-70



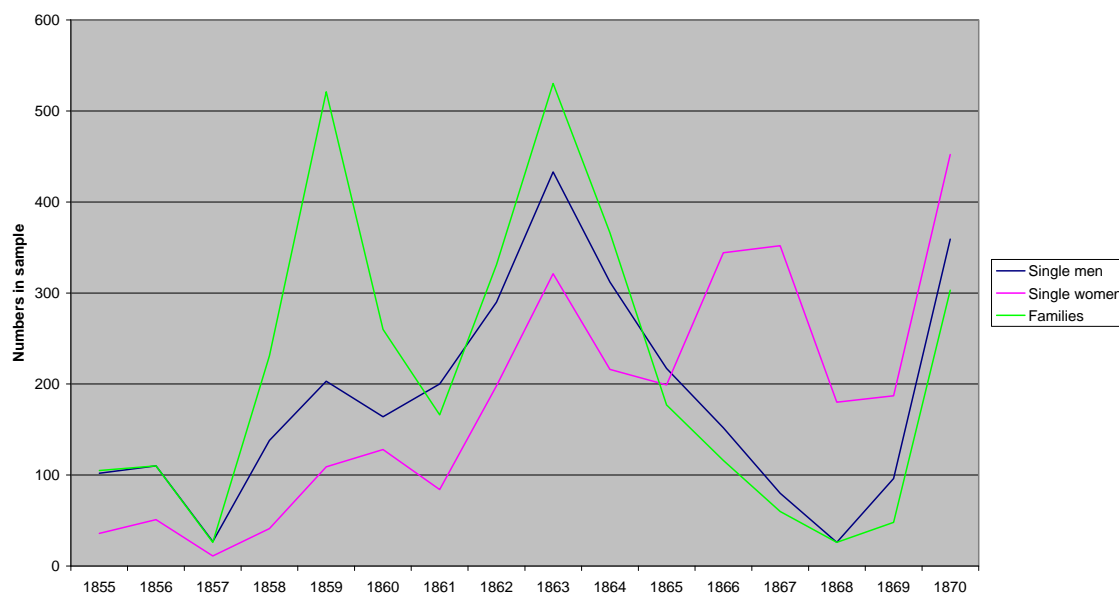
There were two main flows of assisted immigrants into Canterbury during the period 1853-1870 (Graph 11), the first and smaller during the years 1858 and 1859, and the second and larger in 1862 and 1863, while a small increase took place at the very end of the period in 1869 and 1870. Assisted migrants formed a major component of the total flow of migrants from the United Kingdom. In each year from 1858 until 1865 they contributed not less than 60 per cent of Canterbury's total arrivals, and indeed reached almost 92 per cent in 1862. From 1863 to 1870 assisted arrivals formed a generally declining proportion of total arrivals (whose numbers were also contracting). Overall, the assisted migrants constituted 63.9 per cent of the gross inflow from the United Kingdom over the period 1858-1870. From a comprehensive set of passenger lists detailing all assisted migrants, three random samples were drawn, of 1 014 families and children, 988

⁶⁵ Charlotte Macdonald, *A woman of good character: single women as immigrant settlers in the nineteenth century New Zealand*. Wellington, 1990.

⁶⁶ Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead: Irish Catholic migrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch*. Auckland, 1997.

single females, and 976 single males, a total of 6 029 persons.⁶⁷

Graph 12: Assisted immigrants to Canterbury by family status, 1855-70
Source: passengers list to Canterbury



Graph 12 sets out the pattern of arrival, the chief features being the marked contraction in the numbers of families and single males arriving from 1863 to 1869, and the increasing numbers of single females who continued to arrive after the inflow as a whole had contracted.

Country of Origin

Table 34: Country of Origin of Canterbury's assisted immigrants, 1854-70 (per cent)

	Canterbury Assisted	Pickens 1850-81	New Zealand 1853-70	UK census 1861
England	56.6	62.4	46.6	62.7
Scotland	19.9	15.0	30.2	10.3
Wales	1.4	0.9	1.1	4.0
Ireland	22.1	21.7	21.4	22.6

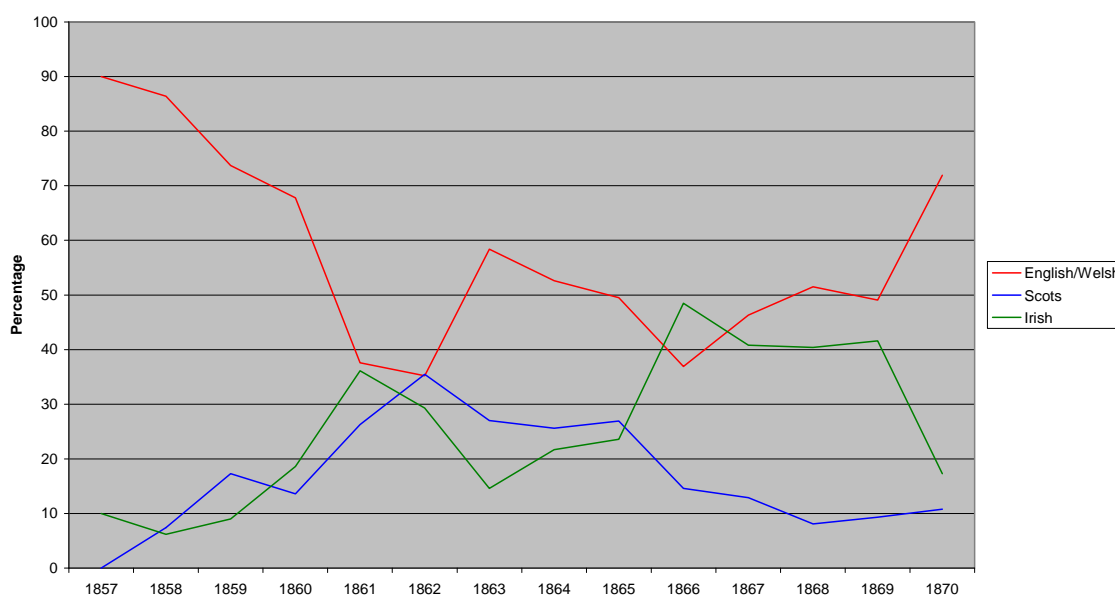
⁶⁷ Single females and males are those not otherwise included as members of family units, although they may have travelled with siblings or cousins. Single females and single males who travelled as part of a wider family unit are included under the family groups. Copies of the assisted passenger lists are held by National Archives, Wellington.

	99.9	100	99.3	99.5
n	5378	3129	2464	

Source: Passenger lists; death registers; UK census 1861; K.A.Pickens, 'The origins of Canterbury's nineteenth century population,' *New Zealand geographer* 33, 2, 1977, pp.69-75

Table 34 compares the origin of Canterbury's assisted immigrants with Keith Pickens' estimate of both assisted and self-payers⁶⁸, and also with both migration into New Zealand as a whole and with the distribution at home. It is also worth comparing these figures with the sample of Canterbury immigrants as a whole in Table 17. It is clear that the Irish came into Canterbury in about the proportions to be expected, but they appear to be slightly better represented among the assisted than among all Canterbury immigrants. The Welsh as usual were under-represented. Canterbury, as mythology has it, did attract more English than other parts of New Zealand, but still in lesser numbers than their representation in the United Kingdom; and the Scots were below the New Zealand average although still over-represented in terms of the UK distribution.

Graph 13: Country of origin of assisted immigrants to Canterbury by year, 1857-70
Source: Passenger lists



Graph 13 sets out changes in the national composition of the assisted inflow through the period and indicates that the small initial flow drew very largely on those from England,

⁶⁸ K.A.Pickens, 'The origins of Canterbury's nineteenth century population,' *New Zealand geographer* 33, 2, 1977, pp.69-75

that an upsurge in those from Scotland and Ireland occurred in 1861, and that the Scots and Irish dominated arrivals during the years of heaviest inflow.

Family type

Table 35: Family type, Canterbury Assisted immigrants (per cent)

	Families	Single men	Single women	All
England	55.7 (+Welsh)	37.3	45.7	56.5
Scotland	17.6	29.3	13.8	19.9
Wales		1.5	1.2	1.4
Ireland	14.8	31.9	39.3	22.1
n	1014	893	934	5378

Source: Passenger lists

Table 35 reveals some interesting national contrasts in terms of family type. Those from England dominated the family groups and were well represented among the single female inflow. The Scots were very common among the single males, but sent relatively fewer single women. The Irish were the most interesting of all – poorly represented among the families, but there were many to be found as single men or even more as single women. In an effort to redress its gender imbalance, Canterbury had made sustained efforts to attract single women, chiefly domestic servants. In 1865 the Provincial Council decided that single women between 15 and 40 years would receive both free passages and other assistance. Canterbury politicians began to realise that Ireland offered a good field for recruiting such women and the offer proved popular there.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ W.H.Scotter, 'The moderate success of the assisted immigration scheme,' in W.J.Gardner, editor, *A history of Canterbury, Volume II*. Christchurch, 1971, pp.217-230.

*Age***Table 36: Age of arrival of Canterbury assisted immigrants (percentages)**

Age	Single men	Single women	Married men	Married women
10-14	0.8	1.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	16.6	30.1	0.2	3.0
20-24	54.6	39.1	17.0	22.7
25-29	18.6	20.5	30.1	27.9
30-34	5.3	5.0	20.5	17.9
35-39	2.6	1.7	14.5	13.8
40-44	0.8	0.6	7.6	6.3
45-49	0.3	0.8	6.3	4.8
50+	0.4	0.6	3.8	3.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	970	981	919	1003

Source: Death registers

There were some predictable contrasts between the single and married groups with the single strikingly younger. Indeed almost a third of the single women were under 20 and over 90 per cent were under 30. By contrast only three per cent of the married women were under 20, and over 46 per cent were 30 or over. Similar contrasts could be drawn among the men where over 70 per cent of the single males were under 25, but only 17.2 per cent of the married. In general, as might be expected, the men in both groups were older than the women. With respect to places of origin, it is worth noting that among the Irish, larger proportions of both male and female married people were aged under 25 years and over 45 years, suggesting that they included both newly- and older-established families. Among the single people, both male and female, the Scots were a slightly older group than their English and Irish counterparts. The English were noteworthy for the numbers who were under 20 – over a third of the single women and approaching a quarter of the single men.

Table 37: Stage in the family life cycle, Canterbury assisted immigrant families, 1857-1870

Family stage	English/ Welsh	Scots	Irish	All families ¹
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Wife under 45, childless	27.8	33.7	31.7	28.1
One child, under one year	8.5	12.4	15.5	10.1
All children under 10 years	36.3	33.1	22.5	32.7
Some children under 10, some over 10 years	20.2	14.6	16.2	19.7
All children over 10, some under 20	6.4	5.6	12.0	7.8
All children 20 years and over	0.5	0.6	2.1	1.3
Wife over 45, no accompanying children	0.4	-	-	0.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	565	178	150	1 014

Source: Passenger lists. ¹ Includes those for whom no country of origin given.

Table 37 sets out family stage by country of origin, and it is clear that among the three national groups young married couples without children and families in the early stages of the family life cycle predominated. Some 82.0 per cent of both male and female household heads fell into the age range 20 to 39 years. Of the 1 014 families in the sample, 71.9 per cent had children and for all three national groups a very large proportion was aged under 10 years. The fact that a higher proportion of the Irish children were aged over 15 years again suggests the presence of longer-established families. Taken together, the evidence relating to ages and family life cycle stage suggests that English families were characterised especially by those in the middle stages of the cycle, the Scots in the very early and middle stages, and the Irish in the early and middle stages but with a larger proportion in the latter stages of the family life cycle.

Occupations

Table 38: Occupations of Canterbury's assisted adult males⁷⁰, 1855-1870 (per cent)

Occupations	English/ Welsh	Scots	Irish	Total	New Zealand ⁷¹
<i>Agriculture</i>					
Farmers	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.0	34.1
Agricultural labourers	44.9	72.7	68.5	55.7	5.0
Total	45.9	73.9	69.7	56.7	39.1
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	18.2	7.4	17.6	16.4	5.9
<i>Servants</i>	0.7	0.2	0.7	0.7	0.2
<i>Occupations with relatively little</i>					

⁷⁰ Male household heads and single males travelling alone. The column Total includes those for whom no country of origin was given.

⁷¹ The New Zealand figure is of fathers of immigrants aged 20 and over, not the immigrants themselves.

<i>technical change</i>					
Building	13.1	9.3	4.4	10.5	7.4
Mining	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.6	2.6
Other pre-industrial skills	14.8	7.2	5.1	11.0	20.3
Total	28.7	17.2	9.8	22.1	30.4
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>					
Total	2.2	0.7	1.5	1.4	5.1
White collar	2.0	0.5	0.7	1.4	13.0
Other	2.3	-	-	1.2	6.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated	18	2	1	165	360
n=	871	429	410	1990	1061

Source: Passenger Lists

Table 38, setting out the occupations of all assisted adult males and comparing them with the occupational backgrounds (i.e. father's occupation) of all New Zealand immigrants aged 20 and above for the period, throws up how distinctive were Canterbury's assisted migrants. First, we note the very large numbers drawn from the agricultural sector and this was especially the case for the Scots. A special effort had been made to attract Highland shepherds for Canterbury's pastoral industry, and many shepherds came out drawn largely from Caithness, Inverness, and Sutherland. Second, we note the comparatively high number of labourers, who may well have also been drawn from the agricultural workforce. Third, the numbers of assisted males drawn from the industrial or white collar sectors were strikingly small. Those with pre-industrial skills came in about the proportion one would expect from the New Zealand-wide figures. Such comparisons point both to the purpose of Canterbury's assisted immigration programme, which was to augment its agricultural and pastoral labour force, and to the success which it enjoyed. It also highlights the capacity of assistance programmes to shape markedly the character of immigrant inflows.

Table 39: Occupations of Canterbury's assisted single women migrants, 1857-1870 (per cent)

Occupations	English	Scots	Irish	Total ¹
General domestic service	70.0	67.2	75.5	71.2
Outdoor service/farming	2.1	19.2	12.4	8.5
Cooks and housekeepers	8.2	8.0	3.6	6.3

Needlework	0.9	-	3.6	1.8
Specialised domestic service	4.0	4.0	1.7	3.4
Nursing	4.9	0.8	0.8	2.9
Teaching	0.7	-	-	0.4
Laundry work	0.9	-	-	0.4
Textile/factory work	0.7	-	-	0.3
Matrons	0.9	-	0.3	0.5
Skilled handicrafts	6.3	0.8	2.2	4.1
Retail/commerce	0.2	-	-	0.1
Others	-	-	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated	11	-	4	33
n=	438	125	367	988

Source: Passenger Lists. ¹ Includes those for whom no country of origin was given.

Table 39 sets out the occupations of single women.⁷² The importance of general domestic service is clearly apparent, although it should be borne in mind that the term ‘domestic servant’ was loosely applied and certainly the category included many who were prepared to work as domestic servants in order to secure assistance. Two categories, namely, outdoor service/farm-work, and cooks and housekeepers, accounted for a further 14.8 per cent. Some differences emerged among the three national groups, notably the higher proportions of the Scots and Irish women employed in outdoor service/farming (mostly as dairymaids), while the English were drawn from a wider range of occupations.

Regional origins of Canterbury’s assisted English and Welsh immigrants, 1855-1870⁷³

Table 40: Regional origins of Canterbury’s assisted English/Welsh immigrants, 1855-1870 (per cent)

Regions	All	family	Single	Single	Total	Pickens¹	New Zealand
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⁷² Charlotte Macdonald, *A woman of good character: single women as immigrant settlers in nineteenth-century New Zealand*. Wellington, 1990, p.49.

⁷³ Analysis of regions of origin presents some difficulties as it is not clear whether the passenger lists record county of birth or county of last residence. That separate places of origin were occasionally specified for husbands and wives suggests that the place recorded was that of birth. Macdonald, on the other hand, suggests that immigrants were more likely to register their current residence as their ‘place of origin’ rather than the place where they born. While the data need to be interpreted with care, it is likely that for a majority of the immigrants, the place origin was both place of birth and place of last residence.

	members	women	men			1853-70
London-Middlesex	12.1	27.5	9.8	14.0	17.5	17.2
South-east	12.0	16.3	9.2	12.3	12.0	12.8
East	8.5	9.6	13.3	9.2	11.4	7.6
South-west	16.7	14.9	21.0	16.9	16.8	15.8
Midlands						
East	8.7	3.2	10.7	8.2	4.8	6.2
Central	4.6	6.0	5.0	4.9	4.7	5.3
West	8.1	6.4	6.2	7.7	7.8	5.4
South	7.1	4.8	5.0	6.6	5.5	3.5
Yorkshire	9.4	4.1	6.5	8.4	7.6	8.5
Lancashire-Cheshire	3.4	2.3	3.5	3.2	5.8	8.4
North-east	4.5	0.9	1.5	3.7	2.5	3.3
North-west	2.1	0.7	2.7	2.0	2.3	2.2
Off-shore islands	0.3	0.7	1.8	0.5	-	1.6
North Wales	1.4	0.4	2.4	1.3	-	0.5
South Wales	0.9	2.1	1.5	1.1	0.8 ²	1.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	2 319	436	338	3 093	928	1157

Source: Passenger lists, and of England and Wales, 1861. ¹ This column is based on K.A.Pickens, 'The origins of Canterbury's nineteenth century population,' *New Zealand geographer* 33, 2, 1977, pp.69-75, Table III.

² Monmouth only.

Table 40 sets out for Canterbury's assisted English immigrants the regional origins of total family members, single women, single men, and total immigrants, and compares them with both Keith Pickens' Canterbury statistics for all arrivals and with our figures for New Zealand during this period. A remarkable degree of consistency is apparent, although it should be borne in mind that the Canterbury estimates relate to assisted immigrants over the period 1855-1870 rather than all immigrants for the period 1853-1870. For Canterbury and for New Zealand as a whole, the three most important sources remain London/Middlesex, the south-east, and the south-west. In Canterbury's case the industrial area of Lancashire/Cheshire was significantly under-represented as one might expect given the occupations of the immigrants. When we look at the different group by family status there were some interesting contrasts. Single women in particular were drawn largely from London-Middlesex and the south-east. Macdonald noted that 'Young women who were mobile and relatively independent were more likely to be found in the metropolis than elsewhere, having been attracted by employment ... in domestic service, needlework and millinery as well as in the multitude of small-scale manufacturing

(handcraft) and luxury trades which flourished in the capital ...'⁷⁴ Those who gave London as their 'place of origin' probably included many who had been born elsewhere. Macdonald also noted that some London immigrants came from 'the ranks of the casual poor ... These were girls and young women who came from the city's workhouses and charitable institutions.' Their recruitment reflected 'the extremes to which emigration agents were forced to go in order to recruit sufficient numbers of young women.'⁷⁵ Comparatively few single women were drawn from the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire-Cheshire, and the Central Midlands, factory workers being considered unsuitable on account of their lack of experience in domestic work 'and the widely held belief that factory work had a deleterious effect on young women's moral character.'⁷⁶ It is also apparent that the East contributed larger proportions of single men than in the case of both family members and single women.

Regional origins of Canterbury's assisted Scots immigrants, 1855-1870

Table 41: Regional origins of Canterbury's assisted Scots immigrants, 1855-1870 (per cent)

Regions	All family members	Single women	Single men	Total	Scotland census 1861	New Zealand 1853-70
Far North	3.7	7.1	9.7	5.5	3.9	5.9
Highlands	10.6	17.3	25.3	14.9	11.8	16.0
North-east	13.5	9.4	13.2	13.0	13.3	10.2
Eastern Lowlands	33.5	29.9	20.6	30.0	33.7	32.7
Western Lowlands	31.3	29.9	21.8	28.8	27.7	26.6
Borders	7.5	6.3	9.3	7.8	9.6	8.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	681	127	257	1 065		745

Source: Passenger lists, Census of Scotland, 1861 and Death registers.

Table 41 sets out the regional origins of Canterbury's assisted Scots immigrants and compares them with the regional distribution in Scotland and the overall migration to New Zealand from 1853-70. In general the distribution of Canterbury's assisted

⁷⁴ Charlotte Macdonald, *A woman of good character: single women as immigrant settlers in nineteenth century New Zealand*. Wellington, 1990, p.44.

⁷⁵ Macdonald, *A woman of good character*, pp.50-51.

migrants followed the distribution among all Scots migrants to New Zealand. However there is an interesting difference between single people and families. Single people, particularly the men, were more likely to come from the more distant parts of Scotland, especially the Far North and the Highlands. This once again is consistent with the data from the Otago scheme. Family groups were likely to come from the Lowlands. This in part reflected the difficulties of travel to ports for families, and partly Canterbury's efforts to recruit Highland shepherds for back-country sheep farms.

Regional origins of Canterbury's assisted Irish immigrants, 1855-1870

Table 42: Provincial origins of Canterbury's assisted Irish immigrants, 1855 –1870 (per cent)

Province	All family members	Single women	Single men	Total	New Zealand 1953-70	Pickens ¹
Connacht	6.0	18.2	15.4	12.0	8.5	8.8
Leinster	8.8	11.3	10.0	9.9	19.9	17.3
Munster	15.3	23.2	18.6	18.5	31.7	20.8
Ulster	69.8	47.2	55.9	59.6	39.8	53.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	534	362	279	1 175	527	680

Source: Passenger lists, and Census of Ireland, 1861. ¹ This column is based on K.A.Pickens, 'The origins of the population of nineteenth century Canterbury,' *New Zealand geographer* 33, 2, 1977, pp.69-75, Table IV; ² Native-born.

Table 42 provides the regional origins of Canterbury's assisted Irish and compares them with both the New Zealand wide figures and those compiled by Keith Pickens for all Canterbury immigrants. There is a comforting consistency between these figures and those of Pickens, and both suggest that by comparison with the general Irish migration to New Zealand Canterbury drew very high numbers from Ulster. This was especially the case among the families. Equally notable were the low numbers from Munster. In considerable measure this reflected the attitude of Canterbury's leaders who as Lyndon Fraser noted, 'displayed considerable ambivalence towards migration from Ireland, fearing that an influx of Catholic Irish would introduce a plethora of social problems,'

⁷⁶ Macdonald, *A woman of good character*, p.56.

and hence ensured that efforts to recruit immigrants were concentrated on north-east Ulster.⁷⁷

Within the Ulster, the most important county sources were Antrim, Armagh, and (especially) Down. County Down indeed was a major source of Canterbury's assisted Irish immigrants, supplying 12.4 per cent of all Irish single females, 21.1 per cent of the single males, 26.4 per cent of all family members, in all one fifth (20.8 per cent) of total Irish arrivals. From 1851 onwards, County Down's once labour-intensive agriculture shed labour as pasture and animal feed crops replaced grain and animal feed crops.⁷⁸ Most of the county's baronies sustained population falls during the 1860s, those embracing the central districts of the county experiencing the greatest losses. The precise sources of Canterbury's immigrants from County Down have yet to be established, but it is likely that they, too, came from the central parts of the county. Further, it is of interest to note that some of those from Killinchy in County Down settled in the Killinchy district of Canterbury,⁷⁹ while chain migration reinforced the importance of County Down (and other counties in Ulster) as a source of Canterbury's Irish immigrants.⁸⁰ Fraser's analysis of Irish Catholic migration to Canterbury also suggested that emigrants were drawn from particular districts within Ireland's counties. Thus, while Galway provided large numbers, most appear to have been born in the vicinity of the towns of Headford and Tuam. Rural localities close to the towns of Nenagh in Tipperary, Ballycastle in Antrim, Tralee in Kerry and Fermoy in Cork, also established close links with Christchurch. His data also indicate that the Irish in particular were quick to take advantage of the nomination system under which those already resident in Canterbury could nominate persons in Ireland, a system which sustained the flow from particular regions and

⁷⁷ Lyndon Fraser, *From Tara via Holyhead: Irish Catholic immigrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch*. Auckland, 1997, p.33.

⁷⁸ L.A.Clarkson, 'Population change in County Down 1841-199,' in L.Proudfoot, editor, *Down: history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*. Dublin, 1997, Chapter 15.

⁷⁹ See Lois McCormick, *The Lemon family: pioneers of Killinchy, Canterbury, New Zealand*. [Christchurch, 1998].

⁸⁰ See, for example, John Stevenson, *Stevenson: a family history*. Wellington [1997]. James Stevenson arrived in Canterbury about 1863 and was followed by a sister and brother in 1864. Stevenson married, in Christchurch, Mary McVeigh, of County Antrim. She arrived with her sister and brother-in-law in 1861, and was followed by two more sisters in 1863, and in 1866 by her parents and five more siblings.

districts.⁸¹ One other point worth noting is the contrast between the single and family migration with a higher proportion of the family groups coming from Ulster. It appears that only the dire need to attract domestic servants led recruiters to attract single women from the more Catholic southern provinces. Unfortunately the Canterbury provincial figures do not provide evidence of religious background. However when we select out those who died in Canterbury from the New Zealand wide sample and examine just the Irish, we discover that only 42.3 per cent were Catholic as compared with 53.9 per cent of Irish in the total sample for this period. In other words there is some evidence that Canterbury deliberately set out to attract Protestants, especially among the family groups, and to a considerable extent succeeded.

The Gold miners: Otago and the West Coast, 1861-70

Numbers

The existence of gold in New Zealand had been known long before Gabriel Read's discovery in Otago in May 1861. There was a small and unsuccessful rush to the Coromandel in 1852, while some 2 000 diggers congregated in the Aorere Valley in Nelson between 1857 and 1859.⁸² Read's efforts, however, were to prove decisive in establishing the extent, accessibility and payable nature of gold in New Zealand.

By December 1861 there were an estimated 14 000 people on the Tuapeka goldfield in Otago, a figure which declined sharply, to an estimated 7 000 by the middle of the severe winter of 1862. With the Dunstan discovery of August 1862, the flow reversed and by November 1862 there were an estimated 10 000 people on the Otago fields. Further discoveries, in the valley of the Manuherikia and in the Mount Ida district saw numbers swell to an estimated 21 000 by September 1863; and a peak of between 22 000 and 24 000⁸³ was reached probably in February 1864, the goldfields population contracting as

⁸¹ Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead: Irish Catholic immigrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch*. Auckland, 1997, p.47.

⁸² On the Coromandel discovery, see Paul Monin, *This is my place: Hauraki contested 1769-1875*. Wellington, 2001

⁸³ James Forrest, 'Population and settlement on the Otago goldfields, 1861-1870', *New Zealand geographer* 17 1, April 1961 pp.64-86.

miners and others joined the April 1864 rushes to Wakamarina in Marlborough⁸⁴ and then to the West Coast. The December 1864 *Census* recorded only 15 651 people on the goldfields of Otago.

Although gold was first discovered in Westland by small parties mining in various localities during the early 1860s, it was not until the Greenstone Creek discovery of August 1864 that interest quickened. McCaskill estimated that there were about 1 000 on the fields by the end of 1864 and some 7 000 by the end of April 1865.⁸⁵ By the end of 1866, some estimates suggest, there were some 50 000 on the goldfields, although Morrell suggested that a peak of from 25 000 to 30 000 was reached in the early months of 1866.⁸⁶ McCaskill described that estimate as ‘conservative’, while noting that it was unlikely that the peak of the population was reached early in 1866. He argued that the population of Westland continued to grow until just before the census of December 1867 which recorded a total population for the three Westland parliamentary electorates of 25 884, although it was recognised at the time that it was significantly short of the actual total.⁸⁷ By 1870 the tide turned as many miners were attracted to the Palmer River rush.

While a good deal is known about the gold discoveries and the development of the industry, comparatively little is known about the composition of the goldfields influx. Phillip May suggested that the men who flooded on to the goldfields of Victoria and New South Wales were ‘largely new arrivals from the British Isles, Europe and California,’ that the Otago diggings were populated by successive waves of miners from Australia, and the West Coast by influxes from both Otago and Australia.⁸⁸ On the basis of a sample of 135 men drawn from the Hokitika police book of inquests for the period 1864-1867, May concluded that 80 per cent of the goldfields population had been born in the United Kingdom, some 26 per cent in Ireland alone. That population, he continued,

⁸⁴ Mike Johnston, *Gold in a tin dish: the search for gold in Marlborough and eastern Nelson*. Two volumes, Nelson, 1992 and 1993.

⁸⁵ Murray McCaskill, ‘The South Island goldfields in the 1860s: some geographical aspects,’ in Murray McCaskill, editor, *Land and livelihood: essays in honour of George Jobberns*. Christchurch, 1962, p.156.

⁸⁶ W.P.Morrell, *The gold rushes*. New York, 1941, p.277.

⁸⁷ Murray McCaskill, ‘The goldrush population of Westland,’ *New Zealand geographer* 12,1, April 1956, pp.32-50.

⁸⁸ P.R.May, *The West Coast gold rushes*. Christchurch, 1962, p.120.

included ‘a leavening of representatives from a wide range of social classes,’ but largely ‘from the “respectable poor” in the homeland, or from those, materially, of somewhat better social origins, a class of men with sufficient resources of pocket and spirit to cut free from the cramped society of the Old World in order to begin afresh in the New.’⁸⁹ On the basis of the details of place of birth for 1 587 people recorded in Hokitika, Grey River, and Reefton hospital reports, McCaskill also suggested that 80 per cent of Westland’s population had been born in the United Kingdom, with the Irish forming almost one third.⁹⁰

Sources

In order to establish more fully the character of the gold-rush influxes, random samples were drawn from the *Passenger lists Victoria, AUS outwards to New Zealand*, for Otago from 1861 to 1864 and for the West Coast from 1865 to 1870.⁹¹ The lists provide the barest of details - name, age, marital status, gender, occupation, country (supposedly of origin) and date of departure. The information contained in the lists is, in fact, incomplete and, with reference to country of origin, *may* not be very reliable. The lists are, however, the only extant source available from which it is possible to reconstruct the basic character of the gold-rush influxes into Otago and the West Coast. Two other populations of gold miners were also created, one for Otago containing 1 364 men and another for the West Coast of 1 190 men, in both cases men born in the United Kingdom, who arrived in New Zealand between 1861 and 1870, and who remained in New Zealand.⁹² Finally biographical information was secured for 401 British-born wives of Otago miners who arrived in New Zealand up to 1870.

⁸⁹ P.R.May, *The West Coast gold rushes*. Christchurch, 1962, pp.271-273.

⁹⁰ Murray McCaskill, ‘The goldrush population of Westland,’ *New Zealand geographer* 12, 1, April 1956, pp.32-50.

⁹¹ New Zealand Genealogical Society, *Passenger lists, Victoria, AUS outwards to New Zealand*.

⁹² Information was collected from a variety of sources, in particular, from newspapers, cemetery and burial registers, the records of the warden’s courts, directories, electoral rolls, marriage registers, church records, registers of deaths, family histories, the records of charitable institutions, probate records, and local histories. Of the many thousands who arrived, mined or laboured briefly, and departed, little if any trace remains, while even for many of those who did remain very little is known.

Country of Origin

Table 43: Country of Origin of all arrivals from Victoria, and of male gold-miners in Otago and West Coast (per cent)

Country of Origin	Otago miners	Otago miners' wives	Otago arrivals 1861-4	West Coast miners	West Coast arrivals 1865-7	UK census 1861	All NZ immigrants 1861-70
England	36.6	26.8	61.1	28.0	51.5	62.7	43.7
Wales	1.7	1.1	0.3	3.8	0.3	4.0	1.1
Scotland	30.1	33.2	19.4	19.3	18.9	10.3	27.8
Ireland	31.6	38.9	19.1	47.9	29.3	22.6	26.9
Off-shore				1.0		0.4	0.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	1362	401	2699	906	1045		1753

Sources: *Passenger lists Victoria, AUS outwards to New Zealand*, Registers of deaths, and Censuses of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, 1861.

Table 43 provides the country of origin of the Otago and West Coast miners and the Otago miners' wives, comparing them with those who arrived direct from Victoria and also with both the UK-wide and New Zealand immigration figures for the period. It is apparent first, that among the mining population as a whole the English were very significantly under-represented and this was true both by comparison with immigrants into New Zealand generally and even more so by comparison with their representation in the United Kingdom. Interestingly however the English were comparatively common among those who came to Otago and the West Coast from Victoria. West Coast miners appear to have included an especially low numbers of Englishmen. The Scots were a significant force among the Otago miners (about three times their representation at home), but interestingly many of them must have come direct from Scotland rather than across the Tasman. It is the numbers of Irish who really stand out, not only among the West Coast diggers but also among those on the Otago fields. It is suggestive too that they were not quite as well represented among the arrivals from Victoria as one might expect. This suggests that quite a few came direct from the homeland, rather than via Australia. The Irish were especially well-represented among the wives of Otago miners,

while the English were even more under-represented. When we examine the years of arrival of these women, those from Scotland and Ireland were much more inclined to have arrived in 1862-4 as they followed their husbands to the goldfields, whereas the English had either arrived before the gold-rushes or waited for some years after them. Thus 47 per cent of the Scots wives and 43.9 per cent of the Irish arrived in 1862-4, but only 26.8 per cent of the English wives.

Table 44: Countries of birth, male arrivals aged 20 years and over in Auckland, Canterbury, Otago, the West Coast, and New Zealand, 1861-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Auckland	Canterbury assisted	Otago miners	West Coast miners	New Zealand
England ¹	54.7	42.8	36.6	29.0	42.9
Wales	0.6	1.5	1.7	3.8	1.2
Scotland	15.7	28.3	30.1	19.3	29.0
Ireland	28.9	27.4	31.6	47.9	26.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	947	1 171	1 362	906	805

Source: Registers of deaths. Note that Auckland's and New Zealand's arrivals include both assisted and self-payers, Canterbury's all assisted, and Otago and the West Coast miners only. ¹ Includes Off-shore islands

Table 44 compares the miners with Canterbury's adult male assisted immigrants and Auckland's arrivals. Again it points up the relative lack of importance of the English especially by comparison with Auckland. But the figures also suggest that those who came to the Otago goldfields were not a radically different group from those who came as assisted migrants to Canterbury.

Gender

With respect to gender, the information from the arrivals from Victoria suggests that both the Otago and West Coast influxes were overwhelmingly male – 87.3 per cent of Otago's 1861-4 inflow and 87.8 per cent of the West Coast's 1865-7 migration. However the sex ratio declined as the rushes proceeded. Thus in Otago's first rush (August 1861-July 1862) males comprised 90.4 per cent, but by 1864 and the third rush the proportion was down to 73.7 per cent. We see a pattern of the men rushing across the Tasman first to

explore the new fields and then the wives and families following. The same happened on the West Coast with the inflow of 1865 being 99.4 per cent male, and the 1867 flow declining to only 79.3 per cent.

Age

Table 45: Ages of miners on arrival in New Zealand, 1861-1870 (per cent)

Age groups	Otago	West Coast
0 - 19	7.0	3.5
20 - 24	19.3	12.4
25 - 29	26.9	24.6
30 - 34	23.7	30.2
35 - 39	13.2	18.8
40 - 44	6.0	7.6
45 - 49	2.5	2.4
50 - 54	0.9	0.4
55+	0.5	0.1
	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	1	10
n=	1 361	896

Source: Death registers.

Even bearing in mind the under-counting of older miners as a result of the fact that only death certificates from 1876 allowed calculation of the age of arrival, Table 45 suggests that the miners were a comparatively young group when they arrived with over three quarters (76.9 per cent) of Otago's miners being under 35. Those going to the West Coast were a bit older, but still almost 90 per cent (89.5) were under 39. Compared with New Zealand's immigrants as a whole there were significantly fewer miners over the age of 44. Among the national groups the English with a median age of 30 and the Scots (29) were older than the Irish (27). Again among the wives there was an interesting contrast with only 49.1 per cent of the English being aged between 20 and 34 on arrival compared with 62.4 per cent for the Scots and 79.5 per cent for the Irish. This confirms the idea that those English marrying Otago miners had either already come to New Zealand with their families before the gold-rushes or waited and joined their husbands once the men had become established.

Marital Status

Table 46: Marital status of the Otago (1861-1864) and West Coast (1865-1867) gold rush arrivals from Victoria (per cent)

Status	Otago males	West Coast males	Otago females	West Coast females
Single	87.7	91.3	43.0	46.9
Married	9.4	8.7	56.6	53.1
Unclear	2.9	-	0.4	-
n=	2 413	1 033	251	143

Source: New Zealand Society of Genealogists, *Passenger lists Victoria, AUS outwards to New Zealand*.

Table 47: Marital status of gold miners on arrival in New Zealand, 1861-1870 (per cent)

Marital status	Otago: Eng/W	West Coast: Eng/W	Otago: Scots	West Coast: Scots	Otago: Irish	West Coast: Irish	Otago: Totals	West Coast: Totals
Single	71.3	85.9	74.3	89.1	78.1	88.9	74.4	88.0
Married	21.5	9.4	20.3	6.9	17.9	6.7	20.0	7.6
Widowed	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0
Unknown	6.5	4.7	5.4	4.0	3.7	4.4	5.3	4.4
n=	524	297	408	175	430	434	1 362	906

Source: Death registers

Table 48: Marital status of Otago miners' wives on arrival in New Zealand (per cent)

Marital status	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish	Total
Single	45.5	64.7	59.0	57.1
Married	52.7	35.3	41.0	42.4
Not known	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.5
n=	112	133	156	401

Source: Death registers

Tables 46, 47 and 48 give some indication of the marital status of the gold miners on arrival. The first table shows all arrivals and this includes children while the second just treats those who were miners. However both tables again indicate that the male inflow into the goldfields was dominated by single men, far more than other migration flows. The West Coast arrivals were even less likely to be married than those going to the Otago

goldfields. With regard to the national groups the contrasts were not extreme, but the Irish were less likely to be married. Among Otago's miners' wives again a majority had arrived as single people, but significantly less so than among the males. Once again the English were most likely to be married on arrival, and here the national contrasts were stronger with a majority of English women married on arrival. The Irish appear to have had a quite distinct marriage pattern for if they did arrive already married they were likely to have been recently married and more often in Australia. Whereas an astonishingly high 63 per cent of the Irish arriving in Otago as married men had tied the knot in Australia, only 34.3 per cent of the English/Welsh and 25.3 of the Scots had done so. The point is made even stronger among the Irish wives 76.1 per cent of whom had married in Australia, compared with just 25.9 per cent for the English/Welsh and 29.5 per cent for the Scots. A strong majority of both those national groups had married in their homeland before setting out for the voyage south. With respect to the West Coast 51.7 per cent of the married Irish had married in Australia compared with 42.9 per cent of the English and 41.7 per cent of the Scots.

This picture of the Irish males as younger, less likely to be married and if married then more likely to have married in Australia is reflected in Table 49 which presents the family status of the miners on arrival. Thus one notes the smaller numbers of Irish who had arrived with children.

Table 49: Family status of Otago and the West Coast miners on arrival in New Zealand , 1861-1870 (per cent)

Otago

Family status	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish
Not initiated	35.0	29.0	45.2
Initiated	53.0	59.4	43.5
Unknown	12.0	11.6	11.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	100	47	62

West Coast

Family formation	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish
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Not initiated	40.0	30.0	43.6
Initiated	56.0	65.0	56.4
Unknown	4.0	5.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	50	20	39

Source: Death registers

Occupational background

Table 50: Occupations of Fathers of Otago and West Coast gold miners 1861-70.

Otago

Occupation	England/ Wales	Scotland	Ireland	All	All NZ immigrants aged 20 and over 1853-70
<i>Agriculture</i>					
Farmers	20.8	36.1	74.4	47.1	34.1
Agricultural labourers	3.5	5.9	1.5	4.8	5.0
Total agriculture	24.3	47.7	75.9	51.9	39.1
<i>Labourers</i>	6.5	3.8	4.6	4.7	5.9
<i>Servants</i>	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.2
<i>Pre-industrial</i>					
Building	9.1	10.5	3.4	6.8	7.4
Mining	4.5	5.5	2.3	11.2	2.6
Transport	1.0				1.1
Other pre-industrial	25.3	7.2	2.3	6.0	19.2
Total pre-industrial	39.7	23.2	8.0	24.0	30.4
<i>Industrial</i>	4.6	5.5	2.7	4.0	5.1
<i>White Collar</i>	17.2	6.3	5.3	6.3	13.0
<i>Other Occupations</i>		13.5	3.1	7.0	
Soldiers	1.3				1.4

Seamen	3.7				3.8
others	2.3				1.3
Unknown	167	0	0	167	360
n	796	237	262	784	1691

Source: Death registers

West Coast

Occupation	England/ Wales	Scotland	Ireland	All	All NZ aged 20 and over 1853-70
<i>Agriculture</i>					
Farmers	23.6	35.6	81.0	55.8	34.1
Agricultural labourers	2.9	1.4	0.0	1.1	5.0
Total agriculture	26.4	37.0	81.0	56.9	39.1
<i>Labourers</i>	5.7	5.5	5.9	5.8	5.9
<i>Servants</i>	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.2
<i>Pre-industrial</i>					
Building	6.4	4.1	2.1	3.8	7.4
Mining	17.1	9.6	1.7	7.7	2.6
Other pre-industrial	24.3	12.3	5.9	12.6	20.3
Total pre-industrial	47.9	26.0	9.7	24.1	30.4
<i>Industrial</i>	4.3	6.8	1.3	3.1	5.1
<i>White Collar</i>	10.0	5.5	1.3	4.6	13.0
<i>Other Occupations</i>					
Soldiers	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.4
Seamen	2.9	17.8	0.0	3.8	3.8

Others	2.9	1.4	0.4	1.3	1.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unknown	156	102	196	454	360
n	296	175	434	905	1691

Source: Death registers

Details of miners' occupations on arrival are scarce. Obituaries indicate that many of those who mined in Otago and on the West Coast had been employed in agricultural pursuits, mining or seafaring. Table 50 sets out their occupational backgrounds, and confirms that a large proportion of the miners of both regions were indeed drawn from farming backgrounds. This was partly a reflection of the large numbers of Irish. Among the English those from an agrarian background were not hugely significant. On the other hand, people from a mining background not surprisingly were comparatively well represented, especially in Otago and this was a consequence of the considerable numbers of Cornish miners who found their way to that field. Scots of a mining background were also well represented. Few miners had fathers who were employed as white collar workers or in industrial areas, which is not unexpected. However we note the very large number of Scots from a seafaring background who came to the goldfields especially to the West Coast.

Regional origins of English and Welsh Miners

Table 51: The regional origins of the miners, and Auckland's, Canterbury's (assisted), and New Zealand's English/Welsh male arrivals aged 20 years and over, 1861-1870 (per cent)

Born in	Otago	West Coast	Auckland	Canterbury	New Zealand
London-Middlesex	7.8	12.1	17.8	7.3	13.3
South-east	8.5	8.9	11.6	7.5	11.0
East	6.6	10.3	8.4	11.4	7.3
South-west	36.8	26.8	17.8	25.4	20.1
Midlands					
East	2.0	1.3	6.6	7.9	6.4
Central	1.8	1.3	6.8	3.5	4.6
West	2.3	1.3	4.9	7.9	4.9
South	2.0	0.9	3.5	7.5	6.0

Yorkshire	6.4	6.3	9.0	9.2	7.6
North-east	6.6	5.4	1.6	1.0	2.6
North-west	3.9	3.1	2.0	2.5	4.1
Lancashire-Cheshire	9.4	11.2	7.6	4.2	8.4
Off-shore islands	3.9	4.0	1.4	1.2	1.7
North Wales	1.2	4.0	0.6	2.5	0.9
South Wales	0.9	3.1	0.4	1.0	1.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	438	224	511	519	355

Source: Death registers; passenger lists

Table 51 sets out the regions of birth of the English/Welsh miners who arrived in Otago and the West Coast, and compares them with those males aged 20 years and over who arrived in Auckland, Canterbury (assisted), and New Zealand. Some interesting contrasts are apparent. We note first the very large numbers of miners who came from the South-west, especially in the case of Otago. Some came from Devon (6.6 per cent of the West Coast English/Welsh), but many more came from Cornwall (15.1 per cent of the West Coast English/Welsh). The mining areas of Cornwall were experiencing pronounced difficulties at the time. Rising production and the low working costs enjoyed by foreign producers led to a steep and devastating fall in the price of copper. In any case, Cornwall's mines, according to Rowe, 'had been largely worked out; the best ones were exhausted, what remained were too poor to warrant working.'⁹³ Some of the Camborne and Redruth mines turned to tin, but many others closed.⁹⁴ Emigration surged. During the 1850s South Australia emerged as the most important overseas destination for the Cornish, most coming from the districts adjoining the Gwennap, the centre of the copper mining industry, among them, Camborne, Illogan, Perranzambuloë, Redruth and St Agnes.⁹⁵ It was from among the Cornish who emigrated to the copper fields of South Australia, and thence to the goldfields of Victoria, that Otago and the West Coast drew a good many of their Cornish miners. Conditions in Cornwall worsened during the 1860s,

⁹³ John Rowe, *The hard-rock men: Cornish immigrants and the North American mining frontier*. Liverpool, 1974, p.158.

⁹⁴ J.B.Richardson, *Metal mining*. London, 1974, p.101. See also D.B.Barton, *Essays in Cornish mining history, Volume 1*. Truro, 1968.

⁹⁵ For an account of the Cornish in Australia, see Jim Faull, *The Cornish in Australia*. Melbourne, 1983; P.J.Payton, *The Cornish miner in Australia: Cousin Jack down under*. Trewolsta, Trewirgie, 1984, pp.19 and 48.

and over 59 500 miners and quarrymen left the United Kingdom over the period 1862-1872, the peak years for departure being between 1865 and 1869.⁹⁶ The *West Briton*, in October 1863, noted that ‘Large numbers of the mining population are emigrating to Australia,’ and in June 1866 that ‘Australia and New Zealand ... put in their claim for labour and many hundreds are finding their way to those colonies ...,’ some assisted by the Cornwall Central Relief Committee.⁹⁷ In May 1867 it was estimated that in the previous 12 months 7 380 miners had left Cornwall, among them 670 to Australia and New Zealand, from Camborne-Redruth, Gwennap and environs, Leland, St Just, Wendron, St Agnes, Perranzabuloe, St Austell, Liskeard, and Callington.⁹⁸ Rowe estimated that some 11 400 jobs were lost in eighteenth months, affecting some 30 per cent of the Cornish labour force.⁹⁹ The migratory waves which flooded into New Zealand during the 1860s thus included those for whom employment in Victoria’s company mines was an unattractive prospect, and those who had been displaced by the sharp contraction of the Cornish and Devon mining industry. It should also be noted that a good many of the Cornish miners who eventually settled in the West Coast’s gold mining communities originally arrived in New Zealand as migrants assisted by the Canterbury Provincial Council, recruited to work on the Lyttelton-Christchurch Railway Tunnel. Construction of the tunnel began in 1861 and was completed during 1867, many of those who had worked on the tunnel then shifting to the West Coast to take up gold mining. The numbers of Otago miners’ wives are small, so figures are unreliable, but the proportions from the South-west were even higher and this points to the extent to which the Cornish migration involved wives and families as well as single miners.

Other areas with mining traditions were the North-east (i.e. Durham and Northumberland), Lancashire and Wales, and all three were unusually well-represented among the migrants to the goldfields. Indeed the West Coast miners were the only group among all New Zealand immigration flows who included significant numbers of Welsh

⁹⁶ *Return of the number of miners and quarrymen who have left the United Kingdom in passenger ships in each year since 1861*, BPP 1873.lxi.37.

⁹⁷ P.J. Payton, *The Cornish miner in Australia: Cousin Jack down under*. Trewolsta, Trewirgie, 1984, p.8.

⁹⁸ Philip Payton, ‘Cornish emigration in response to changes in the international copper market in the 1860s,’ *Cornish studies*, Series 2, 3, 1995, pp.60-82. See p.73. See also D.B. Barton, *Essays in Cornish mining history, Volume 1*. Truro, 1968, p.48.

among their arrivals. The counties of Glamorgan and Carnarvon were significantly over-represented. On the other hand those areas which were so significant for New Zealand immigration generally – the South-east and London-Middlesex – were comparatively less well represented among the miners (although they were still 16.3 per cent in Otago’s case, and 21 per cent of West Coasts’ arrivals). Finally it is worth commenting upon the considerable numbers of miners who originated in the off-shore islands especially the Isle of Man. In sum the regional origins of New Zealand’s English and Welsh miners are distinctly different from those who arrived in other parts of New Zealand during the 1860s.

Regional Origins of the Scottish Miners, 1861-70.

Table 52: Regions of Origin of Scottish miners by comparison with Auckland’s, Canterbury’s (assisted) and New Zealand Scottish male arrivals aged 20 and over, 1861-70 (per cent)

Born in	Otago	West Coast	Auckland	Canterbury	New Zealand	Scots adult males 1861
Far North	13.4	19.5	5.5	7.5	7.8	4.0
Highlands	18.4	15.4	13.1	21.4	21.6	14.0
North-east	14.1	8.9	10.3	13.6	7.3	13.6
Eastern Lowlands	22.6	24.4	32.4	23.9	30.3	34.6
Western Lowlands	21.6	28.5	33.8	25.4	22.9	23.7
Borders	9.8	3.3	4.8	8.2	10.1	10.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	305	123	145	331	234	

Sources: Death registers and Census of Scotland, 1861.

Just under a third of Otago’s miners and just under a fifth of the West Coast’s miners were drawn from Scotland, the higher proportion in the case of the former reflecting the Scots inflow of the previous 13 years. Table 52 sets out the regional origins of the Scots

⁹⁹ J. Rowe, *Cornwall in the age of the Industrial Revolution*. Liverpool, 1953, p.378.

who mined for gold in Otago and on the West Coast.¹⁰⁰ As with the other flows to New Zealand, both regions drew large proportions of their miners from the Eastern and Western Lowlands, although those born in the Eastern Lowlands were markedly under-represented both in comparison with the region's share of all Scots males aged over 20 years in 1861 and with the immigration to New Zealand generally. Miners born in the Far North made up a disproportionately large share of the miners of both regions, while those born in the Highlands were generally appropriately represented. The Far North was heavily influenced by migration from the Shetlands which comprised 13.8 per cent of West Coast's Scots and 6.2 per cent of those coming to Otago. Emigration from Shetland in particular accelerated after 1835 following a series of bad harvests, the collapse of the fishing and whaling industries, the potato blight of 1846 -1849, and the clearances of the 1860s and 1870s. Many were attracted to Otago by a series of articles on the gold discoveries which appeared in the *Shetland Advertiser* in 1862, while a substantial community of Shetlanders was established on the West Coast, especially about Charleston and Nine-mile Beach. Some had mined on the Victorian and Otago fields, others arrived directly from the Shetlands, some went back to the Shetlands to marry and later returned to New Zealand, while other family members frequently followed.¹⁰¹ It is also worth noting that the Otago miners were drawn more widely from throughout Scotland than those going to the West Coast. Thus whereas 12 counties supplied 62.6 per cent of Otago's miners, the same counties supplied 78.1 per cent of those on the West Coast.

Again the figures for the Otago miners' wives are too small for certainty, but they differ significantly in origin from their husbands. Lower proportions were born in the Far North, the Highlands, the North-east, and the Borders, but considerably higher proportions in both the Eastern and Western Lowlands. Almost 17 per cent had been born

¹⁰⁰ The total number of males in Scotland aged over 20 years excludes those born outside Scotland and for whom no county of birth was available.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Amber E.Haley, *John and Mary Thomson and their descendants: Shetland Islands – New Zealand*. Nelson, 1986; and Les Wright, *The Powells of Charleston*. [Westport], 1991. Eliza and Robert Thomson, children of John and Mary, arrived in New Zealand in 1868, followed by siblings David in 1874, and William in 1876. Parents John (66) and Mary (56), together with two more daughters, a grandson, and another child arrived in 1877, while another widowed daughter and child arrived in 1878 or 1879.

in Glasgow and 8.9 per cent in Edinburgh. That contrasting pattern in all likelihood reflects the fact that many of these women had arrived in Otago prior to 1861 and shared the origins of those who founded New Edinburgh.

Regional origins of the Irish miners, 1861-70.

Table 53: Regions of Origin of Irish miners by comparison with Auckland's, Canterbury's (assisted) and New Zealand Scottish male arrivals aged 20 and over, 1861-70 (per cent)

Born in	Otago	West Coast	Auckland	Canterbury	New Zealand	Irish adult males 1861
Connacht	5.6	11.7	4.4	14.3	6.5	15.5
Leinster	13.6	14.0	23.3	8.1	19.5	25.2
Munster	43.0	41.7	23.6	17.5	30.5	26.7
Ulster	37.7	32.7	48.7	60.1	43.5	32.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	337	300	271	321	200	

Sources: Death registers and Census of Ireland, 1861.

Table 53 sets out the provinces of birth of the Irish miners who arrived in Otago and on the West Coast between 1861 and 1870. Also included is each province's share of Ireland's male population aged 20 years and over.¹⁰² It is clear that like other parts of New Zealand both regions drew their Irish miners principally from among those born in Munster and Ulster, with Otago drawing a little more heavily upon those born in Ulster, and the West Coast upon those born in Connacht. However, not unexpectedly the numbers from Munster was significantly greater than among Auckland's and Canterbury's immigrants and this was interestingly the case for Otago as for the West Coast. When counties are examined the same four counties in Munster were significantly and disproportionately represented – Counties Clare, Kerry, Limerick and Tipperary – with Waterford also over-represented among arrivals to the West Coast. The Ulster counties well-represented in both places were Antrim and Londonderry with Cavan and Down also prominent among Otago Ulstermen.

¹⁰² The total number of males in Ireland aged 20 years and over excluding those born in Great

