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ATTITUDES IN NEW ZEALAND TO
SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRATION,
1870 - 1876.

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Presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the
degree of B.A. Honours in History
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The question of primary importance is the character of the proposed emigrant and his suitability for colonial life. If the character is good and the emigrant possesses qualities which will enable him to become a good colonist, the place of birth is of no importance.

— Robert Stout, 1878.
Preface

This study makes no attempt to examine in any detail the establishment and the administration of Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand. The methods used in forming special settlements and the regulations surrounding the obtaining and shipping of these people have only been felt necessary to give some idea of the background in which attitudes of individuals and groups were being shaped. The administration of the whole project has been ably covered in an M.A. thesis by the late Professor J.W. Davidson entitled "The Scandinavian Immigrants in New Zealand." Very little work, however, has been done on the attitudes of New Zealand towards this immigration.

In looking at this subject several questions have arisen. What is it that moulds the attitudes of the public on certain issues of common interest? Are they the product of one's independent thoughts; or are they dictated, to some extent at least, by the influence of one's environment in the way of the attitudes of others and the effect of the news media; or is it a mixture of both? This study is based on the belief that individual attitudes and group attitudes interact on each other.

Contemporary public opinion upon an event of history is always difficult to measure. Unless one has been able to resort to masses of correspondence from hundreds of unconnected individuals one is forced to rely on the opinions of a few in public and private documents and on the expressions of opinion in the contemporary newspapers, bearing in mind that both these sources reflect the subjectivity of the writer. It has been said that "newspapers are unique barometers of their age. They indicate more plainly than anything else the climate of the societies to which they belong."¹ This may be true, but while they reflect public opinion they can also guide and influence it by the way in which they report and comment upon events. Public opinion and editorial opinion can and do interact on and follow each other.

Thus although newspapers are the main source for studying public opinion upon a certain issue they have to be approached with some caution and criticism. Editorials are useful so long as the interests of the editor or the management are known. Letters to the editor provide another useful source of information, but these too are only the expressions of individuals, and could easily have been selected for publication by an editor with a particular bias on a given subject. Bearing all this in mind I have made much use of some of the newspapers of the period.

Similar influences are at work on the speeches of men holding public positions, especially of members of Parliament. While their speeches may express their own convictions, they are also guided by the opinions of their electors to whom, in New Zealand at least, they are ultimately responsible. The difficulty is knowing when a person is giving his own opinion and when he is repeating that of those around him. Correlation between newspapers and reported speeches of Parliamentarians, therefore, can be a useful means of arriving at a more definite conclusion as to the majority opinion of the public.

By trying to answer these questions about public attitudes in relation to Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand in the years 1870 to 1876 I hope that some insight will be gained as to the character of the colony at this time and as to its development as a nation.

My thanks must go to the staffs of several libraries in the country who have proved helpful in providing me with the material requested: Hocken Library, University of Otago Library reference staff, Dunedin Public Library, National Assembly Library, Alexander Turnbull Library, and the National Archives. I am also grateful to my supervisor, Dr W.H. McLeod, for his useful comments, and to my typist, Miss D. Egen, for her speed and efficiency.
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Abbreviations

AJHR  Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand.

NZPD  New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.

O.D.T.  Otago Daily Times.

P.P. (H.B.)  Hawke's Bay Provincial Papers.


1. **PUBLIC WORKS AND IMMIGRATION**

1870 marked a new stage in the history of European immigration to New Zealand, in that under Julius Vogel's public works and immigration scheme the foundations of a centrally operated plan to colonise the whole country were laid. Previously immigration had been controlled by the separate provinces, each of which had its own scheme and its own emigration agents in Great Britain. The consequence was that the wealthier provinces such as Canterbury and Otago were able to procure more immigrants than the less wealthy, which had the effect of creating an imbalance in population between the North and South Islands, an imbalance already aggravated by the attraction of the gold rushes in Otago and Westland during the 1860s.

After 1867 there was a marked decline in immigration to New Zealand, only partially the result of the decline of the gold rushes. The Maori wars received a certain amount of the blame for acting as a deterrent to prospective settlers, especially in the North Island, which was largely closed to any but coastal settlement until the Maori had been subdued and his lands obtained. These local problems were were aggravated by the onset of a slight depression in 1869 which not only discouraged people from immigrating but also discouraged colonials from nominating their friends and relatives for immigration, thus reflecting a fear ever present during this period: could the labour market absorb an increased population?

But the hindrances to immigration into New Zealand were not entirely local. A major factor preventing any large influx of people to the colony was that it was but a small and isolated country, two to three months distant from Europe, and undeveloped. To the artisan and labourer of Europe North America appeared a much more attractive place in which to settle. It was closer to Europe and thus cheaper to reach. It offered opportunities in the way of land and employment that New Zealand could not rival; New Zealand was still concerned to settle the land and therefore preferred agricultural labourers, while North America could employ the merchant and industrial classes as well. The North American agents, especially those from the United States of America, were well organised and active in
Europe, with financial support from industry and commerce, and against this New Zealand's provincial agents could not compete. At the same time Canada and the United States offered the choice of two political systems. For those who preferred monarchy, or for those Britons who wished to remain British, there was Canada, self-governing but within the Empire; for those who were perhaps politically more radical, or, as was more likely, concerned for material advance rather than loyalty to a Crown or empire, there was the United States, the land of supposed freedom and opportunity.

It was all these factors, both local and external, to which New Zealand had to react and to which it had to find a solution. The need for immigration as a means of opening up the country and of encouraging its development was realised. Yet how was this to be done? Plans were being discussed and formulated by the New Zealand Government during 1869-1870 as a result of the 1869 Financial Statement which had stated that it was the Government's intention to invite, outside as well as within the Colony, not only every information obtainable, but also a continued scheme of immigration, allied with settlement, and of laying them before the Assembly next Session, together with carefully prepared recommendations based on them. 1

It was in accordance with this policy that the two Commissioners, Dr Isaac E. Featherston and Mr Francis Dillon Bell, who were sent to London late in 1869 to negotiate for the retention of a regiment of imperial troops, were also instructed to obtain information as to the possibility of encouraging an increased migration of people from Great Britain to the shores of New Zealand. In extensive instructions to them about immigration Premier William Fox put forward several possibilities as regards the type of immigrant, the means of immigration, and the kind of settlement envisaged upon arrival, thus reflecting the state of mind of the Government at this time, searching for a suitable system of immigration yet undecided as to how to act. It was felt that New Zealand should retain control of the selection of immigrants rather than either

1. NZPD, 1869, Vogel, 29 July, p. 163.
a joint control with the Imperial Government or sole control by the United Kingdom. Either of these two possibilities would enable an influx of Britain's pauper population to occur. This was naturally deemed undesirable for New Zealand in that such people would bring no capital, and were probably paupers because they lacked the ability to work or to keep a position of employment (a reflection of the belief that poverty was the result of personal failing rather than of adverse economic conditions affecting the individual). Thus New Zealand should choose its own immigrants and have its own scheme of shipping them from Europe. Assisted passages should not be opposed if so required, provided that repayment could be guaranteed, but unassisted immigration was preferable and should be encouraged by bonuses. Acquisition and settlement of land or employment upon arrival ought to be planned for in order to retain the immigrant. In this respect the Government was considering extensive railway works, not only to provide employment but also to open up the country to further settlement. Special settlements might also be undertaken by companies willing to invest in New Zealand by establishing industrial towns, thus encouraging the economic growth of the colony. The emigration of families, and even of whole communities of both British and continental origin should be preferred to that of single people, especially men, who were less likely to settle permanently. All these proposals were stressed as being only suggestions as to possible future action and the Commissioners were not authorised to commit the New Zealand Government to any of them by entering into arrangements along these lines in Great Britain. They were empowered only to send to New Zealand an agent with full authority to enter into a contract with the Government when it seemed certain that the proposals of the agent would be acceptable to the colony.  

2. AJHR, 1870, D - 4, 3, Gisborne to the N.Z. Commissioners, 23 Dec, 1869, encl. memo., Fox to N.Z. Commissioners, 20 Dec, 1869.
Britain was at this time desirous of increased emigration to the colonies. Owing to the onset of a depression in 1869 as the result both of the inflation of credit followed by a sudden collapse which affected most of the major industries, and of several successive inadequate harvests, there was an increased number of unemployed throughout the country, and consequently both the unemployed and the Government were interested in the prospect of emigration. North America offered its usual attraction of material success, but there was an upsurge of imperial sentiment during the latter half of 1869. This was largely a reaction to the Gladstone Government's policy of withdrawal of imperial troops, a policy which seemed to be leading to the disintegration of the Empire and which encouraged an interest in the colonies as fields for possible colonisation, both as a means of strengthening the imperial ties and of relieving Great Britain of its surplus population. A popular magazine of the period summarised the feeling in Britain:

We want land on which to plant English families where they may thrive and multiply without ceasing to be Englishmen...The colonies contain virgin soil sufficient to employ and feed five times as many people as are crowded into Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing is needed but arms to cultivate it; while here, among ourselves, are millions of able-bodied men unwillingly idle, clamouring for work, with their families starving on their hands... The colonies, it seems, set more value than we do on the prosperity of the empire... Conscious that their relations with us cannot continue on the present footing, their ambition is to draw closer to us, to be absorbed in a united empire... If we do not attempt to thrust paupers and criminals on them, but send labourers and their families adequately provided, they will absorb our people by millions, while in desiring to remain attached to England they are consulting England's real interests as entirely as their own... Let it be established that an Englishman emigrating to Canada, or the Cape, or Australia, or New Zealand, did not forfeit his nationality, that he was still an Englishman so much as if he was in Devonshire or Yorkshire, and would remain an Englishman while the English empire lasted... It is no party question; all ranks, all classes are equally interested, manufacturers in the creation of new markets, landowners in the expansion of soil which will remove, and which probably alone can remove, the discontent with the increasing monopoly at home. Most of all is it the concern
of the workingman. Let broad bridges be established into other Englands and they may exchange brighter homes and brighter prospects for their children for a life which is no life in the foul alleys of London and Glasgow; while by relieving the pressure at home they may end the war between masters and men, and solve the problem of labour which trades unions can only embitter...

The pervading idea of the whole article was to extend Britain overseas, to develop countries that were British with industrial raw materials and agricultural goods while absorbing Britain's excess population.

How widespread was such an attitude? How loyal to the idea of being British was the average migrant, who generally came from the labouring classes? Probably he was motivated more by thoughts of material success. After all, what had loyalty to Britain and the Crown offered him in the way of employment, food and comfort? Such an attitude would be a partial explanation why many Britons flocked to the United States so readily at this time. But if such was the case, what made people emigrate twelve thousand miles to the South Pacific? Canada was just as much apart of the Empire and offered much more in the way of opportunities for success. Yet Canada appeared to be about to leave the Empire, having become a confederacy with full responsible self-government in 1867. Thus those people who wanted to remain within the imperial orb were forced to look elsewhere to more distant fields such as Cape Colony, Australia and New Zealand. In such circumstances the idea of "other Englands" overseas did not appear ludicrous. That New Zealand should become the most British of these three colonies was probably because of its size and its isolation, features which enhanced the advantages of retaining the imperial link as a means of security and status.

There were other factors which encouraged people to emigrate to New Zealand, such as the connection through relations already settled there, and later (after 1873) the onset of a depression in North America. Insofar as the desire to remain within the Empire was a cause of emigration to the colony, it helps to explain the prolonged attachment to Britain that has been part of New Zealand's history, and also provides a clue to the colony's attitudes to non-British desiring to settle in there.

Granville, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1869-70, was less idealistic in his desire to promote emigration to the colonies. He saw it predominantly as a means of providing relief for Britain's unemployed, which would result in benefits for the colonies by supplying much needed labour. This is reflected in his circular to the colonies of 14 February, 1870, in which he requested information as to the type and number of immigrants required, the opportunities available for them on arrival in the colony, and the assistance to be offered in shipping them from Britain to their destination. Premier Fox's reply again reflected the uncertainty of the New Zealand Government's position on the details of immigration which had not yet been debated by the Legislature, and thus the information requested by Granville was not provided at this time.

New Zealand was not going to be hurried into accepting an influx of British who required considerable financial assistance in order to bring them to the country. At the same time the Fox Ministry had to wait for the proposals which had just been presented in the Financial Statement for 1870 to the Legislature to be debated and accepted by that body. Responsible government demanded this.

4. AJHR, 1870, A - 1A, 41, Granville to Bowen, 14 Feb., 1870.

5. CO 209/217, 1870, Bowen to Granville, 1 July, 1870, excl. memo., Fox to Granville, 30 June, 1870.
Vogel had presented the Financial Statement on 28 June. In this he enunciated a public works and immigration scheme, which has subsequently been associated with his name as being his scheme, but which was the culmination of the discussions on many fronts of the previous twelve months. The colonial newspapers as well as the Government had repeatedly examined the topic of immigration. The general feeling seemed to be that immigration should be increased, preferably by the Colonial Government, but if not, then by the Provincial Governments with some financial aid from the General Assembly. At the same time caution was required; there was considerable doubt as to whether the surplus labour of England was the kind of population most desired.6

Similar discussions had taken place in Parliament during the Address in Reply in the first few days of the 1870 session, immediately prior to the enunciation of the public works and immigration scheme. The general attitude was again favourable to the instituting of a general programme of immigration, preferably connected with public works.

The union of the two I consider indispensable... I think that by harmonizing and adjusting the one to the other we shall recover from our depression, and in a few years elevate New Zealand to a pitch of prosperity which we can hardly at this moment anticipate.7

The aim of the scheme as propounded in the Financial Statement was to encourage the development of New Zealand which was in a depressed condition largely as a result of the Maori wars. Development and expansion could only be achieved if settlement and land utilization were encouraged. Thus a system of public works involving the building of roads and railways was proposed. These would serve to unify the country, and especially the North Island, and open it up for


7. NZPD, 1870, Gisborne, 17 June, p. 19.
settlement, which would then enable the importation of a large number of immigrants. At the same time immigrants would be need to help build the roads and railways that were envisaged. Thus public works and immigration were seen to be "inseparably united." The whole country would prosper from a larger population which would encourage increased trade, both of imports and exports. There would be a greater demand for industrial products in New Zealand, especially of goods for railway building, while agricultural production would be stimulated, so that there would be an increase in exports, especially to Great Britain.8

Besides these economic reasons for the encouragement of immigration and public works there was also the argument put forward that it would improve Maori-Pakeha relations in three ways: the employment of Maoris on public works, the opening up of the country, and the balancing of the numbers of Europeans and Maoris in certain areas, especially in the North Island, would encourage the ending of hostilities between the two peoples.9 Vogel later claimed this to be the true origin of the public works and immigration policy,10 but it would appear from the debates, both in Parliament and in the newspapers, as well as in the initial enunciation of this policy, where this idea was briefly referred to at the end of the statement, that though this was certainly one important factor in the policy, the Government was more concerned with the general development of the whole country. Vogel's later opinion may well have been influenced by the fact that the Maori wars had drawn to a close at the time the policy was being developed, and no serious outbreak of violence occurred after this. But the claim

8. Ibid., Vogel, 28 June, pp 102-108.

9. Ibid., p. 108.

that the public works scheme was primarily for the pacifying of the Maori is not reflected in the discussions and debates at that time, nor is it reflected in the actual events of the period. Fighting had virtually ceased by the end of 1868, with only a few Maoris, led by men such as Te Kooti and Titokawaru, continuing to offer resistance, and even they were virtually defeated by mid-1870.

Vogel proposed to spend £8,500,000 on public works and £1,500,000 on immigration over the next ten years. That such an expense should be considered when New Zealand already had a debt of £8,000,000 is difficult to understand when it is realised that 1870 was in the period before an inflationary money system was considered as normal. The prevailing belief in 1870 was that the budget should be balanced in reality as well as on paper. One can only presume that the loan guarantee of £1,000,000 by the Imperial Government in May, 1870, for the purpose of a scheme of public works and immigration when the Imperial Government was known to be opposed to state aid for emigration, encouraged the New Zealand Government to go ahead with its scheme.

The type of immigration was also discussed in the Financial Statement, and had changed little from the ideas expressed by Fox to the Commissioners in December of the previous year. The diseased, the vagrant, the idle and the "paupers by profession" were to be ignored as possible immigrants; assisted immigration would be considered; and the type of employment offered would be varied, whether it be on land, in industry, on public works, or in new industries established in co-operative settlements by companies and contractors. The control and selection of immigrants should be left to the provinces, with the cost being shared between them and the Colonial Government. Yet Vogel was

prepared, and made this clear, that if provincial opposition should endanger the scheme the central Government would assume greater control of the whole project.12

The proposals in the Financial Statement were adopted in the Immigration and Public Works Act passed on 18 August, 1870. The most important change made by this Act was that the appropriation for immigration was reduced to £1,000,000, and the sum for railway purposes was reduced to £2,000,000. The Governor was empowered by clause 45 to appoint an agent-general for New Zealand in the United Kingdom to do all things in relation to New Zealand that the Governor-in Council might direct.13

The main objections of those who opposed aspects of the proposals were over the cost of the scheme and to the introduction of labourers attached to public works and not to the soil.14 But overall there appeared to be a large degree of unanimity about the aims of the Act, public works and immigration.

For the first time in our history... this Colony as a colony, is going in for public works: it is going to resume that great duty which has been so long neglected — that of colonisation. There is no doubt that, in according the vote for that purpose, there has been a unanimity such as has been rarely accorded upon any question in this House. 15

Thus the Immigration and Public Works Act of 1870 and the associated Immigration and Public Works Loan Act of the same year were the culmination of over a year's discussion and consideration of various proposals regarding immigration. As they stood,

12. Ibid. Once the scheme was under way it was soon realized that dual control was not very effective, and so, by the Public Works and Immigration Act Amendment Act 1871, immigration was placed under the complete control of the central government.


14. NZPD, 1870 Richmond, 7 July, p. 275; Rolleston, 8 July, p. 313; Gillies, 12 July, p. 352.

15. Ibid., Fitzherbert, 9 August, p. 386.
however, they provided no definitive system for the conducting of immigration. It was understood that the selection of immigrants was important in order to avoid an inrush of the impoverished of the United Kingdom. Thus free immigration was not favoured. The selection of immigrants had been placed in the hands of an Agent-General who, being from New Zealand, would have the colony's interests at heart and not those of the Imperial Government. Yet the Agent-General had no specific instructions to guide him. Instead for the next two years he was to a large extent to be left to find a workable plan which would enable a smooth flow of suitable emigrants to proceed from Europe to New Zealand. The public works and immigration scheme had laid down the basic policy under which he was to act, but the details of the administration of this policy were to be worked out through experiment and experience over the next few years.

It was with this background and as a result of the plans and legislation of 1870 that Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand was seriously undertaken in the next five years, 1871 to 1876. That such a migration should occur was to some degree a reflection of the nature of the whole scheme, that of trial and experiment. The colony was desirous of a considerable but controlled immigration. Being a British colony it was primarily concerned with immigration from the United Kingdom, and it was towards this that the scheme of 1870 was primarily directed. Why, then, were Scandinavians soon incorporated in the scheme, and how did the colony react to this influx of a non-British people?
The object of the New Zealand Commissioners Act of 1869 was to appoint two Commissioners to proceed to London to negotiate with the Imperial Government for the continued presence of an imperial regiment in the colony. It was hoped, however, that this would not be the sole purpose of sending two men to Great Britain, but that they would also be employed in discussing other subjects of vital importance to New Zealand, such as immigration, public works, and possibly loans. This was made more explicit in Fox's memorandum on immigration in December, but the Commissioners were given very little power to do anything other than discuss with the Imperial Government, interested groups and individuals the possibilities of an organized emigration from Great Britain. The inability to do anything definite was a cause of immense frustration to the two Commissioners, Bell and Featherston, who as a result of the depression in Great Britain at this time saw possible emigrants being directed to North America because they themselves could promise them nothing.

This situation reflected in part the reason why New Zealand had been unable to attract any large migration to its shores except in the time of the gold rushes. The provincial agents could not compete with their more organized American counterparts, while the colonial Government had never made known New Zealand's national requirements and facilities for emigrants, or organized a national agency large enough and financial enough to compete with the agencies of other countries. In 1870, however, it was realized by the Commissioners that this had to be altered, not only to attract an

1. N.Z. Statutes, 1869, p. 203.
2. NZPD, 1869, Fox, 31 August, pp. 854-855.
3. see chapter one, pp. 2 - 3.
increased migration to New Zealand, but also to satisfy the requests of those who wanted to migrate to the colony but needed assistance, and to prevent an influx of those considered undesirable as settlers whom many in England were most willing to send out. The New Zealand Government had to control the selection of its immigrants.

It was in such a situation, potentially excellent in prospects for immigration, that Mr Bell was motivated to write to the New Zealand Colonial Secretary, William Gisborne, complaining that

As to Immigration, I don't see what we can possibly do without further powers. It is a disappointment to everyone without exception, that we are not armed with any real authority, People say that the only things the Act enables us to do we can't get done, but that the Act just avoids enabling us to do what could be done at once. There is a passionate movement going on here in favour of Emigration, public meetings in all directions and a monster petition to the Queen signed by more than a hundred thousand working men praying for state aid; the subject is ripe for good handling, and if we had the power (not money - it is not requisite) to make agreements we could most certainly take the bale at the ground hop and do a stroke for the Colony. It is the great misfortune of New Zealand to be always too late. We send missions home in ignorance of what we ought to get the missions to do, and then by losing the favourable moment we lose our chances altogether. Emigrants are going in shoals to other places, we are having none out.

But this appeal for power to act was not granted. The Fox Ministry felt that any comprehensive plan for immigration had first to be presented to and ratified by the General Assembly. Thus the Commissioners were left to continue obtaining information about the prospects of an organized immigration which the Government used to help formulate its scheme presented by Vogel in 1870.

4. MS Papers 32, McLean Papers, Bell to Gisborne, 24 Feb, 1870.
It was because the Commissioners had this freedom to observe that they were able to consider the possibilities of Scandinavian immigration. This was not a totally new idea. Scandinavians had been connected with New Zealand since the time of Abel Tasman, when at least one member of his crew had been a Scandinavian. A Swedish botanist, Dr Solander had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage of 1768, and by the early nineteenth century Scandinavian whalers, sealers and traders were present around New Zealand's shores, one by the name of Tapsell, a Dane, even marrying a Maori princess of the Te Arawa tribe. This, of course, was not in any way a planned settlement of Scandinavians in New Zealand, but these men were known about and may have influenced the New Zealand Company to turn to Scandinavia for possible settlers in 1841, when the British emigrants for Wellington were not forthcoming. It would appear, however, that Germans were more willing to emigrate at this time than Scandinavians, with a small German settlement being established in the Nelson region.

During the gold rushes of the 1860s it is known that some Scandinavians came to New Zealand in search of their fortunes, though no statistics are available, other than that in the 1867 census other Europeans, excluding Britons, Germans and Frenchmen, equaled 2,196. How many of these were Scandinavians cannot be accurately judged, but there were enough of them to leave an impression on some minds as to their habits of sobriety and honesty and of their suitability as steady, hardworking settlers when planned Scandinavian immigration was considered in the early 1870s.

In 1863 a planned military settlement of Danes in the Waikato was negotiated with the New Zealand Government by Bucholz and Company of Auckland, acting on behalf of Danish enquirers. This did not eventuate,

6. AJHR, 1863, D - 12, Papers on Scheme of Bucholz and Company for Danish Immigration.
however, not because the Government was opposed to such a settlement but rather because the outbreak of the war between Denmark and Germany over Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 prevented the undertaking of the scheme at the Danish end. Men were not allowed to emigrate when they might be needed for the war effort. The incident was of significance nonetheless in that a planned settlement of non-British Europeans had been considered and had not been rejected out of hand.

One further influence on the mind of those considering the possibility of Scandinavian immigration was the example of the ex-Premier of Denmark, Bishop Monrad, who fled from Denmark in 1865 after hostile demonstrations against him over the loss of Schleswig-Holstein to Germany. Coming to New Zealand he and his family settled for three years in the Manawatu, on the frontier of settlement, carving a life for themselves out of the bush. The successful development by this family of their farm at Karere, and the close personal association of Monrad with Governor Sir George Grey probably brought to the notice of people like William Fox, member of Parliament for Rangitikei - Manawatu, and Dr Featherston, Superintendent of Wellington and Commissioner for the purchase of lands from the Maoris within the Manawatu Block since 1865, the value of Scandinavians, or at least Danes, as possible settlers in New Zealand's bush areas.

Thus it was that by 1870 the idea of Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand was not a new one. Thoughts of settling them in certain areas such as the west coast of the North Island and the coasts of Otago had been expressed in 1868, with

Norwegians gaining particular reference as being able to support themselves by fishing and agriculture, and some ship-building as well if necessary. 

Suitable continental immigrants were mentioned in Fox's memorandum to the Commissioners of December, 1869, as being most welcome, although this tended to dwell specifically on Germans rather than Scandinavians. 

The Commissioners were thus prepared to investigate the possibilities of continental emigration, and especially North European emigration after hearing reports in April that there were people in Norway and Sweden who were anxious to emigrate but who had no means of doing so.10 In August, therefore, Featherston and Bell were to be found touring Denmark, Norway and Sweden examining the suitability of Scandinavians for settlement in New Zealand and the possibilities of establishing a flow of people from those countries to the colony. They were greatly helped in their endeavours by the willingness of many Scandinavians to emigrate.

Throughout the Scandinavian countries there was to be found a desire among many of the labouring classes, especially the agriculturalists, to escape their conditions which offered them no real opportunities for improvement. All three countries were experiencing a growth in population commensurate with that occurring in the rest of Europe. But none of them could absorb such an increase. Denmark had doubled its numbers since 1800 but had remained largely unindustrialized, thus creating a strain on its agricultural economy. This had only been aggravated with the loss of Schleswig - Holstein to Germany in 1864, after which many people from these


9. AJHR, 1870, D - 4, 3, Gisborne to Commissioners, 23 Dec, 1869, encl. memo., Fox to Commissioners, 20 Dec, 1869.

10. MS Papers 32, McLean Papers, Featherston to Fox, 20 April, 1870.
17. provinces moved into Denmark and tried to settle on the land. But the scarcity of land available forced many into the towns where their conditions were not improved. Little wonder that some of the Danes who came to New Zealand between 1871 and 1876 had origins in Schleswig - Holstein.

Norway and Sweden were similarly suffering from an increase in population, particularly in the countryside, where the family farms were becoming, as the result of division with each succeeding generation, too small to provide enough opportunities for employment. At the same time industrialization and urbanization were only just beginning and offered no solution to the demand for a means of employment. Conditions were such that by 1873, with a harvest failure acting as a catalyst, the first great wave of migration from Scandinavia had begun. Most of the people emigrating were country folk bound for the United States, which was to receive 450,000 Swedes alone in the next twenty years.12 But not all were of such a group, in Norway in particular the professional classes had expanded too quickly and many young aspirants found themselves unemployed. This was particularly so among the clergy who were able to follow their vocation only by emigrating as the spiritual advisers of the lay emigrants.13

Although these economic factors were the most important reasons for causing emigration on such a vast scale from Scandinavia, they were not the only reasons. There appears to have been a widespread discontent with the lack of participation in the political life of the nation open to the mass of the people. Denmark was dominated by the wealthy and landed classes who retained for themselves the powers of government.14 Discontent could only be shown by mass

13. Larsen, ibid., p. 430.
demonstrations such as that directed at Bishop Monrad in 1864 after the loss of Schleswig - Holstein, but this was neither a popular nor a satisfactory means of expressing one's opinions and of achieving results. Monrad may have fled but his class remained in control.

Similar feelings of political frustration and repression were to be found in Norway and Sweden, which had been united under one crown but with separate constitutions since 1814. Again both were dominated by the wealthy and upper classes, who, despite the adverse economic conditions of the countries, were opposed to the "desertion of homeland" which they saw emigration to be. The political system was not, however, rigorously repressive. It tended more to ignore the less privileged classes or stifle individuality by state control, whether it be in matters of compulsory military service or in religion. The feelings amongst the masses can perhaps best be seen in the words of a Swedish emigrant to the United States in 1852, who, although probably affected in his judgement by the new freedom of opportunity he was experiencing in that country, was able to write with some element of truth,

I long realized the oppression of her less fortunate citizens... the undue power of the higher classes, the disregard and harshness with which they used it to oppress the poor. 15

There also seems to have been a religious stimulus behind the emigration movement, largely as the outcome of the institution of a state religion. All three countries had adopted Lutheranism in the sixteenth century after the Reformation and had made it the religion of the state. Non-conformity had its disadvantages, but this was much less important than the decline of the state church as a vibrant institution, and by the 1860s there appears to have been widespread discontent with the spiritual sterility of much of the Lutheran Church. Emigration was a means of escaping its restrictions, though it was more a secondary motive, economic conditions being of more immediate importance. Nevertheless religion added its influence. 16

16. Andersson, ibid., p. 370; Larsen, ibid., p. 430; Petersen, op. cit., p. 7.
The indigenous causes creating the desire and the need to emigrate can aptly be summed up as being part of a revolt against the old social and economic systems. Yet the causes for emigration did not stem entirely from dissatisfaction with the conditions at home. Though this was by far the most important influence, there was also a pull coming from the New World which greatly desired an increased population. This pull was largely coming from the United States which wanted people to settle the land and to work in its growing industrial complexes. With its immense resources, the United States could afford to attract labour, and Scandinavia was
not immune to such influences. American emigration agents were spreading favourable reports about the States while industries offered to pay the passages of those who could not afford to pay their own. Books and pamphlets about conditions in the United States were translated into the continental languages and widely circulated, as were the letters of relations and friends who had already settled there. The reports of such opportunity for advancement could not fail to stimulate a desire among those who bore the weight of the economic and social pressures at home bearing down upon their shoulders. For most, emigration offered hope in what appeared to be a hopeless world; for some it roused in their blood that spirit of adventure long associated with the Norsemen of old.

It was to this situation that Featherston and Bell came in August, 1870, when emigration to the United States was in full flow. They made a detailed report to the Government early in September, basing most of their comments on their observations when in Norway, but pointing out that they found that these could to a large extent be applied to Sweden and Denmark as well.17

The Norwegian was seen to be an expert in many fields of employment, owing to the inability of his small farm to provide employment for a whole year, and to the cold winter months which virtually suspended all agricultural operations anyway. Thus while being chiefly agricultural labourers or small farmers, they were also excellent axemen and sawyers who understood the lumber trade thoroughly. Many were also splendid fishermen and sailors who could build their own boats as well as their own houses and furniture. Their habits reflected honesty, frugality and industry, while all were to some extent educated owing to compulsory education. As for their adaptability in what was

17. AJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 1, New Zealand Commissioners to the Colonial Secretary, 9 Sept, 1870, encl. memorandum.
a British colony, they seemed to possess a great facility for acquiring the English language, and their habits, manners and customs were much like those of the British, an observation which was no doubt encouraging to the Anglo-Saxon-conscious colonial. When emigrating they moved in communities, involving the old and young, single and married, able-minded and infirm. This would have appealed to the New Zealand Government in that it was thinking of special settlements on a community basis, but it would also have posed a problem in that New Zealand was not interested in importing the elderly and the disabled, who would be nothing but a liability to a developing colony that needed strength and vigour to conquer the elements. 18

The Commissioners saw one big problem which had to be overcome, that of diverting some Scandinavians from the stream flowing to the United States, especially to Chicago, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Illinois. To do this two other difficulties had to be dealt with: that of the increased cost of the voyage to New Zealand, and the unwillingness of the people to go to a country where they had no friends and about which they knew nothing. This second difficulty was the one most stressed in all the Scandinavian countries; people knew about the United States from the letters of friends and relatives already there and from the reports of emigration agents, but nothing was known about New Zealand. 19

The Commissioners decided that the only way to overcome these problems was to select and send out a few young married couples whose passages would be paid for by the Government. These couples were to be taken from different areas so that their reports to their friends would be more widely circulated, and, if favourable, would encourage more people to emigrate, especially if the Government offered the inducement of reducing the cost of the passage to the same as

18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
that to the United States, which was £7 to New York or £10 to Chicago. If all this was done a stream of emigration would have been created which would probably require to be stemmed rather than stimulated.20

Such was the enthusiasm of Featherston and Bell for this source of emigration to be tapped that they exceeded their instructions and arranged for at least ten young couples to be sent out from all of the three countries before the end of the emigration season, which lasted from April to October, after which the weather was too inclement and the ports were, in some cases, closed by ice. Contracts were arranged with Messrs Winge and Company at Christiania (modern Oslo), Messrs Henderson Brothers at Gothenburg (Göteborg), Sweden, and at Copenhagen Mr Monrad, a son of Bishop Monrad who had recently returned from New Zealand.21 The Commissioners justified their action in exceeding their instructions merely to make inquiries by stating that had they not done so their trip to these countries would have been wasted, especially if it should have been decided later to promote emigration from Scandinavia. This was just an experiment and as such would not involve any large expense for the New Zealand Government. If it proved a failure little would be lost; if it was successful it would have been money well invested and time saved.22

The reaction in New Zealand to the news of these trial shipments was varied. The country was still considering the general scheme of immigration as outlined by Vogel in June and was not greatly concerned with the shipment of a few Scandinavians. Yet the working classes were fearful that the importation of labour would lower their wages and affect their chances of employment. At first their opposition was directed at immigration generally, but in January, 1871, as arrangements for the expected Scandinavians were being undertaken, opposition was directed more at them and less at the concept of immigration.

20. Ibid.
21. See Appendix A.
22. NJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 1, N.Z. Commissioners to the Colonial Secretary, 9 Sept, 1870, encl. memorandum.
The General Government had intended to spread the Scandinavians throughout the colony by the means of private employment according to the various skills of the immigrants, whether they be agricultural labourers, machinists, blacksmiths, millers or tailors. This provoked some opposition from the working classes as it was argued that there were people of such trades who could not find work. They saw the attempt to employ the Scandinavians by tender as a means of forcing down wages. Much was made of the unemployment in the Auckland area which was sufficiently acute to provoke some of the unemployed to petition the Government of Victoria to send a steamer to carry the unemployed to that colony.

The Government was attacked for not employing the inhabitants of the colony before going so far afield as Sweden for recruits to the population. It was further suggested that little had been said earlier about the Scandinavian immigration because it was believed that the Government would settle them on some of the waste lands of the colony, such as in the Manawatu, but now it appeared that they were to be thrown into "the already overstocked labour market." The Government was told that it should wait for the public works scheme to absorb the surplus labour in the colony before going overseas for more.

This opposition was directed against the Scandinavians not because they were Scandinavians but because they posed a threat to the employment situation in the colony. But this economic reason for opposition could easily have become a more dangerous racial opposition, and this was realized.

25. Ibid., report from the Southern Cross, 27 Jan., 1871.
26. Ibid., editorial, 30 Jan., 1871.
One consequence will be to create a prejudice against the foreigners, which will render them exceedingly uncomfortable. The best way to dispose of the Swedes will be to give them a moderate allowance of land, and enable them to start as settlers on their own account in the vicinity of some of the townships in the Manawatu Block. If they are, as is reported, industrious people, they will soon "find their feet" with the aid of a little encouragement, and becoming bona fide settlers and producers, prove a benefit to the Colony, instead of, as at present, the cause of misery, disagreement, and heart-burning.27

How much of this opposition expressed in the newspapers was genuine and how much of it was exaggeratedly reported by a newspaper opposed to the Fox Ministry is difficult to judge, but a change in the policy of the Government was to ensure a few days after these reports.

The Government had been concerned with the details of the general scheme of immigration and how the policy of colonisation and public works should be carried out.28 The problem of obtaining land for settlement or public usage, the arranging of routes, contractors and finance for public works, and the possible threats from a turbulent native population to development and settlement were considered far more topical and important than the arrangements of the Commissioners for a small shipment of Scandinavians and their settlement upon arrival.

The Fox Ministry seems to have accepted the Scandinavian contracts in the manner in which they were made, as an experiment which would involve no great sum of money. No reprimand for their action was made to the Commissioners who, upon their return to New Zealand in December, 1870, were warmly welcomed by the colony and thanked for all that they had achieved.29 A lean guarantee had been gained from the Imperial Government, harmonious relations with Great Britain had been restored,

27. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 31 Dec., 1870.
and much information as regards railways and immigration had been collected. The Government intended to treat the Scandinavian experiment seriously and it was with this in mind that the provincial superintendents of Nelson and Otago were asked by the Colonial Secretary to state whether they wanted any of the immigrants in their provinces, and if so, how many and of what description. Nelson did not require any of the immigrants, but Otago was hopeful of obtaining them if they were at all suitable. The province could absorb them at once, or, if sufficiently numerous, they could be settled at Martin's Bay in a special settlement. Other areas were also interested in the immigrants, and one group, representing the Opunake Flax Company and the Cape Egmont Flax Dressing Company, requested at least twenty families to be settled at Opunake in order to employ them in the factory.

By this time, however, the first shipment of Scandinavians had arrived at Wellington by the Celosane and had supposedly requested that they might be allowed to remain together to settle as one group in the Province of Wellington, and this request had been granted. Whether this was just an excuse to stem the opposition being directed at the Government by the unemployed and some of the newspapers, or whether it was the response to a genuine request by the Norwegians remains a mystery, but the sudden alteration of the Government's plans in the first ten days of February, and the lack of any reason why the Norwegians should prefer Wellington to anywhere else, would suggest that the Government had taken some notice at least of the opposition directed against allowing the Scandinavians to be privately employed throughout the colony. That a national election was about to be held would also have added to the political wisdom of such a move. Once the decision had been made to settle them in the heavily forested waste lands of the Manawatu the opposition receded, for the time being at least.

31. Ibid., 3, Superintendent of Nelson to Colonial Secretary, 6 Feb., 1871.
32. Ibid., 5, Superintendent of Otago to Colonial Secretary, 9 Feb., 1871.
33. Ibid., 7, Superintendent of Taranaki to Colonial Secretary, 11 Feb., 1871, and Messrs Hulke, King, etc, 8 Feb., 1871.
The first major settlement of Scandinavians in New Zealand was thus about to be undertaken as a group settlement, which would have the effect of prolonging the differences between them and the British majority in the colony. Settlement in groups like this has enabled their contribution to New Zealand's history to be evaluated, but it hindered their assimilation which would have been more quickly achieved if they had been spread throughout the colony as individuals. Here is to be found one reason for the opposition that was to be directed towards non-British groups coming to New Zealand in the next few years. Whether this opposition was valid can only be judged in the light of the results, successful or otherwise, that the Scandinavians achieved.

34. Ibid., 6, Cooper to Provincial Sect. of Otago, 10 Feb.; ibid., 1871, 8, Gisborne to Supt. of Wellington, 14 April, 1871.
III

1871: THE EXPERIMENT AT PALMERSTON

On Sunday, 5 February, 1871, the Celeeno sailed into Port Nicholson with the first organized shipment of Scandinavians to come to New Zealand, consisting of seventeen Norwegian couples with fifteen children and one Swedish couple with two children.¹ It was not felt wise, owing to the recent opposition to their arrival, to land them until the election in Wellington was over.² Thus they remained on board until 8 February, whereupon they were brought ashore and lodged in the Mount Cook Barracks until they could be transhipped to the Manawatu.³

The Wellington provincial authorities were greatly satisfied with the calibre of the immigrants. They appeared to Mr Halcombe, the Provincial Secretary, to possess more than the ordinary qualifications to insure their success as settlers in New Zealand, his opinion being that they would prove to be as valuable a group of settlers as the colony had ever seen. Although they understood little of the English language they seemed intelligent, well-educated and careful in keeping their religious observances, all elements that helped to make them desirable members of colonial society. Their youth, (all were under thirty six), their robust constitutions, their familiarity with hard work, and their sober, industrious and cheerful dispositions made them admirably suited to the rigorous of frontier life, especially as their experience as farmers and lumbermen in Norway was exactly what was required in the Manawatu. An acquaintance with the use of the axe and the adze was seen as essential to success in that area, where bush work was a necessary preliminary to agricultural operations.

1. AJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 9, Morrison to Colonial Secretary, 19 Oct., 1870, enclosure, Passengers by the Celeeno.
2. Evening Post, 6 February, 1871.
3. AJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 14, Provincial Secretary of Wellington to Colonial Secretary, 10 Feb., 1871.
At the same time the men had some acquaintance with railway work, most of them having been engaged in Norway in cutting sleepers and laying rails, skills that would be most welcome in a colony that was planning to begin an extensive programme of railway building. The women came in for their share of praise also, once it was discovered that they could spin and weave with proficiency and were in the habit of making all the clothing they and their families required. With attributes such as these it is little wonder that the Scandinavians were regarded as being potentially excellent settlers in the bush-clad wastes of New Zealand.

It was proposed to locate the whole group in a body in the township of Palmerston, where the Government would employ them on public works for at least twelve months, at day or contract work. At the same time each family was to be given ten acres of land on which to squat and to build their houses. This land could be bought by the squatter at £1 per acre. By so doing the object of the Government, to introduce a population not only to be employed on public works but also to be attached to the land and ultimately self-supporting, would be achieved.

By the time the Government had ratified these proposals as being acceptable in the circumstances surrounding the settlement, the location of the Scandinavians had been carried out. On 13 February they sailed on the Luna to Foxton, accompanied by Mr Halcombe, and arrived at Palmerston on the 15th, whereupon the Norwegians were immediately settled on the land which it had been decided they should occupy. Halcombe seems to have decided on his own initiative to reserve for

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 18, Under-Secretary Knowles to Halcombe, 17 April, 1871.
7. Ibid., 20, Halcombe to Minister for Public Works, 24 April, 1871.
each family forty acres for two years, whereby if the occupant purchased twenty acres in the first twelve months of his tenancy, the second twenty acres would be reserved for him for another two years; he would have, in effect, three years to buy the second twenty acres. The Government showed no objection to this alteration, accepting it as part of the experimental scheme.

Several colonists, however, were not so happy. It appeared to them that the Government was giving undue advantages to these newcomers over other residents in the colony who would gladly have availed themselves of similar arrangements, except that previously such arrangements as reserving land were outside the limits of the land regulations. On 22 February a deputation of Wellington settlers had presented a petition to Dr Featherston, who had resumed his duties as Superintendent of Wellington Province on his return from England, requesting that the Provincial Government give indirect employment to a large number of Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen, by granting them the same opportunity to work as is at present being held out to foreigners, who have experienced none of the trials the colonists have undergone.

These people wanted land to be opened up to them on the same terms as the Norwegians were receiving.

The opposition to the immigrants was less blatant than it had been at the end of January, but it was no longer purely economic. In the petition there were signs of latent hostility towards "foreigners" as opposed to those of British stock, as well as there being an economic reason for their opposition. Such sentiments were possibly encouraged by the editorial policy of the Evening Post, which attacked the Government for importing Scandinavians.

8. Ibid., 16, Halcombe to Colonial Secretary, 17 March, 1871.
9. Ibid., 18, Knowles to Halcombe, 17 April, 1871.
10. Ibid., 16, Halcombe to Colonial Secretary, 17 March, 1871.
11. Evening Post, reported letter to Dr Featherston, 16 Feb., 1871.
The importation of the Norwegian and Swedish immigrants at this particular time seemed a useless proceeding, to call it by no harsher a name.... We have no hesitation in saying that a far superior body of immigrants in every respect to the sample of Swedes (sic) we have seen walking about the streets for the last few days could have been procured in England.... We should protest against a large immigration from any foreign country whilst thousands of our own countrymen are eagerly waiting for the chance to cast in their lot with ours. 12

The preference for people from the home country was making itself very obvious, and was affecting the rational judgement of many. The Norwegians were used to bush work while emigrants from Great Britain were more likely to be town or agricultural labourers with little or no knowledge at all of the efforts, endurance and patience required for such labour.

Any possible outbreak of violence as a result of this preference for Britons was stemmed for a while by Featherston's reply to the petition wherein he pointed out that if any of the unemployed wanted to settle in the Manawatu on the same terms as the Norwegians they were quite at liberty to do so. These terms were, however, not as liberal as the petitioners thought. The immigrants had not been granted land on deferred payments but had merely been allowed to squat on the land with the right to buy it at any time. If anyone else bought the land before they did, they would have to give it up, although they would receive the full value of any improvements they had made. 13

Featherston's view of the conditions surrounding the purchase of the land was legally correct under the Land Regulations, but Halcombe desired that this should be altered either by the General Government purchasing a block of land from Wellington Province and reserving it for the Norwegians and any other of the Scandinavians due to

12. Ibid., editorial.
13. Ibid., report, 22 February, 1871.
arrive from Denmark and Sweden who might be located in the Manawatu, or by the Provincial Government doing the same. Thus the scheme to allow the purchasing of land on deferred payments was anticipated and, until the General Assembly passed the Wellington Special Settlements Act in November, 1871, it was operated extra-legally.

The Norwegians remained oblivious to the opposition that their settlement in the Manawatu had caused. Placed in the midst of dense bush they were isolated from most of the happenings around them and were dependent solely upon the reports brought to them by visitors, the main one being Mr Halcombe who took his responsibility for the Scandinavians seriously, realizing the difficulties they faced arriving as they did in a strange and foreign land with little in the way of belongings and money, and being placed in a remote part of the country many miles from any major settlement. There was little for them to do but to proceed with the development of the land and to do their share in helping with the public works. Their efforts, however, were hindered from the beginning as heavy rains in March flooded the lands on which they were located. The inclement conditions were to last for most of the winter, but this did not spell the failure of the settlement. Rather it was to enhance their fortitude and suitability as settlers.

Halcombe was able to report in April that despite the unfavourable conditions for outdoor work the Norwegians had made good progress, most having built themselves small houses and some having cleared an acre or two of bush, besides working on the Government contracts as regularly as the weather would allow. These contracts involved the preparation of sleepers and rails for the tramway to be built from Palmerston to Ngawhakarau and the formation

14. AJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 16, Halcombe to Colonial Secretary, 17 March, 1871.

15. Ibid., 20, Halcombe to the Minister for Public Works, 24 April, 1871.
and laying a section of this tramway. 16

The Norwegians had meanwhile been joined by the Swedish and Danish contingents which had been sent out on one ship, the England. The group contained thirteen married couples, thirty-six single men and eleven children. The majority of the single men were Danes, with only four of the married couples coming from Denmark. 17 This was contrary to the instructions that the Government had sent to Mr Morrison, the New Zealand emigration agent in Europe, in that it was believed that single men were less likely to settle in one place but would probably drift from job to job rather than purchase and develop land. Morrison realized this but felt it inexpedient to send the men back to Denmark from London; more than likely he realized that if he did emigration from Denmark could be adversely affected. Instead he expressed his disapproval to Mr Hornemann, who had selected them, and sent them on to New Zealand, 18 where they arrived on 21 March, 1871. 19

Canterbury was by this time anxious to gain some of the Scandinavians but only three were willing to leave the rest of their country. Eight others found private employment in the Wellington - Hutt area, and the rest were taken to Palmerston after a three week delay in Wellington. The trip from Foxton to the settlement was a difficult one owing to the extremely bad condition of the road as a result of the heavy rains. But the trip had its more pleasant side. The Maoris of the Ngawhakerau pa greeted the "white strangers" with gifts of large quantities of potatoes and pumpkins, and the chief said that the Maoris

16. Ibid., 14, Blackett to Stewart, 13 February, 1871.
17. Ibid., 23, Halcombe to Minister for Public Works, 3 July, 1871, encl. memo. 2, 21 March, 1871.
18. Ibid., 21, Morrison to Colonial Secretary, 22 Dec., 1870.
19. Ibid., 23, Halcombe to Minister for Public Works, 3 July, 1871.
were glad they had come to make roads and live in the country. The effect on the Scandinavians, who had to rely on a local interpreter, was to lessen their fears of their new neighbours. How different was this reaction of a people whose lands were being continually encroached upon or purchased from them at very low prices to that of the colonial settler who showed only the selfish side of his nature upon the arrival of the first shipment of Scandinavians in February.

The coming of the Swedes and Danes did not arouse the same comment from the colonial that had occurred with the Norwegians. The reports of the advance of the settlement at Palmerston despite the adverse conditions they were experiencing may well have provoked some feeling of reluctant admiration for their fortitude in such circumstances and made people more hesitant to criticize. This was certainly the effect on the Evening Post which carried a report a couple of months later, that

the first batch of immigrants (Norwegian) who arrived here... have all been flooded out, and moved over to the Ahuriri (sic) end of the township. It is really wonderful the privations these poor people put up with; nearly every one is married, and has a very young family. I shall be very much surprised if the exposure to wet does not undermine their constitutions.21

Mr Halcombe tended to believe that the popular prejudice against the settlers had changed to one of entire approbation of their introduction into the colony as a result of their steady, persevering industry, and that the introduction of a few hundred more into the same area would be viewed with equanimity and satisfaction. The Swedes and Danes had not been slow in building themselves dwellings and clearing their lands, while their work on the tramway had been very satisfactory.22 They appeared to be contented

20. Ibid.
22. AJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 24, Halcombe to Minister for Public Works, 5 July, 1871.
with their situation despite the difficult conditions they had to face, and were fully appreciative of the help given them by the Government especially Mr Halcombe, to whom they sent a letter of thanks.23

Yet Halcombe was not entirely uncritical. Of the three nationalities he favoured the Norwegians as being the most valuable. He considered that their training in Norway in farming, bush work, domestic industries and trades would make them valuable pioneers, and, along with their habits of thrift, would make them largely self-reliant, thus supplying, in part at least, a deficiency which was recognized as existing in the majority of immigrants from Great Britain, most of whom had no knowledge of the harsh frontier life. The Swedes were also considered as possessing most of these characteristics, but the Danes he saw as having no special qualifications or aptitude for a pioneering life.24 This is an understandable observation in that the Danes would not have been used to heavy bush work and to the cutting and preparing of sleepers and tracks for tramways. But the implication is also present that if the Danes were to be of little use in a bush settlement then they should not be encouraged to emigrate to New Zealand. Enough people of similar abilities could be obtained in England.

Praise of the Swedes and the Norwegians was also to be found in a local newspaper, the Wanganui Herald, which in late April came to the settlers' defence with all the force it could muster.

Much has been said and insinuated against the character of our Scandinavian settlers as colonists. Their miserable condition was described in vivid if not glowing colours; the error of introducing them having already been established in the minds of their defarmers, it was magnified into a political blunder of the most patent and flagitious

23. Ibid., encl. in 24, testimonial from Scandinavian immigrants, 14 April, 1871.

24. Ibid., 24, Halcombe to Minister for Public Works, 5 July, 1871.
kind. If the Scandinavians had understood our language, and read the reports given, they might possibly, from sheer force of imagination, have fancied themselves as wretched and depraved as they were pictured. But while the tales of the "worthless, woebegone, squat, ill-formed" descendants of Thor, were producing the impression intended throughout the colony, the people of a common ancestry with the conquerors of England were in happy ignorance of their literary annihilation, toiling away in the Manawatu bush... at the erection of wooden houses that would not disgrace the model villages of England... If any person is sceptical about the Scandinavians not being a desirable class of settlers, we recommend him to pay them a visit, see what they have done and are doing, the place they are in, what they are suffering, and what steady and sober determination there is pictured on the face of all to make homes, happy, comfortable, homes in the most uninviting, most unromantic region on the face of mother earth... "If," said a labouring man in our hearing, "the Government want to get the bush country settled, they cannot do better than bring out 100,000 Norwegians, for I can assure you they will settle down where no Englishman would care to stop a night." 25

Despite this somewhat overwritten report it can be seen that ethnic reasons had very early entered the rationale put forward against Scandinavian immigration. In retaliation a newspaper that supported the experiment had countered with similar arguments, but favouring the Norwegian's superior ability as a settler to the Englishman's cultural affinities with the colonists of New Zealand.

This report in the Wanganui Herald had widespread publicity both in New Zealand and Australia. Taking up the ethnic strain of argument the Australasian went so far as to state that England owed the "toughest fibre" of its national character and its success as a maritime power to the influx of Viking blood in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, and that the Great Britain of the South was about to receive the same benefits in the nineteenth and

and twentieth centuries. It was believed that Scandinavian immigrants might be in great demand in Australia now that their abilities were known, and that it was to New Zealand's advantage that it had already begun to tap that source. It was hoped that the Government would follow a vigorous policy in sending out even more than was first anticipated, as the best way of ensuring the success of the public works and immigration scheme.

The conservative Evening Post, maintaining its opposition to the Government, was less ready to be overrun by enthusiasm. Unable to deny that the Scandinavians at Palmerston had made a successful settlement, it grudgingly gave its approval to the Wellington Provincial Council's request of the Colonial Government to supply the province with one hundred more Scandinavian families, preferably farm labourers and lumberers, to be located as pioneers in a bush area. This change of attitude would seem to have been caused not only by the success of the Palmerston settlement, but also by the fact that no longer did the immigrants pose a threat to the unemployed of the province. The public works scheme was about to be boosted by a provincial loan of £100,000 for the development of district roads and tramways which would connect with the main roads and railway lines to be built by the General Government. Such an undertaking would not only open up the resources of the province but would also require increased labour, both to work on the public works and to settle the country made available by the extension of the frontier. The timber trade would need to be developed and new settlements would require all sorts of labour for their success.

Yet the paper's attitude remained suspicious of the Scandinavians and was willing to use any excuse to

26. cited in the Hawke's Bay Herald, 7 July, 1871.
27. Ibid., editorial.
28. Evening Post, editorial, 13 June 1871.
29. Ibid., editorial, 17 June, 1871.
attack their introduction. Thus in September there appeared an exaggerated article stating that Scandinavian immigration had proven a failure, and though the Government did not openly acknowledge it, they were quietly shifting the settlers to other places. Some were reported to have been sent to Sydney, some to Napier, and some to Wanganui.\(^{30}\) This article provoked questions both in the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives, but from enquiries made it appeared that two immigrants only had left the settlement. These had proved to be so obnoxious to their fellow-countrymen that it had been feared that if they remained the settlement might break up. Thus the Government, at the request of the Provincial Council, had decided to pay their passages to Sydney in order to retain the rest of the settlers who were otherwise very satisfied with their lot.\(^{31}\) The \textit{Evening Post} had gone a little far in its opposition both to the Government and to the Scandinavians.

There had been a decline in the opposition of the working classes towards the Scandinavians from about April, 1871, but their fear of immigration generally remained. They believed that if immigrants were introduced the labour market would be affected to their disadvantage, and that there would be a reduction in wages and pauperization of the poor man. This idea was countered, however, by the argument that so long as immigrants arrived in sufficient numbers to be absorbed easily by the country, so long would the demand for labour increase, as industry, agriculture and public works would be able to expand on the assurance of a regular supply of labour, the lack of which had previously hindered such expansion. At the same time the immigrants would be bringing with them a certain amount of capital which would also encourage economic expansion.\(^{32}\)

30. Ibid., report, 26 Sept., 1871.
31. NZPO., 1871, Sewell, 28 Sept., p. 659; Gisborne, 28 Sept., p. 669.
32. Ibid., Holmes, 17 August, p. 42; McLeod, 27 October, p. 620.
These were, in some cases, the arguments of employers who were very conscious of the high cost of labour in New Zealand compared with countries such as England, and hoped that the availability of labour would lower wages, but they were also the arguments of a Government that saw the need to develop New Zealand, and that required labour which was presently unobtainable in the colony for its public works scheme.

By the end of the year both the General and the Provincial Governments were very satisfied with the success of the settlement at Palmerston. As previously mentioned the Wellington Provincial Council had already applied for one hundred more Scandinavian families, a request to which the General Government gave its approval early in July. These were to be located in close proximity to the lines of road and railway to be built under the authority of the General Government, probably in the Wellington section of the Seventy-Mile Bush, through which a railway was to be built to link Wellington and Napier, which were at this time more accessible to each other by coastal ship than by horseback.

The central Government itself was soon to decide to import some Scandinavians to settle in three small townships along the line of road through the Seventy-Mile Bush. It based its plans on the experience of the Palmerston settlement, and consequently requested that two of the three settlements consist of Norwegians and one of Swedes. Danes were not mentioned as their ability as bush settlers in Palmerston had not been highly thought of, a judgement based on Mr Halcombe's observations. Unattached men were also considered to be a bad investment as generally they were more attracted by the wages they could receive in

33. AJHR, 1871, D - 3, 42, Gisborne to the Agent-General, 9 July, 1871.
34. see chapter four.
35. see page 33.
the employ of a settler than by land which needed to be cleared and cultivated. As the object of importing Scandinavians was to settle them on land which needed developing it was thought better to confine the immigration to families and those single men and women attached to them. The only alteration of this restriction was to be if the single men offered to pay at least one third of their fare in cash, whereas families, although having eventually to pay the same fare of £5 per adult, could delay in doing so for a couple of years merely by signing a promissory note for that amount. 36

Another decision based on the Palmerston experiment was to allow the settlers to purchase their lands by deferred payments. In June Mr Sunny took up the idea of this scheme and proposed to the Wellington Provincial Council that the province's waste lands be disposed of in forty to two hundred acre blocks on deferred payments, 37 so that prospective settlers could inhabit and develop the land without fear of losing it to someone who could pay cash for it. The Council duly reported this proposal and it was formulated into an Act and ratified by the General Assembly in November, 1871. 38 Applicable to all immigrants wanting to settle on the land, it was to make possible the more extensive Scandinavian settlements to be attempted over the next four years in the Seventy-Mile Bush area in the Wairarapa-Hawke's Bay region.

Thus it was that the overall initial success of the Palmerston experiment had persuaded the Government to go ahead with an increased migration from Scandinavia, despite the opposition that had been shown by certain anti-

36. AJHR, 1872, D-1, 3, Gisborne to the Agent-General, 28 Oct., 1871.
37. V. and P. (Wellington), 1871, Sunny, 17 June, 1871.
Government voices and by sections of the labouring community. Despite such criticism the attitude of those with the power to implement such a scheme was favourable to this immigration, as were those in the areas that felt they could profit by having these hardworking, industrious and eminently suitable people come and develop the bush regions. Such development would perhaps not take place otherwise. As the editor of the Hawke's Bay Herald pointed out in a comment on an article about emigration to New Zealand to be found in the Spectator, it was not intended to resort to Scandinavia only if immigrants could be obtained in England, but the Scandinavians were accustomed to bush work, to which the English, whether navvies or agricultural labourers, were not.

The experiment of settling Scandinavians in the bush has been found to be a great success, whereas similar attempts in the cases of Englishmen have been for the most part failures. The Government have, therefore, wisely determined to go to Scandinavia at once for a large number of immigrants, without waiting till they have exhausted the resources of Great Britain. 39

It now remained to be seen how the public would react to this further extension of alien immigration, and on what grounds they would base their opposition or approbation.

Wellington was not the only province to be interested in Scandinavian immigration. Hawke's Bay, as one of the less wealthy provinces, had not been able to afford to bring any great number of immigrants to its shores, yet, it was desirous of developing its lands, and especially of opening up the Seventy-Mile Bush in order to provide an easy land route to Wellington. As it was, this dense primeval forest had up to this point of time remained virtually untouched by the European. Stretching over rugged hills, deep valleys, and potentially fertile plains, its vines and trees and ferns provided a hindrance to communication and provoked the desire of the land-hungry settlers to attack it with the axe in order to obtain the advantages of its well-watered and fertile soil, and to build a road to the Wairarapa.

As early as 1869 arrangements were being made to purchase the block. In that year Mr. Locke had been employed by the General Government to negotiate with the Maori owners of the bush.¹ By September of 1870 he was able to report that a block of three hundred and six thousand acres had been passed through the Native Lands Court at Waipawa as a preliminary to the actual purchase. One hundred and thirty thousand acres of this block were in the Province of Wellington, and the rest, just over half, was in Hawke's Bay. The remainder of the Bush, about one hundred and fifty thousand acres in the Province of Wellington, still remained to be taken through the Lands Court at Waipawa. The cost of the purchase was to be shared by the two provinces involved,² although the central


2. AJHR, 1871, D - 7, 1, Ormond to Gisborne, 23 Sept., 1870, encl. Locke to Ormond, 16 Sept., 1870.
Government, urged on by Vogel and the Native Minister, McLean, was negotiating the sale. 3

The completion of this sale, however, was to take another year. It was considered that the Maoris were demanding an exorbitant price for the land, at £30,000 for the block of 306,000 acres, or just under 2/- per acre. The highest offer authorized by Mr Ormond, Superintendent of Hawke's Bay, was £15,000, or roughly 1/- per acre. 4 It was not until June, 1871, that an agreement was finally reached, whereby the Maori owners would receive £16,000 for two hundred and fifty thousand acres, or 1/3d per acre. This was considered to be an expensive purchase, especially when surveys, bonuses and advances would bring the actual price to nearly £18,000. The Government believed that the Maoris had been led by some interested Europeans to put an undue value on the land, and that they had, "with sagacity similar to the "Heathen Chinee," 5 taken full advantage of the knowledge that it was important to have these lands for purposes connected with the colonizing scheme of the Government. 6 The fact that the Government was to sell this same unimproved land at 1/- per acre makes one wonder who was the more sagacious. 7

With the final arrangements of this sale being reached, it was decided to undertake the purchase of the rest of the Seventy-Mile Bush, the Maoris having withheld several thousand acres at the Wairarapa end. 7 By mid-September it was reported that some two hundred thousand

4. AJHR, 1871, D - 7, 4, Ormond to Gisborne, 20 April, 1871.
6. AJHR, 1871, D - 7, 5, Ormond to McLean, 17 June, 1871.
7. Ibid., 6, Ormond to Gisborne, 13 July, 1871.
acres had been passed through the Lands Court, under the supervision of Mr Locke, and by the end of the year the purchase had been completed. The Colonial Government now owned the land that connected Hawke's Bay and Wellington. It only remained for them to encourage its clearance and settlement.

As mentioned the primary aim of purchasing this vast block of land was to enable the building of a road and rail links between Wellington and Hawke's Bay, in conjunction with which settlements would also be undertaken. Thus both the expansion of the limits of settlement and the breaking down of the barrier which had practically divided the northern from the southern portion of the North Island would have achieved.

The demand for a land link between the two provinces had long been voiced but had been considered inadvisable until the land had actually been bought. The invasion of the Maoris' lands might antagonize rather than, as was hoped under the public works and immigration scheme, pacify and "civilise" them, and could easily prejudice them against negotiating for the sale of the area. At the same time, to build roads and railways without the means of settling the area as well would be considerably more expensive than was necessary, in that the Government would receive no remuneration from land purchases made by settlers who were also helping on the public works.

The problem was to find people willing to settle in such a wilderness. Previous experience of bush settlements had shown that the average immigrant from Great Britain was not suited to this type of occupation.

10. Lyttelton Times, editorial, 31 August, 1870.
Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining labour for the clearance of a section of the area, as was illustrated in the Hawke's Bay Herald, which advertised at least thirteen times in one month for fifty men, accustomed to bush work, for clearing a track as the basis for the road through the Bush.12 No road was begun for several months after this.

The essential requirement that the settlers had to possess was familiarity with bush work.13 It is little wonder, therefore, that with the belief that British labourers were not eminently suitable and with the successful example of the Scandinavians at Palmerston, it was suggested to the General Government by the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council to establish three settlements of Scandinavians in the area.14 The speed by which the Government accepted the suggestion, a matter of two days, shows that they as well as Hawke's Bay had been impressed by the success at Palmerston.

That Hawke's Bay should feel obliged to consult the Government rested on the fact that the proposed settlements were to be in conjunction with that section of the public works scheme which came under the control of the central legislature, that is, the construction of the main road and rail links of the colony as opposed to the local roads and tramways which were to be supervised by the various provincial councils.

Thus it came about that the Agent-General was instructed to send out three hundred Scandinavian families for these settlements, which were to consist of

13. AJHR, 1871, D - 3, 22, Ormond to Gisborne, 7 June, 1871.
14. Ibid., 1872, D - 1, 2, Gisborne to Agent-General, 30 Sept., 1871.
five thousand acres each. The settlement was to contain a village of ten acres, laid out in quarter acre sections, with reserves for a church and a school. The remaining lots were to be for sale. The rest of the settlement would consist of twenty acre sections, some adjoining the main line of the proposed road, with the remainder behind these sections. Each family was to receive one twenty-acre section at the cost of £1 per acre, to be paid in monthly instalments over the first three years of occupancy, while every alternate section was to be reserved from sale so that it could be purchased by the owner of the adjoining section, if he so desired, once he had bought the original section. Three to four days a week would be allowed to the settler to develop his land, and three to four days a week would be required of him for the building of the road running through or near the settlement. In return he would receive 5/- for an eight hour day if he was a good workman, and less in proportion to capacity. A schoolmaster was to accompany each party of immigrants to act, if possible, not only as schoolmaster but also as clergyman until the settlers were in a position to invite one to come out. The best time for the immigrants to arrive was early spring, as this

Dr I.E. Featherston had been appointed, under the Immigration and Public Works Act, 1870, as Agent-General for New Zealand in the United Kingdom on 25 March, 1871. He had consequently left for London in April in order to carry out his duties which consisted of doing all things in relation to New Zealand that the Governor-in-Council might direct. The majority of his dealings were to be in arranging emigration from Europe to New Zealand. See AJHR, 1871, D - 3, 63, Fox to Featherston, 1 April, 1871, and 84, Gisborne to Featherston, 8 June, 1871.
gave them time to fell bush for burning in summer, and enabled them to clear a large enough area of their section for cultivation in the following spring. If they arrived in winter they might be too easily disheartened by the combination of wet, cold weather and the inhospitable area in which they were to be placed. Finally, in order to assist in the selection of the immigrants, the Government had arranged with Mr Bror Friberg, a Swedish settler in Hawke's Bay to proceed to London and there give assistance in promoting Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand.16

The Evening Post, as was to be expected, opposed this appointment, just as it opposed most of the measures of the Fox Ministry in regard to immigration. It questioned the qualifications of Friberg to obtain such an important position, while it charged a certain politician, namely Colonel Russell, of political jobbery in trying to find an excuse to relieve Friberg of his position as manager of the Hawke's Bay Boiling Downs Company so as to appoint one of his own protégés. The Ministry was believed to have agreed to this as thanks for the support it had received from Colonel Russell in the past. As a result the supposedly unqualified Friberg had been sent to Europe and would probably cost the colony at least £2000, as he was to receive a commission on every statute adult he sent to New Zealand.17

Hawke's Bay, however, was generally enthusiastic about all these arrangements for further Scandinavian immigration. It greeted Mr Friberg's appointment with approval, his ability to undertake the task given to him being well recognized. As a trained forestry expert he understood the needs of the colony, and as a recent emigrant from Sweden he understood the mind of the Scandinavian

16. AJHR, 1872, 0 - 1, 3, Gisborne to Agent-General, 28 Act., 1871.
17. Evening Post, editorial, 12 Jan., 1872.
To help him in his attempts to obtain emigrants he went armed with several letters from the settlers at Palmerston which gave very favourable accounts of the settlement, the treatment they had received at the hands of the Government, and their prospects for advancement. The experimental settlement was thus about to start paying dividends in encouraging further emigration to New Zealand. As Featherston and Bell had originally argued in their first report upon Scandinavian emigration, a successful trial settlement would lead to letters from the immigrants to their friends and relations still at home and would encourage a wider emigration to New Zealand.

Hawke's Bay had been won over to the idea of Scandinavians as settlers by the example of the Palmerston settlement. It believed they would be the ideal people to undertake the work of clearing hitherto untouched forest, while the New Zealanders of the future would owe many elements of strength of mind and vigour of body to the infusion of the blood of this "simple, brave, honest race, with these and sinews such as one does not find even in Britain now-a-days." The desire of the colonists in Hawke's Bay to have a land route to Wellington predisposed them to be very much in favour of any group of settlers that was brought in to achieve this. Their hearty welcome received by the Scandinavians when they eventually arrived was no surprise.

19. AJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 1, N.Z. Commissioners to Colonial Secretary, 9 Sept., 1870, encl., memorandum.
For the Colonial Government the Seventy-Mile Bush scheme was one of its first attempts to establish special settlements in different parts of the colony. Every settlement of this type was to consist of a limited number of immigrant families, with land set apart for them to buy on deferred payments. The idea of such schemes was to provide labour for nearby public works, or, in some cases, to encourage a particular industry in a certain area, in order that the inhabitants might not find themselves in want of a means of subsistence at the outset of their career as settlers while their lands were being brought into cultivation.21 A number of these settlements were to be established over the next few years by both the state and private contractors, the private ones, such as that of Colonial Feilding at Feilding in the Manawatu, usually being more successful, as the contractors tended to choose lands that were of some value and that were less isolated than the state schemes. The latter were directed much more towards the development of isolated areas such as Stewart Island, Jackson’s Bay, Westland and the Seventy-Mile Bush, the settlers for these areas usually being chosen because of their suitability to the conditions and the work required of them. Many of the state schemes failed because of their isolation, the lack of regular supplies, the inclemency of the weather, the ruggedness of the terrain, or the difficulty of the task set the settlers. It was found that people drifted away from such isolated areas to places that offered better opportunities for success. It was the Seventy-Mile Bush settlements of Scandinavians, Dutch, and Scottish Highlanders which proved the most successful of the state-instituted special settlements, probably because they were carried out in areas that were of importance insofar as communications and public works was concerned, thus receiving the particular attention of the Government.

21. AJHR, 1872, D - 1, 7; Gisborne to Agent-General, 25 Nov., 1871.
But the Government was not only concerned with these special schemes. They wished to encourage a large influx of settlers to New Zealand as individuals, able to be employed privately in trade, industry and agriculture, as well as by the state on public works. Thus for the year 1872, eight thousand immigrants were requested, with the suggestion, though not the unalterable instruction, that most of them should be families.22

Dr Featherston, however, was having difficulty getting emigration from the United Kingdom. On his arrival in England towards the end of July he had discovered that there was virtually no emigration to New Zealand being undertaken except in "miserable dribbles" to Canterbury and Otago, up till now the two provinces which had the wealth to procure immigrants and the peace to attract them. Nor did it seem, despite the enthusiasm of the year before, that any great emigration of people from the United Kingdom to New Zealand would occur. The reports of two emigration agents, the Rev. Peter Barclay in Scotland and Mr C.R. Carter in England, showed that the unemployment of the previous year as a result of an economic depression had to a large extent decreased, while those who did wish to emigrate were usually of poor quality, being inmates of industrial reformatories whom the authorities wished to be rid of, or orphans with nothing to offer a developing colony, or the impoverished who could not afford to pay even part of their fare of £7 10s from London to Wellington.23

Featherston had thus decided to obtain a large stream of emigration from Scandinavia and Germany, from whence he was sure, from his previous experience, that he could divert part of the flow going to the United States.

22. Ibid., and enclosure.

23. Ibid., D - 1A, 4, Agent-General to Colonial Secretary, 16 Nov., 1871, encl. 1, Carter to Featherston, 1 Nov., 1871; encl. 2, Barclay to Featherston, 30 Sept., 1871.
He had been able to arrange with various continental firms for the emigration of two thousand Germans and four thousand Scandinavians over the next two years. Of the Scandinavians he had ordered three thousand Norwegian adults and one thousand Danes, with the probability of obtaining two thousand Swedes as well, thus bringing the possible total to eight thousand Northern Europeans to migrate to New Zealand in the next two years.24 The majority of the emigrants were to be single women and young married couples. In making these arrangements Featherston justified his actions by stating that he acted more on his knowledge of the mind of the colonial Ministry than from any positive or definite instructions.25

In this he was to some extent correct. Although the New Zealand Government had not ordered any large contingent of migrants from the continent it had requested, insofar as Scandinavians were concerned, one hundred families for Wellington and three hundred for Hawke's Bay, giving a rough total of about sixteen hundred people, working on the basis that each family had two children. The Government had thus shown it was not opposed to Scandinavians being admitted to the country. In restricting the type of immigrant to young adults and single women he was also in accord with the mind of the Government. But in sending out one thousand Danes he was going against the instructions given earlier in the year after Halcombe's report of the unsatisfactory nature of the Danes at Palmerston. The Government did not envisage a Danish settlement in the Seventy-Mile Bush.26

24. A separate Swedish contract never eventuated. Swedes proved to be the least willing of the Scandinavians to migrate at this time, and have always had a reputation of being the most 'home-loving' of these people. The number to be sent out remained as part of the three thousand Norwegians.

25. AJHR, 1872, D - 1/4, 4, Agent-General to Colonial Secretary, 16 Nov., 1871.

26. Ibid., D - 1, 3, Gisborne to Agent-General, 28 Oct, 1871.
The Government did not object to the overall arrangement about these four thousand Scandinavians but it did hope to learn in the near future that arrangements had also been made for the introduction of a large and continuous flow of emigrants from the United Kingdom. The necessity for this, although always part of the general policy of the Government, had increased since contracts had been made with Messrs. Brogden and Sons for the immediate commencement of several of the railways authorized in the 1871 session by the New Zealand Railways Act. Labour would soon be needed for these works. It was also the desire of the Government to allow other immigrants to enter the open labour market as soon as could be done without upsetting it. To this end it was the intention of the Government to give the Agent-General as much freedom as possible in using his own judgement as to the terms of emigration from Europe which would best insure that supply of labour which the Government desired. He was to carry out the spirit of the instructions which had from time to time been communicated to him.27

By the end of 1871 the public was anxiously waiting to learn what the Government was going to do regarding immigration, and were perhaps becoming impatient to see something actually done. It was nearly eighteen months since the public works and immigration scheme had been announced, yet little obvious had been achieved. The need for public works and immigration to go hand in hand was recognized by most. Public works on its own would upset the labour market and possibly paralyse all manufacturing owing to a shortage of labour; wages would increase and many industries would be forced out of business, to the detriment rather than the benefit of the country. On the other hand a large influx of immigrants without any means to employ them would leave many destitute and force down the wages of all. It seemed to the colonist

27. Ibid., 13, Gisborne to Agent-General, 23 Dec., 1871.
that at the moment only public works were being undertaken or arranged for, as with the Brogden contracts, and they were anxious to know what was happening about immigration. 28 All that had been done was to settle a few Scandinavians at Palmerston, and to plan for a few hundred more for the Bush region.

Not everyone was happy about this Scandinavian immigration, small though it was. Featherston's contracts for four thousand more were not at this stage public knowledge. Despite the small foreign immigration so far serious questioning was made as to the wisdom of allowing it to occur. It was believed that the British Isles possessed all that was needed in New Zealand, and that from there truly industrious and hardy people possessing all the qualifications required for colonisation could be obtained. To mingle these, however, with other "human masses" who did not possess the same requirements to the desired extent was considered to lower the calibre of the people of the whole colony. 29 In other words people believed that the Briton, whether he be English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish, was a superior being to people of other races. Here was an implicit ethnic argument being made against non-British immigrants as being less suitable as emigrants to New Zealand than those from Britain. Against exactly whom it was directed is not clear, but with the small number of Scandinavian immigrants, one hundred and twenty-eight in all, being the largest influx of foreigners in 1871, it was very probably aimed at them in particular as well as at all aliens in general. There was still a large voice in New Zealand that wished to keep the country as close to its origins and as pure in its constituency as possible.

Once the new contracts were made public early in 1872 the voices of opposition gradually increased.

28. Evening Post, editorial, 20 Dec., 1871
The most prominent point for attack was the shipment of such a large number of Danes after Mr Halcombe had commented that they did not "possess any special qualifications or aptitude for Colonial life." People wanted to know what had therefore induced the Agent-General to make these arrangements. To this question Dr Featherston was to make no reply. It was to eventuate, however, that Danes overwhelmingly formed the majority of Scandinavians that came to New Zealand.

It was also argued by the opponents of foreign immigration that it was likely that the policy of introducing aliens, especially if they were introduced to all parts of the colony, would check the stream of immigration which was believed to be about to flow from Great Britain to New Zealand. The reasons for this were not made clear but, whether it was implied that the concentration on Scandinavian immigration would mean that not enough attention was paid to British emigration, or whether it meant that the knowledge that New Zealand was being settled by foreigners would tend to stop Britons emigrating to it for fear of being dominated in the future by a foreign element, the basic thought was the same: Scandinavian immigration was detrimental to the colony and should not be continued. Neither possible arguments really took notice of the facts. The reports of the Agent-General showed that he and his sub-agents were doing all that they could in trying to promote emigration from the United Kingdom, and that the paucity of emigration was not the result of lack of trying. On the other hand the reports from England in the local newspapers showed that Featherston's efforts on the continent were being watched with favourable interest by people in Great Britain, and that,

30. AJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 24, Halcombe to Minister for Public Works, 5 July, 1871.
32. AJHR, 1872, D - 1A, 4, Agent-General to Colonial Secretary, 16 Nov., 1871, and enclosures.
rather than there being any objection by prospective British emigrants, New Zealand was actually congratulated for choosing such an industrious people well-suited to pioneering. 33

Some of those irreconcilable to foreign immigration were not opposed to threatening the Government. On the same day that a further shipment of Scandinavians arrived in Wellington the Evening Post gave its support to the New Zealand Herald by reporting and agreeing with an article from that Auckland newspaper, which stated:

We are not by any means fond of appealing to popular feeling, but we give the Government fair warning that unless the attempt which is now being made to flood this colony with foreign labour, at the expense of British labour and British colonists, be discontinued, a hostile public opinion will be aroused. And should such an agitation commence, we are safe in saying that it would not be "a flash in the pan." On the contrary it would, in all likelihood, be ably led and judiciously conducted; and we say further, that no Government would stand against it. 34

How much these two newspapers were catering to the opinions of their subscribers and how much they actually influenced public opinion to think along the same lines as their editors is difficult to judge. But as newspapers tend to reflect elements of both these influences it would seem reasonable to argue that while public opposition to a Government policy could be directed along a certain line by the papers, the line to be taken was to some extent already dictated by existing public opinion, and that therefore there already existed considerable opposition in New Zealand to foreign immigration.

A more liberal section of the colonial community faced the influx of Scandinavians and Germans with more equanimity. Realizing that immigrants of the proper class and type were not going to be easily obtained they showed no objection to Featherston's visit to Germany and Scandinavia in order to supply in some degree the urgent

33. Evening Post, English news section, 12 Fe., 1872, 2 March, 1872.
34. cited from N.Z. Herald in Evening Post, 7 March, 1872.
requirements of the colony so that public works could be more efficiently carried out. Nor did they doubt that the emigrants chosen in these countries would be suitable and desirable as settlers, but they did realize that the number sent out would necessarily limited, owing to the much larger appeal of the United States to Scandinavians, and that extraordinary exertions would have to be made both on the continent and in Great Britain before the colony's need of immigrants was satisfied.\(^{35}\)

However, the majority opinion on alien and particularly on Scandinavian immigration was at this stage one of mixed feelings and uncertainty. The success at Palmerston had quelled much of the earlier outright opposition based on both economic and ethnic grounds, but this still left several pertinent questions to be answered as regards their introduction. What would be the consequences to the Colony when a large proportion of the population, belonging to a race different from the majority of the colonists, speaking a language that was unfamiliar to most Anglo-Saxons, and used to different social and political customs, was admitted to the franchise, and actually exercised its privilege to vote?\(^{36}\) There was a fear that the British nature of the people and the structure of New Zealand's society would be threatened by large alien minorities, and this fear, with its overtones of cultural superiority, was to receive wider publicity over the next few years. Meanwhile, however, the proposed settlement of small pockets of Scandinavians in places like Stewart Island was not objected to, as it provided possible employment in fishing, boat building and agriculture, to all of which they were well suited.\(^{37}\)


Even this, however, was subject to criticism. Although the suitability of the Scandinavians for such settlements was not to be denied, it was felt that people with exactly the same attributes could be obtained from the north of Scotland, from the Shetland and Orkney Islands and from the Hebrides. Featherston was accused of going unnecessarily out of his way to seek on strange shores that class of hardy bushmen and professional fishermen which the home country itself could provide. The people of the islands had proven themselves to be just as hardy and industrious in Canada, in the Hudson's Bay service and in the North Atlantic as the Scandinavians had in their fields of service.38

Such arguments reflected the desire of many colonists to see only British immigration to New Zealand, whenever possible. At the same time, however, they argued that they were not hostiley anti-Scandinavian, in that it was recognized that it would be a narrow and mistaken policy to discourage the influx of such admirable immigrants as the Scandinavians were known to be. There was in these attitudes an element of ambivalence, attacking the Scandinavians on the one hand yet praising them on the other.

New Zealand thus waited on the verge of a new and much larger influx of Scandinavians than previously experienced, and as it waited it was in several minds concerning the whole scheme. The Government had no objections, but wanted at the same time to see an increased immigration from Great Britain, preferably on a larger scale than the continental immigration, as did all the colonists. The public was divided. There were groups opposing an alien influx which, it was believed, would contaminate the purity of the British stock. Others supported the Government and held no fear that the

38. cited from the Grey River Argus, 16 Feb., 1872, in Lyttelton Times, 23 Feb., 1872.
foreigners would substantially alter the British character of New Zealand. These were, however, minorities. The majority, at least of those who considered the issue at all, were in two minds on the subject, having no objection to a small influx of such people but concerned nonetheless that if too many arrived the "Britain of the South Seas" might no longer be truly able to claim that title.
Almost one complete year elapsed between the arrival of the second shipload of Scandinavians in March, 1871, and the third, a shipload of fifty-one Danes and twenty-four Norwegians, again brought by the England, which arrived on 7 March, 1872. This particular group of settlers, despite the illustration it was ultimately to give of the success of such immigration, was to provide a field day for the critics of the scheme. It was to provoke further criticism of the Agent-General for his management of immigration at the European end.

It was observed from ashore that as the England sailed into Port Nicholson it was indicating by flag that it had a contagious disease on board. It had, in fact, two such diseases, small-pox and measles, both of which had broken out amongst the emigrants soon after sailing from London, suggesting that they had already existed prior to departure and that the medical examination had thus not been efficiently conducted. As a result sixteen deaths occurred on the voyage and one after having reached New Zealand.¹

The initial experience of these new settlers upon their arrival at Wellington must have made them wonder whether they had done the right thing in leaving their homeland. Being restricted to Soames Island in the middle of Wellington Harbour for three to four weeks after having already been cooped up on board ship for three months could not have improved their already low spirits as a result of the rough voyage with its privations and deaths. On top of this they now had to have all their belongings which they brought with them burnt as a precaution against spreading the diseases into the colony. Their despondency can only be guessed but at least the Government reimbursed them for the loss of their clothes and bedding.²

1. AJHR, 1872, G - 3, 2, Gisborne to Agent-General, 16 March, 1872.
2. Evening Post, report, 14 May, 1872.
These insidious beginnings for this group of immigrants did not endear them to the colonists who were naturally fearful lest any contagious diseases be introduced to New Zealand in such a way as to create an epidemic, which would reduce the population rather than encourage its growth and development. It is little wonder, therefore, that the newspapers took up the cry against the "pest-ridden Scandinavians" brought by the England. The tenor of this attack was not virulently anti-Scandinavian so much as opposed to the administration of the immigration scheme generally, which, it was felt, was being very poorly managed. In Otago there had recently been an outbreak of scarlet fever, brought to that province by the Robert Henderson, and on the arrival of the Scandinavians at Wellington in March it was feared that if to its ravages were to be added those of small-pox, measles, and probably other diseases, which seemed likely if the examination of emigrants in Europe continued in the same inefficient manner as it had been conducted for the England, then New Zealand would speedily lose its character for immunity from epidemic diseases. It was necessary that the Government consider the danger seriously and prevent epidemics from becoming permanent fixtures in the colony.

The Government had instituted fairly stringent regulations requiring that medical examinations of all prospective immigrants be carried out, that all should provide proof of having been vaccinated against contagious diseases, and that the ships be adequately supplied with medical goods and a hospital, along with a qualified and competent doctor. Like many regulations the difficulty lay in enforcing them in Europe. According to Dr Featherston vaccination had for many years been compulsory in Germany and Scandinavia, and he had been informed that all the

3. Ibid., 20 March, 1872.
4. cited from O.P.I. in Ibid., 22 March, 1872.
emigrants possessed vaccination certificates. It was realized, however, that vaccination did not afford absolute immunity from disease. As a further check a medical examination of all the emigrants had been carried out prior to the ship's departure. The complaints made against the ship's doctor, Leigh, were a surprise to Featherston as he had produced all the necessary diplomas as well as several medals which made him appear more than ordinarily qualified. For the rest of the complaints about the outfitting of the ship, everything had been inspected and passed by the Emigration Officer. Thus not only did the New Zealand Government have trouble in insuring that its regulations were adhered to, but the Agent-General, in delegating his authority to responsible officers who were expected to know the requirements of their job, also found that errors could very easily occur.

Despite the difficult task that Featherston had in arranging for vast numbers of emigrants to proceed to New Zealand and in making sure that all the regulations were abided by, opposition to his arrangements began to grow in the colony. The failure, as yet, of his obtaining a large supply of emigrants from Great Britain was provoking more and more criticism, and, in the process, was creating further hostility towards the Scandinavians. People were becoming less prepared to accept the argument that Dr Featherston could not obtain any large number of suitable emigrants in the United Kingdom and that he had virtually been forced to go to Scandinavia and Germany to obtain any at all to try and meet the Government's demand for its public works scheme.

We utterly deny the truth of the assertion made by the Agent-General, Dr Featherston, that he could not obtain a sufficient number of suitable immigrants in the United Kingdom, and that perforce he had to seek for such in Northern Europe... To expend the public funds

5. AJHR, 1872, G - 3, 8, Agent-General to Gisborne, 2 May, 1872.
in bringing out Scandinavians instead of men and women from Great Britain, to this Colony, is a grave blunder, and should this plan be carried out further on a wholesale scale, the day is not far distant when the Government will be called to a strict reckoning for their action. 6

Yet the Government was not willing to allow an influx of that group of people in Great Britain who appeared to be the only ones willing to emigrate. These were the poverty-stricken (who, it was still believed, were in such straits because of their inability to work, and who would thus add nothing of value to the colony), the orphans, the degraded women and criminals. If such people were allowed to come to New Zealand it would not avoid the social evils that were to be found in the mother-country and which it hoped to escape.

Sections of the press were, however, less concerned with the value and non-value of the impoverished British than with the influx of aliens. Using statistics from Queensland showing that more British immigrants to that colony had paid for their passages, either fully or partially, than Germans in the period 1870-71, 7 it was argued that

the British immigrant, as costing less to introduce, and as contributing more freely towards the burdens of the State when he has become a colonist, is decidedly preferable to the alien... We... most emphatically protest against the proposed wholesale introduction of alien labourers to compete with the British Colonists, and to form separate communities in our midst, differing in language, sentiment, sympathies and desires, which, as they grew in strength, would burst into a national organization, and exercise a political influence by block votes upon the elections and the Legislature, highly detrimental to the interests of the Colony at large. In soil, climate, and geographical position, New Zealand is best fitted of all other Colonies to become "the Britain of the South," and it should be the chief object

6.  
Evening Post, editorial, 6 April, 1872.

7.  
cited from the N.Z. Herald in ibid., 12 March, 1872.
of those who for the time guide its affairs, to secure that result in the future by peopling its rich and fertile lands with settlers of our own blood and race. 8

There was nothing concrete in New Zealand at this time on which to base such economic and cultural prejudices. Only just over two hundred Scandinavians had arrived in the country so far under the scheme of 1870, and there would have been no more than about five hundred in the country before that, according to Lyng. 9 Such a small number out of the two hundred and fifty thousand European settlers in New Zealand certainly posed no threat, political or economic, to the large majority of British colonists. Nor had there being any evidence of cultural conflict between the Northern Europeans and their British cousins. The only compact group of Scandinavians so far was at Palmerston, and these people showed no sign of forming any national or political organization. The rest of these aliens were scattered throughout the colony as individuals, and were more than likely adapting themselves to the ways of the majority of the people and thus becoming assimilated by them.

The prejudices expressed were based more on fears of the future with the proposed immigration of four thousand Scandinavians and two thousand Germans, and these fears reflected a conservative and cautious element amongst many of the colonists, while revealing the essentially British character of the country with its close ties and fond attachment to Britain. There appears to have been a genuine feeling of sympathy and a desire to help the thousands of fellow British subjects who could do no better than struggle to maintain a bare existence by life-long toil in the industries and agriculture of Great Britain, 8

9. Ibid.

J. Lyng, The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western Pacific, P. 158. Only after 1871 were Scandinavians distinguished from "other Europeans" in the censuses.
only to "end their days in the union workhouse or the almshouse of charity, should strength fail before life itself."

It was argued that while thousands of men and women are starving at home, it is cruel to pass them by unheeded and seek for fresh population amongst an alien race.

Such sentiments could only promote prejudice towards those who seemed to be favoured over Britons yet who supposedly possessed no qualities making them more valuable as colonists than Anglo-Saxons. Their immigration, it was stated, should have been allowed only after preference had been given to British emigrants, and a full and fair trial had been made of the extent to which Great Britain could supply New Zealand with people. Because this had not been done there was a "deep-felt repugnance" to those foreign emigrants being assisted to come to New Zealand. By going to Scandinavia for immigrants instead of having first endeavoured to obtain them from Great Britain, Dr Featherston had, according to his critics, shown his unfitness for the office of Agent-General.

The Lyttelton Times, reflecting the liberal outlook of its manager, William Reeves (father of William Pember Reeves), recognized that this opposition expressed a general feeling on the subject of immigration but was prepared to differ from this feeling. In stating its point of view it reflected a much more business-like attitude to the whole problem, and in so doing also reflected the attitude of the Fox Government, of which Reeves, as member for Selwyn and Resident Minister for the South Island, was an ardent supporter. It claimed that in seeking immigrants New Zealand was not influenced by any philanthropic desire to help the poor of Great Britain. People were not encouraged to come to

12. O.D.T., editorial, 16 May, 1872.
the colony because it would "do them good" but because the
country needed them in order to work on the land as farmers,
to develop the untouched resources, especially in the forests,
and to pay taxes.

Our motive, in short, is entirely selfish, and it
is a mistake to make any attempt to invest it
with an air of philanthropy. Any immigration
agent who went about England saying that he was
anxious to send out two or three thousand people
to New Zealand because it would be to their
advantage would be laughed at. What! The
inhabitants of New Zealand are so fixed with the
philanthropic spirit, so anxious to "confer a
boon" on their suffering fellow creatures that
they will go to any amount of trouble, and incur
large liabilities in order to carry out their
benevolent designs? Bah! This would be the
reply of the average Briton and he would be
quite right. Most of those who emigrate from
the old country, no matter to New Zealand,
Australia, the United States or Canada,
benefit themselves. It is the belief that
they will do so which impels them to leave
their native land, but they are not therefore
prepared to swallow the nation that they are
sought after, hunted up, and assisted, in order
that the people inhabiting the country they go
to may enjoy the satisfaction of having benefited
them. 13

If an occasion some of the opponents of
Scandinavian immigration had based their arguments on their
preference for Anglo-Saxons, the scheme's proponents were not
devoid of the ability to reply in kind. Most people were
conscious of the belief that the Viking invasions of Great
Britain in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries had
added some sterling qualities to the old Anglo-Saxon stock,
although no one seemed quite sure what these qualities were.
Nevertheless it was now advocated that it would be good
for New Zealand to renew its links with these people in
order to improve the "degenerate breed" which had developed
in Great Britain as a result of the later Norman invasion.
At the same time, and more sensibly, it was argued that the

life of the great cities and employment in factories had left the average Briton unfitted for the rough work and the harsh living conditions required for the breaking in of virgin soil and the planting of new settlements. 14

There was a danger in arguing in this polemical tone in that it was quite likely to provoke a critical reply which would resort to a similar style of rebuttal in an attempt to prove that the Anglo-Saxon was physically and mentally as good, if not better, than the Scandinavian. With this arrival at ethnic "proofs" for and against the value of Scandinavian immigration dangerous ground would be opened up for all types of racial prejudice. So far the opposition to the Scandinavians had been largely based on two things: a preference, formulated by ideas of cultural unity and blood ties, for one's fellow-man in Great Britain; and a fear, both political and economical, of being adversely affected by an influx of aliens. Blatant racial arguments had not yet appeared, and only occasionally, as we have already seen, had there been any hints of such feelings. Outright racial opposition to the Scandinavians did not eventuate, although undertones could be found in the other causes of opposition, especially that based on cultural arguments.

A type of discrimination did occur, however, which seems to have some affinity to the ideas about the evolution of societies, institutions and ethics which were just coming into vogue at this time. Popularization of Spencer created a belief that as Great Britain was the most advanced of the European Societies (and it was industrially) this would tend to be reflected in the superiority of its citizens. This in turn led to the idea of the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race, an idea which was not to reach its zenith until the 1890s. Inklings of these thoughts, however, appeared.
amongst the arguments for keeping New Zealand as free of foreign elements as possible. For example:

The admixture of a large proportion of foreigners in our population must inevitably exercise a considerable influence on our national character hereafter, and on our political institutions in the more immediate future. Both these points afford subject for serious consideration before the admixture is allowed to become to great. We are likely to be all the better as a Colony from not being all of one race, but we should be very careful of allowing our own race to be at all overshadowed by others, especially as on examination it would seem that if the proper steps were taken plenty of suitable emigrants are to be obtained within the limits of Great Britain. 15

It is clear that these ideas were not by any means fully developed; maintenance of complete racial purity was not advocated, but the retaining of British superiority was. This was to be the tenor of the strongest arguments against Scandinavian immigration for ethnic reasons that was to occur. By the time that quite blatant racial arguments were being directed at the "Mongolian hordes" in the 1890s Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand had long since ceased except on an individual level.

If Spencer had any influence on the attitudes in New Zealand towards Scandinavian immigration (and it is not at all clear whether he did or not) it would have effected the ideas of newspaper editors, politicians and businessmen, rather than those of the common workingman. The latter was not likely to have read Spencer nor even to have heard of his name and ideas. They had only appeared in the 1860s, and for such ideas to percolate through the levels of society takes time. If they were to have any influence on the whole of society it would be through the newspapers which, in this case, were using the common fears of the average citizen as a basis on which to express more refined and more subtle ideas with which they had come in contact. The lack

15. Evening Post, editorial, 1 May, 1872.
of response from society generally towards these ideas would suggest that, if they were behind the ideas expressed in some of the newspaper editorials, then public opinion was not yet ready to receive them.

For more common as arguments against foreign immigration in this early period were the economic, social and political fears of different groups which had few racial undertones. The cost of the scheme, was a common point of attack and the language barrier was another. Rationalisation based on these things was used to support the demand that a much better class of immigrant could be obtained from England and Scotland. For example it was argued that the language barrier disqualified the foreigners from domestic service and made them but little use as station hands. Thus they required special treatment, special attention and extra cost in order to establish them successfully in the country.16

Featherston was not ignorant of the opposition that many of his fellow colonists had towards the Scandinavians, but he hoped that their fears would have been allayed by the news that two thousand statute adults were to be despatched from the United Kingdom during the period April to June, 1872, compared to not more than seven hundred from Germany and Scandinavia. He made it clear in his despatches that the Government could stop foreign immigration from these countries after the two year contracts had expired if it so desired, but that he himself would regret such a step, not only because he regarded New Zealand as being capable of absorbing a large number of immigrants but also because he believed that many industries such as vine-growing, the manufacturing of sugar from beet, and of paper from wood, could only be successfully established in New Zealand if emigrants from the countries in which these industries were to be found were settled in the colony.

16. Ibid., report.
He also pointed out that the Government needed a large and immediate influx of population for its public works programme, and that this would not be possible if emigration was restricted to the United Kingdom. If this were done there would be a shortage of labour which would increase the cost of the public works or even delay their being undertaken, which would in turn increase the interest payments on the money borrowed for these works. In conclusion he assured the Government and the public that it was neither his intention nor his desire to flood New Zealand with foreigners to the exclusion or detriment of any Briton. 17

This was an expression of the rational sentiment of an educated man who had spent over twenty years in New Zealand and who had been thoroughly involved in the political life of the colony, having been a member of the House of Representatives, Superintendent of Wellington, a Land Commissioner, and one of the two Commissioners to Great Britain in 1870. He had New Zealand's interests at heart and thus had refused to send out paupers in order to meet the demand for immigrants. He also understood and had no intention of allowing the British character of New Zealand to be substantially altered by any large influx of aliens.

While all this discussion had been taking place the arrivals by the England had been taken from Samos Island and placed in what has been called the Forty-Mile Bush, 18 in a settlement just a few miles north of the growing township of Masterton. They were to be employed in cutting a road through this bush, from Masterton to the Manawatu Gorge, which would connect with the road to be built from Napier to the Manawatu Gorge, thus providing the proposed Wellington-Napier land connection. 19

17. AJHR, 1872, D - 18, 3, Agent-General to Colonial Secretary, 21 May, 1872.
18. see Appendix G.
19. This area had been surveyed by J. Kelleher late in 1871 for the Wellington Provincial Council, and he had recommended it as suitable for immediate special settlement in conjunction with a railway. V and P (Wellington) 1872, C - 4, Kelleher, 13 Dec., 1871.
The trip from Wellington to their camp site took
the men two days by foot. With them went their baggage, a
couple of large tarpaulins for shelter, and a few necessary
tools. For ten days after their arrival they were occupied
in erecting temporary dwellings, which, when ready, allowed the
authorities to send up the wives and families. Arrangements
were made with a nearby storekeeper, probably in Masterton,
to supply them with provisions at moderate prices. The men
were then set to work on small contracts to clear the bush
along the line which was to be the main trunk road through
the Seventy-Mile Bush. 20

This settlement at Mauriceville was the first of
three proposed settlements of Scandinavians to be located
in the Wairarapa section of the Seventy-Mile Bush. It
consisted to begin with of fifteen families of Scandinavians
and a few Englishmen, about six in number. The whole
settlement covered a block of four thousand acres, from
which each family received forty acres to develop while
working on the cutting of the road a few miles west of the
settlement. These sections were to be paid for over a period
of three years at the price of £1 per acre. 21

It will be remembered that Hawke's Bay had
already planned for three such settlements on similar
terms in its part of the Bush, but as yet these had not
been occupied. Nonetheless surveys and plans were in the
process of being made. Together these plans made a total
of six proposed Scandinavian villages in the Seventy-Mile
Bush, between the Rastaniwha Plains and Masterton. It was
hoped to place fifty to seventy families in each village, and
that at least two hundred families could be located during
1872. 22

20. AJHR, 1872, D - 16, Halcombe to Ormond, 18 July, 1872.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
Once again the success of the Scandinavians in adapting to their new conditions and in undertaking the clearance of the bush was to stem temporarily the flow of criticism of their immigration. The location was not as remote and as difficult of access as was the Palmerston settlement, and this may have had some importance in influencing a wider section of the public that the Scandinavians were worthy inhabitants of the colony. More private individuals found their way to the area and so a wider spectrum of society was able to report on the settlement than previously, when much had been based on Halcombe's own reports to the Government, and when editorial opinion could not always be counteracted by any private knowledge of the actual conditions and success.

Thus it was that a more personal touch was to be found in the reports, with comments on the structure of the houses built, their furnishings, and cooking utensils, as well as with the more general comments as the progress being made in clearing the bush, both for the road and from their own sections of land.23 The lessons that the Scandinavians could provide in certain aspects of life were also stressed.

We can recommend no trip more enjoyable than one to the new settlement above Masterton, where the immigrants are working, Englishmen may see many a worse example for them to follow in the way of road making, and Englishwomen will learn many careful lessons in the way of keeping their homes tidy, with every disadvantage to encounter, and many "wrinkles" in the culinary art. We notice that almost every householder has a spinning wheel in her possession, and we expect that we shall shortly see some home-spun stockings etc. produced by them. 24

The Government was generally satisfied with this new settlement and the progress that had been made on the roadworks. The Scandinavians had been given a section of about ten miles to clear and by the end of June, after only

two months work, the assistant engineer-in-chief of public works could report that a considerable amount of work had been done on this section by the immigrants, most of whom showed an aptitude for this type of work.25

Mr Halcombe was just as satisfied with the success of the Scandinavian settlements, both at Palmerston and at Mauriceville. The settlers at Palmerston were continuing to justify their immigration in that they had now built weatherboard houses for themselves, cleared areas of ground for planting crops, and begun to fell the bush extensively. Most of them had made the first payment for their land, showing that they had worked hard on the public works contract. Once again, however, the need for families rather than single men was emphasized, in order to provide a group of settlers that was more likely to bind itself to one locality.26

The greatest complaint, and one that had been stated before, was that the Danish immigrants were not considered suitable for such bush settlement. Halcombe felt his original impression of their suitability, based on his knowledge of the Palmerston settlement, had been confirmed by his further experience with that settlement in 1872 and with the Danes that had been located at Mauriceville. It appeared that the Danes were physically unable to contend with the hardships of frontier life. Whereas the Norwegians built themselves comfortable houses out of the materials at hand, earned good wages immediately on setting to work, surrounded themselves with many simple comforts, and were cheerful and contented into the bargain, the Danes were regarded as shiftless, thriftless, unable to use an axe and not very eager to learn. (The assistant engineer had not been quite so critical!27).

26. Ibid., D - 16, Halcombe to Ormond, 18 July, 1872.
27. Ibid., D - 6, Report on Public Works, 30 June, 1872.
Consequently they could not earn as much as their Norwegian neighbours, which made them discontented, reliant on the Government, and ready to complain about every little difficulty. At Mauriceville the Norwegians had done a month's work on the road, paid for their two months' supplies, and begun to pay for the cost of their passage to New Zealand. The Danes, however, presented the opposite picture, with uncomfortable and dirty houses, a large debt to the storekeeper, and no payments made to the Government for their fares from Europe. It was feared that these people would merge into the "leaving" element of the community and become a liability to the colony. Thus it was again suggested that Danish immigration be discouraged as far as possible.  

The reporter for the *Evening Post* had not been slow in pointing out these differences. He preferred the Norwegians to either the Danes or the English as settlers in this type of bush country as they appeared to be more at home, more hardy, and better suited for the position required of them. Part of the reason for this was that the Norwegians had been selected from the country districts while the other nationalities came from seaport towns. This, however, was only part of the problem. The Danes were primarily agriculturalists, not foresters used to such a rugged existence. It is likely that some of them had lost their farms with the occupation of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 and had since been trying to eke out an existence in the towns of Denmark. Whatever the reason for their inability to adapt to bush work and frontier settlement, the Government decided to end the Danish immigration without any more delay than was necessary to carry out such engagements as could not be brought to an immediate termination. No blame was this time attached to Dr Featherston for the poor quality of the
Danes, as this was a matter which could only be discovered by experience, 31 although previously some surprise had been expressed about the Danes sent out by the second voyage of the England and the continued employment of Mr Harnemann after the experiences of 1871 with the poor quality of the Danes on the first voyage of the England. 32

There is some discrepancy here between the reports of the assistant engineer-in-chief and of Mr Halcombe. The majority of the settlers at Mauriceville were Danes, and the engineer had reported the settlers' aptitude for the bush work. Yet Halcombe had suggested that they had no facility with the axe nor any desire to learn how to use it properly. At the same time as the Wairarapa Mercury gave a favourable report of the settlement Halcombe again attacked the Danes for their inability to adapt to their surroundings. The Government decided to believe Mr Halcombe and so instructions were given to stop Danish immigration. But before these instructions could be enforced the Danes had shown that they could adapt themselves to bush settlement.

In this they were helped by the arrival of another shipload of Danes on the Halcione, which had arrived in Wellington on 27 July. 33 By early August all but eight of the seventy-three on board had been located at Mauriceville. None of these settlers showed any tendency to complain nor to "magnify every unavoidable difficulty into a great grievance." Rather they were noted for their very good spirits, and seemed pleased to be able to set to work immediately. 34 It was possibly their example which made the Government reconsider its policy about Danes, as its instructions were never enforced.

The convocation of Parliament in July saw the discussion of the value of Scandinavian immigration pass from the newspapers to the floors of both the House and the Council. The strongest opponent of foreign immigration was

31. NZPD, 1872, Ormond, 26 July, p. 142.
32. AJHR, 1872, G - 3, 2, Gisborne to Agent-General, 16 March, 1872.
33. Ibid., 1873, D - 2, Immigration Returns; Immigration Department Register of immigrant ships.
34. Evening Post, report, 7 August, 1872.
Mr Rolleston, Member of the House of Representatives for Avon. To him colonization was the obtaining of a people that would have the same sympathies, the same national aims and the same laws as were already to be found in New Zealand. It seemed, however, that it was the object of the Government, as it appeared from the papers laid before the House with references to Chinese and foreign immigration, to obtain people at any price. Rolleston disagreed that it was sufficient to secure a number of people to be located in the colony merely to help pay taxes and to work on the public works. 35 They had to be suitable immigrants, used to the customs and institutions of the country, and such people could only be found in Great Britain. Rolleston, like many colonists, was fearful that foreign immigration would alter the British identity of New Zealand, perhaps not realizing that the New Zealand settlers of the previous thirty-two years had already diverged to some degree from that social and cultural system which they wished to retain.

Part of the opposition expressed resulted from Mr Halcombe’s report about the Danes earlier in the month. It was argued that it was wrong to bring such people out to the colony only to find after several months of looking after them that they were not suitable. Such leniency had not been allowed for any emigrants from Britain, whose suitability had to be proved before they left their home country, and who did not require to be looked after upon arrival. 35 Mr Waterhouse, soon to become Premier, argued that we require emigrants to give effect to the public works policy, but these Scandinavian emigrants are not adapted for work as railway navvies, while the very fact of their not being acquainted with the English language renders them unfit for taking many kinds of employment... So far as

35. NZPD, 1872, Rolleston, 27 August, p. 700.
36. Ibid., Waterhouse, 24 July, p. 62; Fraser, 25 July, pp. 82-83; Creighton, 1 August, pp. 228-229; Calder, 3 Sept., p. 58; Sheehan, 4 Sept., p. 109.
the Scandinavians are concerned, instead of being a relief to the labour market, I believe the fact is exactly the reverse. The immigrants we require are those who, when once landed here, can be turned adrift to shift for themselves. 37

Besides the usual amount of politicking that was to be found in these debates, such as in Mr Waterhouse's opposition which was to cause no change in policy when he became Premier in October, there were other reasons for the opposition expressed. Several politicians objected to the favouring of Scandinavian immigration while the British field seemed to remain untried. Particular reference was made to the failure of the emigration agents in Great Britain to encourage Irish emigration to New Zealand. It was argued that no satisfactory attempts had been made to tap this source and that the New Zealand Government even had a "no Irish policy." 38 Such allegations could not be substantiated when the facts of the case were examined. From July, 1871 to June, 1872 four hundred and twenty-one Irish had been sent to New Zealand, 39 and Featherston had sent emigration agents to Ireland. The trouble was that Irish settlers in New Zealand did not think that enough Irishmen were being sent out.

The argument of the majority of opponents, however, was no different from that of many of their electors, that New Zealand was a British colony and although a few foreigners were not to be objected to, it was better that immigrants came mainly from Britain. Mr Waterhouse was only expressing the thoughts of many when he said:

I may say that this being a British colony, I think we should endeavour to keep it British as much as possible. We cannot tell what complications may arise if we have a number of foreigners in the Colony who are not Naturalized. 40

37. Ibid., Waterhouse, 24 July, p. 62.
38. Ibid., Sheehan, 4 Sept., p. 109, and other brief references throughout Public Works and Immigration debates.
39. AJHR, 1873 D - 2, Immigration Returns.
Here was summarized the fears expressed over the past year and a half — what might happen to New Zealand if a large influx of non-British settlers was allowed into the country?

One new objection was raised at this time which seemed to be that of only one man, or at least of very few people, yet it has its interest as another attempt to rouse opposition to Scandinavian immigration. Captain Fraser had at one stage been appointed Inspector of the Otago Lunatic Asylum, and on his appointment he discovered that nine inmates were Scandinavians, although there were only about one hundred in the province. None had ever been cured. From this he argued that

the minds of Scandinavians are easily unhinged, and when once they give way they give way forever, and the men become helpless idiots.

He then went on to argue that similar experience had been had with Scandinavians in the United States and in Canada, and that Norway had the highest average of insane persons in the world. Therefore

if these men were sent out to this country without proper arrangements being made for their location in groups on the land, and they were allowed to straggle over it, a large average of them would drift into the lunatic asylums, and be a permanent burden on the Colony. 41

Whether these allegations were true or not they were ignored. Neither the other Legislative Councillors nor the colonial newspapers followed up the argument. Much could have been made of the fear of an increase in the number of mentally disturbed people in the colony but it was not. Nothing was to be heard along these lines until the 1875 Immigration Statement, which put an end to all possible doubts. Out of the sixty thousand people brought to New Zealand under the public works and immigration scheme of 1870, forty-seven had been admitted to asylums, of which number twenty had

41. Ibid., Fraser, 25 July, pp. 82-83.
been discharged. No suggestion that they were all, or even partly, Scandinavians was hinted at.

Naturally enough there were some replies to the opponents of Scandinavian immigration in Parliament, and these also tended to reflect the arguments of those of the public who did not object to the scheme. They were favourably compared with British immigrants in a debate on Chinese Immigration, in that they were much to be preferred to any introduction of Chinese labour. Their value in the gold fields in the 1860s as being hardworking, steady, sober men was also recalled. The main argument put forward, however, was that they had added and would add things of value to the colony. Most of them had proved remarkably suitable as settlers in the country's bush regions which might not have been developed if left to the agricultural labourer of Great Britain, who would have found the work contrary to his way of life. (The adaptability of the Danish agriculturalists did not seem to suggest that the English agriculturalist could also adapt to bush work). At the same time it was hoped that eventually they would establish their own special industries, such as wood pulp paper manufacturing. On top of this they had provided one certain source of immigration at a time when immigrants were hard to get in Great Britain, and had proved so far to be largely beneficial to the colony. Their immigration had been an experiment and could be abandoned if necessary, but it did no harm to try it meanwhile.

There was no large division in Parliament on the subject. The debates differed less on the basic principles involved (that is, should Scandinavian immigration be allowed

42. AJHR, 1875, D - 8, Immigration Statement.
43. NZPD, 1872, Shepherd, 30 July, p. 161.
44. Ibid., Hall, 25 July, p. 87.
45. Ibid., Ormond, 5 Sept., p. 128.
46. Ibid., Hall, 25 July, p. 87.
and was it a good thing for New Zealand than on the approaches taken to these questions by various individuals. The opponents of Scandinavian immigration tended to stress the need for increased British immigration and the need to retain the British character of the country. These things led them to attack foreign immigration if it was at the expense of the British. While the proponents did not deny these things they concentrated more on the positive contributions the Scandinavians could make to a developing colony such as New Zealand, while stressing that at no stage did the numbers involved offer any real threat to the predominance of Britons in the country or the flow of immigrants from the United Kingdom. It was in such a situation that men like Calder and Sheehan could make objections to Scandinavian immigration yet acknowledge that they made excellent settlers who would not be a burden to the colony. Thus it was that Ormond was not overstating the situation when he said:

The House has almost unanimously said it was glad to welcome to New Zealand people of all races, so long as they make good settlers. 48

This atmosphere was not conducive to any racial arguments against the Scandinavians, and the lack of their appearance at the seat of Government did not encourage their development throughout the country, just as it reflected that generally the colony was not racially opposed to the Scandinavians and in consequence the representatives of the people did not express ideas that their electors did not hold. The opposition expressed was economic and cultural rather than racial, and the more important of these two was the cultural. The customs, the institutions, and the nature of the colonial society should not be allowed to be diverted from the forms already established. New Zealand, in the eyes of almost all its inhabitants, should remain British.

47. Ibid., Calder, 3 Sept., p. 58; Sheehan, 4 Sept., p. 109.

48. Ibid., Ormond, 5 Sept., p. 128.
For some this meant no foreign immigration; for others it meant that foreign immigration was a good thing so long as the aliens contributed something of value to the colony and remained a very small minority which could be easily assimilated. Assimilation, not integration, was the key to keeping New Zealand British.
VI

THE BEGINNING OF ASSIMILATION

From the middle of 1872 the number of foreign immigrants, predominantly Scandinavians and Germans, arriving in New Zealand increased substantially. The experimental shipments had been made and the decision to enter two-year contracts for the despatching of four thousand Scandinavians and two thousand Germans taken. A regular arrival of ships bearing these people now began. While the majority went to Wellington and Hawke's Bay there were the occasional shipments to other areas, notably Canterbury and Otago.

Canterbury had no special settlement scheme but it was not averse to absorbing these aliens into its labour force, despite its reputation for being the most English of New Zealand's provinces. The need for labour seems to have prevented any real opposition being shown. The first and largest shipment of foreigners to arrive at Lyttelton was a mixture of one hundred and seventy-five Germans, fifty-eight Danes and fifty-nine Norwegians, selected by Messrs Louis Knorr and Company of Hamburg and despatched by Messrs Sloman and Company on the Friedeburg, which arrived at Lyttelton on 30 August, 1872.¹ Canterbury had not specifically requested any Northern Europeans to be sent to it, but Featherston had felt that, in the absence of any instructions to the contrary, they would not be opposed,² especially as they appeared to him and to Mr Friberg to have been well selected.³

Upon arrival the Scandinavians were absorbed into the general populace very quickly and scattered throughout the province as domestic servants, general labourers and agricultural labourers. The men were particularly suited

¹. AJHR, 1873, D - 2, Immigration Returns; Immigration Department Register of immigrant ships.
². Ibid., 1872, D - 1B, 2, Featherston to Gisborne, 20 May, 1872.
³. Ibid., 5, Featherston to Gisborne, 22 May, 1872.
to agricultural labouring owing to their background both in Norway and Denmark, and the lack of complaints about the standard of the immigrants would suggest that they were soon absorbed into the pastoral life that Canterbury could so ably offer them. As with the Danes from the Malcione at Mauriceville, these Danes in Canterbury also proved themselves to be suitable immigrants, having found an area that required their talents. Their real contribution to the province will never be known as the Scandinavians were soon lost as a separate element in the local society. With no group settlement and with such a small number out of all the emigrants who arrived in Canterbury between July, 1870 and May, 1876, no more than four hundred out of eighteen thousand, seven hundred and thirty-one, this is only to be expected.

Their immigration to Canterbury, however, was not without incident. The mixing of Germans and Danes on the 

friedeburg proved to be undesirable, as much national antipathy had existed between them as a result of the loss by Denmark of Schleswig-Holstein. There had been several fights on board which had created a lack of harmony during the voyage, although only one serious case of breach of discipline was reported: two of the single men had gained access to the single women's compartment by night. After careful investigation the Commissioners thought that this was more a case of frolicsome mischief than anything else. As a consequence of the national strife Featherston was instructed to send the two nationalities on different ships in future in order to avoid any such friction, which had required constant watchfulness.

The other large shipment of Scandinavians to Canterbury was by the Punjab, which arrived on 18 September, 1873, with one hundred and thirty-three Danish and two hundred and seven British immigrants. The events

4. Ibid., 1876, D - 5, Immigration Returns.

5. Ibid., 1873, D - 1, 4, Sewell to Featherston, 26 Sept., 1872, enclosure 1, Commissioners' Report, 3 Sept., 1872.

6. Ibid., 8, Hall to Featherston, 14 Oct., 1872, encl. 4, Immigration Officer's Report, 26 Sept.; encl. 5, Surgeon's Report.
surrounding this voyage were very similar to those connected with the second voyage of the England. Twenty-eight deaths occurred as the result of an outbreak of measles and typhoid fever, both of which seemed to have been brought on board by the Danes. At the same time the ship had been grossly overcrowded and poorly equipped for the number of passengers it had to carry. Sanitary conditions had been well below the standard required for emigrant ships, while hospital space could not cope with the large number of sick passengers. On top of all this it appeared that the ship was not particularly seafaring, having leaked and rolled badly. The report of the surgeon of the ship was condemnatory of the habits of the Danes, who were reported to have no concern about personal cleanliness and little knowledge about eating a proper diet. All in all the voyage proved an extremely difficult one yet the outcry that had ensued with the England in 1872 did not recur. Why this should have been so is unclear, but it is possible that, whereas the England was one lonesome ship at a time when immigration was scarce and thus attracted considerable attention upon its arrival, the Punjaub was only one of many ships arriving in the colony every month now that immigration from the United Kingdom was occurring at an increased rate. Thus it would not have attracted the same attention as people were becoming accustomed to the regular arrival of emigrants, and one with some sickness on board would not have been unusual.

In Otago a shipment of Scandinavians had long been sought after. The Superintendent, Mr Macandrew, had been very willing to take some from the first group that came by the Calgona, and perhaps settle them at Martina Bay on the remote west coast of the province. These, however, went to Palmerston, as has been already seen, and Mr Macandrew's hopes for his little experiment were thwarted for a while.

7. Ibid., 1874, D - 2, 12, Voral to Agent-General, 19 Nov., 1873 enclosure 2, report to Commissioners, 4 Nov., 1873; Sub-enclosure, report of surgeon, 23 Oct., 1873.
It was next thought that a Scandinavian settlement might be established at Stewart Island, where there were opportunities for fishing, boat-building and farming, but this fell to the lot of a few Shetland Islanders, and within a few years proved to be a failure because of its extreme isolation.

A shipload of one hundred and twenty Scandinavians and one hundred and eight Germans and Polacs arrived at Port Chalmers on 6 December, 1872, only to be put in quarantine for a fortnight owing to the existence of scarlet and typhoid fevers on board. On 23 December they were transferred to the Dunedin Immigration Barracks and made available for employment to private contractors. The single men and women, eighty-one including Germans, were easily placed, but the married couples and their children, about one hundred families in all, were less easily settled, as farmers and runholders were generally disinclined to employ men with a family of children, especially those who knew no English and could not understand their instructions. Twenty-eight families were hired and the remainder given, after their own inspection of the work required of them, a contract to build a section of the southern trunk railway near Dunedin. 8

For Otago this shipment was an experiment which proved partially successful. Those employed on the railway were soon reported to be doing well and making good wages, while reports were being received from those who had employed them for agricultural labour which also bore testimony to their value as immigrants. At the same time it was not considered wise to send a large number of families in one shipment. A number, not exceeding thirty, plus single men and women, was regarded as sufficient. 9

8. Ibid., 1873, D - 1, 52, O'Rorke to Agent-General, 14 Feb., 1873, encl. 1, Allan to Under-Secretary for Immigration, 31 Jan., 1873.
9. Ibid.
The Scandinavians had again made an impression as being suitable for a special settlement, "as their plodding habits and fertility of resources would enable them to overcome difficulties," while their ambitions and needs were less extravagant than those of people from the United Kingdom. It was thus planned by the Provincial Government to establish a settlement at Greytown on the Taieri River, near their contract on the railway.  

Their suitability as immigrants was stressed in words very similar to those of all who favoured their introduction. Reference was made to their "quiet, steady, and unobtrusive character," their industriousness, willingness to do as they were requested, and their cheerfulness. Considering that seventy of the Scandinavians were Danes these reports about them were again favourable. Their reputation as a result of their unsuitability in the heavy bush areas of the North Island was not substantiated by their record in Canterbury and Otago. In both provinces they proved suitable as agricultural labourers, and in Otago they also proved that they could work timber in building railways. Such was the impression made by them in Otago that Allan could state later in the year that I have no doubt another shipload would be hailed here with much satisfaction.

The Otago Daily Times was less happy about the situation, stating that while the foreigners could not obtain work, there was a great demand for British labourers. If this were the case, then two possibilities suggest themselves. Either Mr Allan was correct in saying that the language problem and the number of children were serious barriers to the Scandinavians' employment, or there was something

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 93, O'Rorke to Featherston, 20 May, 1872, and Allan to Under-Secretary for Immigration, 16 May, 1873.
more than these factors in the refusal of the employers to hire these people despite the reported demand for labour. That the latter was the case is doubtful if Mr Allan was correct in saying that "thirty families at one time, with a number of young men and women, would be sufficient for our requirements."\(^4\) It would appear more likely that the province, while wanting an increased population, could absorb only so many at a time, and the the **Palmerston** having brought too many had saturated the immediate market for labour, thus leaving some of the immigrant families unemployed until offered the railway contract. The arrival of the **May Queen** with one hundred and two British settlers only a few days before the **Palmerston**\(^5\) could only have added to the difficulty of immediately employing such a large number of Scandinavians without a planned scheme of group settlement. No hostility of any kind was reported as having been shown towards the Scandinavians, either by labourers or employers.

The reasons for this lack of opposition would be similar to those for Canterbury. The **Palmerston** was only one ship of immigrants at a time when several were arriving. At the same time the province was desirous of a steady influx of labour, and there was no threat to the local labour force of being thrown into unemployment by competition. But perhaps more important than all these reasons was that the success of the Scandinavian settlements in the North Island had predisposed the people of Otago to accept a shipment as an experiment, and they had no reason, after a few months, to find any fault with the immigrants. At the same time they were being readily absorbed into the mass of the British population, thus showing that as individuals they were easily adaptable. Their aptitude for learning English had been stressed from the beginning in Featherston's and Bell's first report, and was still regarded as being the case in Allan's report of the **Palmerston** arrivals. As well as this their

\(^4\) AJHR, 1873, D - 1, 52, O'Rorke to Agent-General, 14 Feb., 1873, encl. 1, Allen to Under-Secretary for Immigration, 31 Jan., 1873.

\(^5\) Ibid., Immigration Department Register of immigrant ships.
customs were now known not to be too different from those of the British. Their life centred on the home and their religion, they were used to working for a living, and most of them had had some formal education. Politically they were not used to a democratic system of government like New Zealand's, but it would not take them long to come to terms in understanding this. Above all they had shown themselves to be hardworking and industrious settlers who provided few real problems beyond the immediate period of their arrival.

While Canterbury and Otago had been favourably experimenting with their foreign immigrants Hawke's Bay had finally received its first group of Scandinavians, just about one year after first ordering three hundred families to be settled on the Ruataniwha section of the Seventy-Mile Bush. On 15 September, 1872, two ships had arrived at Napier, the Houding, bringing three hundred and sixty-five Norwegians and eleven Swedes, and the Ballarat, with seventy-seven Danes. That they arrived on the same day was merely coincidence as the Houding had left Norway fourteen days before the Ballarat left London. The inhabitants of Napier were naturally curious to see these strange people and turned out in large numbers to greet their arrival. Impressions were quickly formed by a people who had been favourably predisposed towards Scandinavian immigration anyway, since the reports of the successful Palmerston settlement and the possibilities of their being useful in opening up the Seventy-Mile Bush. Thus it was little surprise that the Hawke's Bay Herald should carry the report that everyone was of one opinion as regards the immigrants who arrived by these two ships, "that they are, on the whole, the most satisfactory consignment that have ever arrived here."  

16. Ibid.; Immigration Department Register of immigrant ships.
Other areas of the country, however, were not so predisposed to accept such a large foreign element as Hawke's Bay was planning to introduce. The New Zealand Herald had already raised the spectre of political corruption resulting from such an influx.

We cannot but view with the utmost apprehension the immense political influence which might be secured by the expenditure of that portion of the loan set apart for immigration in augmenting the foreign element. For instance, Mr Ormond... will be absolute master of that section of the colony, through the block vote of twelve hundred Norwegians, "sent for by him for special settlement at the Seventy-Mile Bush," and that although the entire colony is responsible for the money it takes to bring them out, to buy the land on which to locate them, and to find them in employment. Gratitude to Mr Ormond who will be regarded by them as their benefactor, will ensure this, for we can hardly suppose that they would trouble themselves much about their obligations to that impersonal cause of their prosperity - "the country." 18

Once again people were frightened of the possible effect on their political institutions from an alien group, but why Auckland should have been so worried for Hawke's Bay is not clear. It could either have been the result of a genuine belief that foreign immigration was a threat to New Zealand's institutions, or perhaps of a remnant of the feeling that it was still the leader of New Zealand, even if it had lost its status as capital to Wellington in 1865. At the same time Auckland Province made no requests for Scandinavians. Thus there might have been an element of jealousy in Auckland's attitude, especially as within the next two or three years it was to receive some German immigrants which time its opposition had receded.

There is no denying that people did genuinely feel worried about the effect of foreigners on the political life of the nation, and to some extent their fears were substantiated by the reports from Palmerston in August, 1872.

18. Cited from the New Zealand Herald in Hawke's Bay Herald, 1 August, 1872.
of the effect of a bloc vote by the Scandinavians there. An election for a seat on the District Board had taken place, and it appeared that the "old settlers" had voted for one candidate and the Scandinavians for another, the latter nominee heading the poll. The "old settlers" would not recognize this newly elected member, and argued that the Scandinavians had been brought down to vote in a body by Mr Johannes Monrad, one of Bishop Monrad's sons who had remained in New Zealand at Karere, near where the first Scandinavians by the Cisogna and England had been settled. The result was apparently the creation of much ill-will.19 Here was a situation which had been actually feared for some time since the beginning of organized foreign immigration, and it shows three things. First, although bloc voting could be a problem where there was one large group with common interests in a single electoral area, the result would still be the same, whether voting was done consciously as a bloc or merely as every individual voting the same way. Neither was anti-democratic so long as no force was used to produce conformity. Secondly, the unwillingness of the older settlers to accept the result of the vote reflected a lack of real training in democratic principles. A group which had previously been the majority now found itself thwarted by a new majority, and it refused to accept the situation which the democratic system demanded of them. Finally, it was revealed that the foreigners were being admitted to full participation in colonial affairs although they had not yet diverged greatly from their own national grouping; this election was a sign that the foreigners were adapting to the political structure of New Zealand and that their assimilation was beginning.

Despite these instances of distrust of the whole scheme of foreign immigration the Scandinavian settlements continued. Although it was planned to settle the latest arrivals by the Houding and Ballarat in the Seventy-Mile Bush, some of them were readily employed by private individuals. All of the sixty-eight single Scandinavian women brought by these ships had found employment within a fortnight of arrival, and all were giving the greatest satisfaction as domestic servants. Their willingness and aptitude to learn, their industriousness and their respectful manners were seen as compensating factors for the disadvantage of their being foreigners. Mr Halcombe was especially impressed with the neat, cheerful, clean and respectable appearance of the Norwegian females, rating them far above the average of immigrants of that class. 20

He was not, however, blind to the value of the rest of the arrivals. All appeared to be well selected and likely to prove good settlers. The Norwegians again attracted particular comment for their apparent suitability, appearing, with few exceptions, "thoroughly workmanlike, hardy-looking fellows." Of the single men, of which there were about fifty, all but ten had found employment suitable to them among the settlers and tradesmen around Napier. These ten were temporarily engaged on railway works in the town. 21

The remainder of the immigrants consisted of eighty-four families whom it was intended to settle, on the terms arranged in September 1871, 22 near the two Maori villages of Te Whiti and Tahoraite, in the Seventy-Mile Bush. Sixty-three families would be located in the first settlement and twenty-one in the second. The men had been taken to the first site in the last week of September and had been


21. Ibid.

22. see chapter IV
allocated their sections by lot. They had then set to work to prepare temporary dwellings for their wives and children, who were brought to the village from Napier on 4 October, only to find that their houses were not ready. To add to their discomfort heavy rain set in for four days, during which time snow fell on the nearby Ruahine Range, adding to the cold. In such conditions and isolated in the middle of an immense forest, so different from the pine forests of Europe, it is scarcely surprising that when the women arrived "some cried, some laughed, while others wished themselves back in the old land." With no alternative but to master the situation, however, they set to work with a will and over the next few months cleared their sections for cultivation, built themselves comfortable cottages of two or three rooms, and worked four days a week on the construction of a proper road through the Bush, the road line having been marked out by the clearance of all the trees on this line to the width of a chain by local labourers earlier in the year. Britons had not been quite so useless in the bush after all!

On 14 October Bror Eric Friberg, who had returned from Europe with the Norwegians on the Houding, took the twenty-one families (thirteen Danish and eight Norwegian) on to the site at Taharaite, a few miles further into the Bush but still on the road line. Here, where the bush was less thick than at Norsewood (the name given to the first settlement) these people set to work to build themselves homes in what was to become known as Dannevirke. Before long they too were working on the formation of the road through the Bush.

It seemed that these settlements would angur well for the province in that the immigrants had appeared well-suited for the work required of them. But too much emphasis

23. AJHR, 1873, D - 1, 8, enc1. 8 Halcombe to Minister for Immigration, 10 Oct, 1872.


25. from an article written by one of the children of this first settlement, Ole Frickaen, for the Norsewood Golden Jubilee in 1922, published in the Dannevirke Evening News, 16 Sept, 1922, in Norsewood History (Various newspaper articles, 1922)

27. The name Dannevirke ("Danes Work") comes from the historic line of earth works built to defend Schleswig in the ninth century. It was lost to Germany in 1864, and provided an appropriate name for a settlement that may have included a few people from Schleswig.
had been placed on the successes at Palmerston and Mauriceville, and it was only when the Scandinavians at Dannevirke and Norsewood began to work on the road that people began to modify their attitudes. Some of the men were not used to the long-handled shovel with which they were provided, and at first both Friberg and Rap, a government surveyor, complained of their inefficiency. It appeared that some were tradesmen, such as joiners, weavers, cabinet makers and painters, with little experience of the work they were now given. 

These complaints did not take long to reach the columns of the press, where they were used to denigrate the value of Scandinavians as immigrants.

I am very sorry to see that such an unsuitable class of people have been chosen to settle the Seventy-Mile Bush, the settlement of which is one of the most laudable projects embodied in the public works and immigration scheme, if properly carried out, but if such tradesmen as bakers, joiners, shoemakers, etc., are metamorphosed into navvies and agricultural labourers, it will be a deplorable failure.

Such an account was a gross exaggeration. The complaints made by Friberg and the engineer in charge of the works had referred to only some of the settlers. The majority were, on the average, as good as had been employed on the road works as far. There were a few that had had problems to begin with, but even these were rapidly improving by experience. Claims were even made by one overseer that the Scandinavians he had under him were every bit as good as any Englishman he had employed. As for the tradesmen it was pointed out that in a settlement as large as Norsewood, with one hundred and twenty-six adults and about one hundred children these would shortly be indistinguishable.

By the end of 1872 there were four major Scandinavian settlements established in the North Island, at Palmerston, Mauriceville, Norsewood and Dannevirke. Attitudes towards

30. Ibid., editorial, 18 Nov., 1872.
these had been mixed to begin with, though the majority of the public showed some hostility until the immigrants had proved themselves worthy settlers. About two thousand more Scandinavians were to arrive in the next three years but none were to meet the same opposition that had greeted the first shipments. Individuals still registered their complaints in the columns of the newspapers but the editorial and Parliamentary attacks were to concentrate on other aspects of the general immigration policy. With reference to Scandinavian immigration they were to direct their attention more to the internal aspects of settlement and absorption.

That such should be the case is interesting, considering that there had been a change of Government. The Fox Ministry which had introduced the scheme had been defeated three times in the Public Works and Immigration Policy debate, lasting from 21 August to 10 September, after which it resigned. Mr Stafford was then called upon to form a ministry. He had not been opposed to Scandinavian immigration but had rather objected to the way that the whole immigration scheme had been conducted. He had said at one stage,

I am not at all satisfied with the character of the immigration. I am not making any objection at all to the attempt that was made to add to the population of New Zealand by the introduction of Scandinavians, but I think with regard to the whole character of the immigration, there has not been the consideration which so very large a subject required. 32

After one month, however, Stafford's Ministry was replaced by a government headed by Waterhouse who, as noted in chapter five, had been opposed to foreign immigration, believing that New Zealand should keep its British character as much as possible. Yet after assuming office on 11 October, 1872, little change took place as regards the

32. NZPD, 1872, Stafford, 21 August, p. 572.
immigration of Scandinavians and Germans. In one of his first despatches to the Agent-General Waterhouse inquired as to what was happening about the supply of foreign immigrants. Private reports had intimated that the arrangements made by Featherston had fallen through. 33

It was not until after another reminder from the Minister of Immigration, Maurice O'Rorke, the following May that Featherston replied to these queries. German emigration had been contracted with a new firm since the old contract could not be kept because of the opposition of the German Imperial Government to emigration. At the same time Scandinavian emigration was continuing at a pleasing rate. 34 Elaborating on these later, Featherston explained that the original contract with Messrs Knorr and Company had been transferred to a Mr Augustus Behrens, a merchant, and that the contract with Messrs Winge and Company for three thousand Norwegians and Swedes had been transferred to a Mr Gunnerstadt, who had been involved in the scheme from the beginning. 35

Thus no new instructions were given by Waterhouse to end the Scandinavian immigration. It would appear that while in opposition he had been at liberty to criticise, but now that he was Premier he realized that immigration had to be encouraged if the public works scheme was to be a success and if the country was going to be settled. It was therefore no use cancelling what seemed a certain source of immigration while immigration from the United Kingdom was still small, the total number from there between 29 July, 1871 and 17 November, 1872 being four thousand, one hundred and seventy-four. 36 The need was to encourage all emigration from Europe as the demand for immigrants throughout the

33. AJHR, 1873, D - 1, 19, Waterhouse to Featherston, 23 Nov., 1872.
34. Ibid., D - 2C, 8, Agent-General to Colonial Secretary, 11 July, 1873.
35. Ibid., 1874, D - 3, 12, Agent-General to Colonial Secretary, 3 Oct., 1873.
36. Ibid., 1873, D - 2, Immigration Returns.
whole country was urgent. Thus eight thousand immigrants were requested for the year 1873, with no stipulations as to their origins.

It was at this point that the *Lyttleton Times* made a change in its policy on foreign immigration. Previously it had been a whole-hearted supporter of the scheme, but now that the defeat of the Fox Ministry had removed its manager, Reeves, from the Government benches its attitude changed. While still giving its approval to a moderate scale of judiciously selected Germans and Scandinavians, it accused Dr Featherston, whom it had previously supported, of spending an undue proportion of his time on the continent. The quality of the immigrants he had chosen from there, and whom the *Lyttleton Times* had previously thought were of an excellent standard, were now regarded as being picked at random without regard to their fitness. It was allowed that on the whole they had given satisfaction to their employers, but that this had been more by good luck than good management on the part of the Agent-General. Such a *volte face* by this paper can only be regarded as having been a political manoeuvre. Previously there had been no reported complaints in Canterbury about the standard and efficiency of the foreign immigrants, while in the remainder of the colony the majority of the Scandinavians had proved their worth, with the exception of some of the earlier Danish arrivals at Palmerston and Mauriceville. The change of attitude of this newspaper can, however, be seen as a move towards adopting the attitude of the majority in the colony. A few Scandinavians need not cause concern, but an increased immigration from Great Britain was to be preferred.

37. Ibid., D - 1, 27, Waterhouse to Agent-General, 9 Dec., 1872.
38. Ibid., 22, Waterhouse to Agent-General, 27 Nov., 1872.
The reports appearing in the colonial newspapers were usually giving very favourable reports of the Scandinavian immigrants and their settlements. The formerly hostile *Evening Post* had nothing but praise for the advances being made by the settlers at the Masterton end of the Seventy-Mile Bush. Their completion of about fifteen miles of the road earned them the description of being "very valuable, sober and industrious settlers, and excellent axemen." Their ability to build sturdy houses, their cleanliness, the industry of the women in spinning, knitting and flax mat-making, by which they earned extra money, all won the highest approbation. By the end of 1872 they had earned enough to pay the first instalment on their passage money and on their several prospective allotments, and still had an average of about £10 per family to spare. They appeared to be very contented with their lot but were looking forward to the time when they would be able to occupy their sections now being surveyed seven miles from the entrance to the Bush. What they most wanted was a schoolmaster to teach the children English and the basics of knowledge. It was hoped that the Government would soon attend to this. As Mauriceville was predominantly a Danish settlement at this time these reports showed that the Danes had soon adapted to their surroundings and were not as incapable as first thought.

Attention was now beginning to be paid to such matters as the naturalisation and education of these foreigners in order to absorb them into the mainstream of the colony's population. People were beginning to realize that the new settlers had come to stay and that, rather than merely complain about their possible threat to the nature of the colonial way of life, something should be done to encourage them to adopt new habits and to understand the

colonial viewpoint on such matters as politics and imperial relations. If this were done then their threat as a distinct ethnic minority might be lessened. At the same time it is likely that people were beginning to realize that the Scandinavians were no real threat at all. Their proportion in relation to the British population of the colony was extremely small, the total in the colony, including those who arrived prior to 1870, being approximately seventeen hundred, compared to approximately two hundred and fifty-five thousand British settlers.

Thus it was that efforts were made to establish schools in the Scandinavian settlements. Hawke's Bay was to lead the way. At the end of October, 1872, it had been realized that about one hundred and fifty children were living in Norsewood and Dannevirke and about one hundred of these were old enough to attend school. That a school should be opened as soon as possible was deemed essential, so that the children should not grow up in ignorance, and thus be of little value to the future of the colony.42

A subscription list was therefore opened for the purpose of raising funds for the erection of a school building, the cost being estimated at about £200. It was hoped that the General Government would also contribute, as it was felt that the provision of the means of education for the children of all the recently formed settlements was a subject that should commend itself to the consideration of the Ministers. If education was provided in these settlements it was believed that it would encourage further emigration from Europe, as the settlers would write to their friends at home, saying that instead of being located in a lonely wilderness,... within a few months of their arrival in New Zealand they found themselves surrounded with many of the accompaniments of civilization in the old country.43

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43. Ibid., 9 Nov., 1872; also cited in Evening Post, 25 Nov., 1872.
This was no naïve belief. The influence of immigrants to encourage or discourage further immigration had always been recognized as an important part of any immigration scheme, no matter to what country. That Scandinavians in New Zealand had already encouraged their friends to come to the colony was seen in the enquiry about the affair of the second voyage of the England. In this a witness, Christopher Ericson, had said:

I came from Neas, a place in Norway... I have got friends out here who arrived last year. Four more of the emigrants came from the same place that I do. 44

Bror Friberg had also taken letters from Scandinavians in New Zealand to Scandinavia earlier in 1872 in the hope that these would encourage further immigration.

School buildings were not all that it was decided were necessary. By early December the Hawke's Bay Times office had published a little book which was likely to prove extremely useful. It was an English primer for the use of Danes and Norwegians, and it was hoped that it would be suitable as one of the texts to be used in the new school to be established at Norsewood. 45

The General Government soon decided on the wisdom of encouraging the building of schools, not only at Norsewood but also at Dannevirke, and in January it entered into contracts for the building of these two institutions at its own expense as the provincial Government could not afford to do so. 46

This aroused some opposition from other parts of the country, notably Auckland, which cried out in an editorial:

Happy Hawke's Bay! Thrice happy Scandinavians. In Auckland we are to pay a uniform household tax for education, but it is not so in Hawke's Bay. In that province a household rate has been imposed, but while the original settlers must pay, a

44. AJHR, 1872, G - 3, 1, report of Commissioners upon matters connected with the ship, England, p. 28.
45. Hawke's Bay Herald, 7 Dec., 1872.
46. Ibid., report, 23 Jan., 1873.
beneficent General Government steps in, erects school houses and defrays all the cost of education of the Scandinavian children "out of general revenue" for the first year. Thanks, no doubt, to the indefatigable Superintendent of Hawke's Bay, Mr Ormond.

The editor of the Hawke's Bay Herald naturally came to the support of the scheme and of Mr Ormond. It seemed obvious to him and to the General Government that the Hawke's Bay provincial scheme of household levies for education would not allow schools to be provided for the Scandinavians as soon as it was necessary. As they lacked any capital, and as they already owed the Government large amounts for land and for passage to New Zealand, the levying of the household rate was not possible. Thus it was necessary, if the immigrants were going to be educated and taught English, that the General Government pay for the provision of school buildings and the masters' salaries for the first year.

Despite the lack of free education, the need to provide it for the Scandinavians was considered important enough to warrant speedy action by both the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council and the Colonial Government. The need to incorporate these people into the society around them demanded that they at least learn English. Hawke's Bay proved to be the most forward-looking of the provinces in this respect. Thus by May the school houses at both Dannevirke and Norsewood were completed. All that was needed was a teacher for each school.

As early as January, 1873, a Mrs Jorgensen, a Danish woman who had first settled at Palmerston but had since moved to Hawke's Bay with her husband, had applied for the position at Dannevirke. Claiming to speak English, French, German and Danish, she was duly appointed, and took up her position at the beginning of July, with a roll of twenty-eight. At the end of the year, however,

47. cited from N.Z. Herald in ibid., 12 Feb., 1873.
48. Ibid.
49. P.P. (N.B.) 1873, Friberg to Ormond, 17 Jan., 1873.
Mrs Jorgensen had to resign and Dannevirke was without a teacher for the next year. The school was reopened in 1875, and by April the Inspector of Schools, William Colenso, could report that much progress had been made.50

At Norsewood a certificated teacher, a Mr Thompson, had been appointed in June, 1873.51 He was to resign in April, 1875, but before then his efforts had not won the approbation of Colenso. Attendances were low, usually being about half of the roll of fifty-four. The reason for this was partly the need for the children to help with the work on the land.52 As for the progress of those who attended, it was felt that this was hindered by the use of Norwegian outside the school. It was hoped that the woman who replaced Thompson would be more successful, as she could speak only English, while Thompson had been able to speak Norwegian.53

Thus the beginning of the education of the Scandinavian children under a British syllabus was made. The aim was to wean them from their mother tongue and inoculate British ideas and concepts. The success of such a scheme would show itself as the immigrant children grew to adulthood and took their place as loyal citizens of their adopted country.

Despite the growing awareness of the need to absorb the Scandinavians into the community some opposition was still to be found. In preparation for the 1873 election forty to fifty Scandinavians in the Seventy-Mile Bush area had applied to have their names registered on the electoral roll. Many objections to this were received on account of these people being aliens, but they proposed becoming naturalized citizens before the election took place.54 This has its significance in that it shows that the Scandinavians

51. P.P. (H.B.), 1873, Friberg to Ormond, 7 July, 1873.
53. Ibid., 1875, report of Inspector on Norsewood Mixed School.
54. Evening Post, 2 May, 1873.
were beginning to understand the local customs of New Zealand and to accept their place as citizens of the colony. But some of the old colonists were not happy about the situation. Objections to the loose state of the law, which apparently did not even require an ability on the part of the applicant to speak and write English, were made. It was also argued that naturalisation should not be granted until the immigrants were free from debt to the Government. If this were not done they would be amenable to any pressure that might be brought to bear upon them by the Government. These fears had some theoretical foundation but it was no more likely that these people would be politically corrupted than any Briton brought to the colony under the same public works and immigration scheme who owed money to the Government.

At the same time the Scandinavians were not so completely isolated from English-speaking people that they were failing to learn the language. The Scandinavians of Palmerston, for example, were reported as having become firmly established as permanent settlers, and as being thoroughly identified with the English settlers, with whom they had no difficulties in holding a conversation on any matter of business. The settlers in the Seventy-Mile Bush region were working under English-speaking foremen and in mixed gangs of Scandinavians and British colonials. Such contact could not encourage the learning of the English language. Moreover the allowing of the Scandinavians to vote would encourage them to look on New Zealand as their home and would weaken their loyalty to their European homes more quickly. The withholding of privileges of full citizenship would probably prolong this process. Whether the Government realized this or not, the objections to the Scandinavians being allowed to vote did not at this stage alter the electoral laws.

55. Ibid.

56. Immigration Office Special Settlements, 73/645 - 75/623, Halcombe to Immigration Office, 17 May, 1873.
It was in such things as education and voting that the Government began to encourage the assimilation of the Scandinavians into the New Zealand way of life. There is no definite evidence to suggest that this was a conscious policy but at the same time their actions in these fields would suggest that they realized the value of encouraging the Scandinavians to act like those around them. To a large extent this attitude was the outcome of the fears expressed in the first two years of the immigration of this alien group. The desire of the majority in the country to retain the British character of New Zealand determined that those foreigners who came to its shores would be most welcome if they conformed to that character. The best way to insure that this was so was to teach them what was required of them as heirs of a British tradition and to encourage them to accept full citizenship as soon as possible. The submergence of the Scandinavians over the next generation was to prove the success of this policy, however unconscious or unplanned it might have been.
VII
THE FINAL STEPS

By 1876 the Seventy-Mile Bush was gradually being mastered. Five major settlements of Scandinavians had been established, at Mauriceville, Eketahuna, Woodville, Dannevirke and Norsewood, with other smaller camps at Opaki and Mokeretutu. What had been a Scandinavian stronghold was gradually becoming a popular area of settlement for Britons, Germans and a few Poles. The intermingling of these people encouraged acceptance and tolerance of the different national groups. What had begun with an experimental settlement of Scandinavians at Palmerston had become a steady flow of Scandinavian immigrants to New Zealand, especially to Wellington and Hawke's Bay, but with a few shipments to Canterbury and Otago. But now that the main purpose of their immigration, the opening up of the Seventy-Mile Bush, was completed their organized immigration ceased. New Zealand was no longer to receive such an influx of these hardy northern Europeans as it had done in the period 1871-75. Scandinavians were going to continue to emigrate to New Zealand but as individuals, in ones and twos, not in hundreds. Why was this so? Had the Government finally decided against the continuation of this flow of immigrants, and if so, why? Or were there new factors in Europe which altered the flow of emigration from there?

As with most historical events the causes were complex. The beginnings are to be found in 1873 with the failure of the wheat harvest in Great Britain. This was described by some as a disaster, especially as the potato crop was also poor. The result, in addition to food shortages, was to increase the number of unemployed among the agricultural classes and to depress agricultural wages. Considerable objections were expressed and in some areas strikes occurred. Such was the situation that the Committee of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union petitioned the New Zealand Legislative Assembly to provide free passages to New Zealand from England. Describing the conditions of the
labourer the petition said:

Of late, the sorrows of their unhappy positions have been aggravated by the increased price of provisions, coal and other necessaries of existence; and it has become absolutely essential to take steps towards redressing the grievance from which they suffer... Emigration affords, perhaps, the speediest solution of the many difficulties which lie in the way to real and lasting improvement, and already many labourers have gone forth to Brazil, and other countries to which free passages are given. The Committee we represent cannot but regard it as most undesirable that their fellow-countrymen should settle amongst people who are aliens in customs, language and religion, and should enrich other soil by their labours when there is urgent need for them in a land where their own language is spoken and their own government and customs prevail. 1

But free passages were necessary, or else the people would go to countries nearer at hand which provided such a service. It was such arrangements by other countries that had partially prevented New Zealand from gaining the immigrants she desired. Yet the New Zealand Government was in no hurry to rush into any scheme along the lines of free immigration. Instead it authorized Mr Featherston to provide passages to and from the colony for the representatives of the Agricultural Associations, which he duly did, sending a Mr C. Holloway, the Chairman and Delegate of the Labourers' Union, to New Zealand in late December, 1873.2

Mr Holloway made a tour of the country and saw what it could offer to attract settlers. He was much impressed and made a very favourable report on his return to Great Britain. Even before his return to Great Britain, however, it had been decided by the New Zealand Government to introduce large numbers of agricultural labourers to New Zealand by means of free passages.3 The effect was

1. AJHR, 1873, D - 1A, 10, D'Orkse to Agent-General, 2 August, 1873, sub-encl. 1, 15 May, 1873.
2. Ibid., 1874, D - 3, 39, Featherston to Vogel, 26 Dec., 1873.
3. Ibid., D - 1, 56, Vogel to Agent-General, 9 April, 1874.
overwhelming. Featherston found that it was infinitely easier to procure forty thousand emigrants now that the Agricultural Unions had taken up emigration than it had been to obtain five thousand when they had been opposed to it. They seemed convinced that emigration of surplus labour was their only hope of success in their efforts to maintain a standard of living above the poverty line. By mid-April, 1874, the number sent out was reported to have already had an appreciable effect on the labour market in certain districts. Featherston was confident that the stream thus set flowing will not easily be stemmed, especially if the reports sent home by emigrants to their friends continue as favourable and encouraging as hitherto. 4

The decision to adopt the system of providing free passages was a momentous one for New Zealand, as it was this more than anything else which created the large influx of British immigrants to New Zealand in 1874 and 1875. Whether the decision was primarily the result of the influence of the Agricultural Union's petition or whether it was influenced more by the result of the urgent need for labour in the colony is not clear, but no sooner had Vogel assumed the office of Minister for Immigration upon the resignation of O'Morke in October, 1873, than he telegraphed Featherston to grant free passages until otherwise instructed, and to send twenty thousand immigrants in the next six months. 5 (This was altered to twenty-five thousand for 1874 in the following March, 6) In his extended instructions of this telegram Vogel made it clear that while Featherston was to have the greatest freedom in the selection of emigrants, he was also to bear in mind that only those suitable should be selected, the definition of "suitable" being left largely to the discretion of the

4. Ibid., D - 3, 92, Agent-General to Vogel, 17 April, 1874.
5. Ibid., D - 1, 5, Vogel to Agent-General, 11 Oct., 1873.
6. Ibid., 43, Vogel to Agent-General, 12 March, 1874.
Agent-General who had to bear the needs of the colony in mind. 7

The effect of free passages on New Zealand is reflected in the immigration statistics. While eight thousand, nine hundred and twenty-two people came to New Zealand from the United Kingdom in 1873, thirty-six thousand, four hundred came in 1874 and twenty-one thousand, eight hundred and fifty-eight in 1875. 8 The attitude in 1873 prior to free passages being introduced was summed up by Colonel Whitmore when he graphically said:

We know that at the moment the labour of the country is not only exceptionally high, but that it is absolutely in a state of famine. The labour market is starved... Unless the public works, just as they stand now, are absolutely stopped for the working period of the year, I feel safe in prophesying that the crops will have to be burned on the ground or reaped at such a cost as will render them profitless to the growers. 9

By August of the following year Vogel was concerned at the power of the colony to absorb such an influx, its capacity having been put to a severe test. 10 In 1875 the Government was considering limiting the number to be admitted in the next year to fifteen thousand in order not to overtax the employment resources of the colony. 11 Although the general feeling was that this should be done there was a vocal minority who felt the colony could absorb more without causing any harm. 12

Such a large influx of British immigrants was bound to have some effect on the continuation of foreign immigration to a country which had basically only accepted

9. NZPD, 1873, Whitmore, 4 Sept., p. 896.
10. Ibid., 1874, Vogel, 11 August, pp. 505-506.
such people because they could not get the numbers they wanted from the United Kingdom. Immediately prior to the increased emigration from Great Britain Featherston had made new arrangements on the continent for further emigration, particularly of Germans but also of Scandinavians. During 1873 Messrs Knorr and Company and Mr Sloman had been unable to carry out their contracts with the New Zealand Government because of the opposition of the German Imperial Government towards the emigration of its citizens. As a result Featherston transferred these contracts to a Mr Kirchner, formerly an agent for the Queensland Government, who had resigned to work for the New Zealand Government since the Queensland contracts had been transferred to the latter colony. As a result the total number of emigrants contracted for from Germany and Scandinavia over the next two years was seven thousand, fifteen hundred under the agreement with Knorr which had been transferred to Kirchner, fifteen hundred under the Queensland contract, and four thousand under a new arrangement with Kirchner. At the same time Featherston hoped to increase emigration from southern Europe through the same contractor.13

No reaction was shown at this time to such a large foreign immigration as the upsurge in British immigration had not yet begun. Even as late as October, 1874, the colony did not appear concerned about the large number. It was rather hoped by some of the Provincial Superintendents to continue this supply of immigrants at a high rate. Wellington was prepared to take two hundred to two hundred and fifty Scandinavians every two months, especially as it appeared to Fitzherbert that there would be some outlet to Westland and Taranaki.14 Taranaki had specifically ordered one hundred married couples and fifty single women, preferably Danes and those accustomed to forest life, for a settlement at Inglewood.15 Otago,

13. AJHR, 1874, D – 3, 38, Agent-General to Vogel, 26 Dec., 1873.
15. Ibid., Supt. of Taranaki to Minister for Immigration, 9 Oct., 1874.
Canterbury, Auckland and Marlborough declined the acceptance of any more Scandinavians as they could obtain enough immigrants from Great Britain. Hawke's Bay wanted one more shipment of Scandinavians for work in the Seventy-Mile Bush and for employment on public works. It was hoped to establish another special settlement in that area, not only with those who might arrive but also with those Scandinavians already in the province and anxious to occupy land, for which they were already able to pay in part. Thus it was that Featherston was instructed to send Scandinavians only to Hawke's Bay and Wellington, the first ship for Wellington to have fifty single women for Taranaki, and one full ship for Napier to arrive in December. Signs were thus already appearing that Scandinavian immigration was losing its appeal. Although Wellington was happy to receive such people, and Taranaki wanted one shipload, Hawke's Bay no longer required a steady stream from this source. The two South Island provinces that had previously shown an interest in these immigrants, Otago and Canterbury, had now decided to accept no more.

Yet there was no sign that any official move was about to be made to end foreign immigration. In fact it looked at the end of 1874 that there might be a need to continue it at all costs as Featherston was reporting a slackening in the emigration from the United Kingdom. The Agricultural Unions had almost entirely suspended their emigration operations until the beginning of the following year. A marked decrease in the number of applications for passages from all quarters of Britain had been observable during November. The reasons for:

16. Ibid., October, 1874.

17. AJHR, 1875, D - 1, 10, Richardson to Agent-General, 25 Sept., 1874, andl. Ormond to Minister for Immigration, 18 Sept., 1874.

18. Ibid., 23; Atkinson to Agent-General, 26 Oct., 1874.
this appeared to have been the appearance of strongly worded paragraphs in some of the London and provincial newspapers to the effect that the various emigration depots were full, that large numbers of emigrants had lately arrived in New Zealand, that wages there had fallen, and that considerable difficulty was being experienced in finding employment for the newly arrived settlers. This was still the situation in mid-1875, when a large demand for female servants in England and the approach of a bumper harvest reduced the need of single females and agricultural labourers to emigrate.20

On the continent, meanwhile, considerable trouble was also being had in obtaining emigrants. In one instance the sailing of the Herschel from Hamburg had to be postponed as the authorities would not issue passports to agricultural labourers until the harvest was over.21 After the Herschel had sailed on 27 June, 1875, no more ships were sent from Hamburg to New Zealand until the Shakespeare on 7 October.22

The obtaining of Scandinavians as well as Germans was also causing a problem. Wages in Denmark had increased, making it more difficult to obtain suitable emigrants. Single Swedish females were readily available if the Government provided them with an advance of £3 to purchase their necessary clothes and to pay their expenses to Hamburg. They were too poor to afford all this themselves. There was also a supply of farmers in Norway who had formerly gone in large numbers to the United States, but because of the onset of an economic depression there in 1873 and the bad reports that they had subsequently

20. Ibid., D - 2A, 17, Agent-General to Minister for Immigration, 1 June, 1875.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., 1876, D - 5, Immigration Returns.
received from their friends and relatives, they were becoming averse to any emigration. Kirchner hoped to be able to persuade some of these people to try New Zealand.23

This depression in North America had been important for New Zealand in that its onset in 1873 diverted many of the British emigrants from going there, and encouraged them to try the colonies within the Empire. In 1874 there were eighty-five thousand fewer immigrants received in the United States than in the previous year, while the figures for Canada fell by twelve thousand during the same period.24 It was this as well as the poor harvest in Britain that caused the huge influx of British immigrants to New Zealand in 1874. At the same time it discouraged continental emigration to New Zealand in two ways. People became fearful of emigration to any country, particularly to one like New Zealand of which they knew very little, if anything; and the huge influx from the United Kingdom to New Zealand meant that the colony did not have to seek for immigrants on the continent.

Thus it was the combination of the effect of an increased emigration from Great Britain to New Zealand and a decreased emigration from Scandinavia which brought to an end the organized migration of Scandinavians to New Zealand. Yet this scheme did not just die a natural death. It was ended by a Government decision to do so. In April, 1875, Vogel, now Sir Julius, who was in London at the time, wrote to Featherston, saying:

While I do not deny the special excellence, in some respect, of those immigrants, I do not see why we should be unable to obtain from the United Kingdom the number of immigrants we require. The expenses of dealing with Germans and Scandinavians on their arrival in the colony, and the disadvantages arising in many cases from the foreign shipping arrangements, make me think that it would be

23. Ibid., 1875, D - 2, 130, Agent-General to Minister for Immigration, 6 April, 1875, encl. Kirchner, Emigration Report for 1874, 31 Jan., 1875.

better, on the whole, to end these contracts. 25

It was at least decided to revert from free passages to the
systems of promissory notes from the emigrants for the cost
of their passage, to be repaid once they were settled
in the colony. This had already been done for the emigrants
from the United Kingdom, and it was regarded as

intolerable that our own countrymen should have
to pay for reaching New Zealand, while we were
conveying foreigners thither entirely at our
own expense. 26

The New Zealand Government, however, instructed Vogel to
continue with free immigration for all emigrants, and thus
Vogel’s instructions to Featherston about promissory notes
were withdrawn. 27 The decision to end all continental
immigration was, however, taken. On 15 October, 1875, in
presenting the Immigration Statement for that year,
Atkinson referred to the intention of the Government to
cancel these contracts, it having been found that as many
immigrants as the colony needed could be acquired in the
United Kingdom. 28 The number of Scandinavians who had
arrived by this time was approximately three thousand, and
was to reach three thousand, two hundred and sixteen by
31 May, 1876. 29 It was admitted that they had been found
to have been a very satisfactory class of immigrants, who,
on the whole, had proved as good as had been expected. 30

There was no anti-Scandinavian feeling in this
decision. It was rather the product of the nature of the
people of the colony, a people who were overwhelmingly
British and who wished to retain their essentially British
character by importing only immigrants of British stock as

25. AJHR, 1875, D - 11, 1, Vogel to Minister for
Immigration, 3 May, 1875, encl. Vogel to Agent-
General, 30 April, 1875.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., D - 18, 2, Vogel to Agent-General,
26 June, 1875.


29. Ibid., 1876, D - 5, Immigration Returns.

30. Ibid., 1875, D - 9, Atkinson, Immigration
Statement, p. 4.
far as possible. From 1871 to 1873 enough of these people could not be obtained and so New Zealand had been prepared, though not without some hostility from various quarters, to allow other Europeans into the country. Once it was realized that this practice need no longer continue it was ended.

The decision to do so was very much that of the Government. No call had been made from the press in 1874-75, which had virtually stopped commenting on the value or otherwise of Scandinavian immigration and concentrated more on giving periodic reports on the progress of the bush settlements. Nor did the decision of the Government late in 1875 provoke any comment. Interest was centering on matters of more importance for the average colonial, such as the abolition of the provinces. The only comment made was in Parliament, and even here the interest provoked was comparatively small. It was only a man like Fitzherbert, who had always taken a great deal of interest in the Scandinavians, who regretted the ending of this desirable immigration. 31 Personal contact also seems to have made some colonists like Sir Crocrot Wilson, member for Heathcote, less favourable to the termination of the scheme.

I say, however, do not stop Scandinavian immigration. They are at first very helpless, but become in time very valuable servants, and show an amount of energy which many other immigrants do not display. I say let us have these flaxen-haired children coming into the colony, and we shall never repent it; but if we expect them to be able to work as colonists within six weeks of their arrival, we shall be expecting too much. 32

Most members of Parliament, however, made no objections to the decision the Government was taking, and it was in this unconcerned frame of mind that five years of organized immigration of Scandinavians came to an end. On 12 February, 1876, Messrs Sloman and Company, the shipping

31. NZPD, 1875, Fitzherbert, 15 Oct., p. 471.
32. Ibid., Sir Crocrot Wilson, 15 Oct., p. 473.
agents at Hamburg, were informed that free emigration from the continent to New Zealand was stopped, and on 30 June Dr Featherston was notified that all foreign nominations except those already made were no longer to be accepted.

The last ship to bring Scandinavians to New Zealand under the public works and immigration scheme of 1870 was the Fritz Reuter, which arrived at Wellington on 6 August, 1870, with sixty-five Scandinavians on board. Its arrival marked the end of a small and unique phase in New Zealand's history, a phase which was important for at least two reasons. It opened up parts of New Zealand for future development and settlement. It served also to make people in New Zealand aware of their origins, of their relation to Great Britain, and of the way in which they wanted this young country to develop.

33. AJHR, 1876, D - 1, 46, Atkinson to Agent-General, 1 June, 1876, encl. Sloman to Knell.
34. Ibid., 1877, D - 1, 3, Atkinson to Agent-General, 30 June, 1876.
35. Ibid., D - 5, Immigration Returns.
The attitudes of New Zealanders towards the influx of Scandinavians in the years 1871-76 can be seen to have covered a wide spectrum of opinion, ranging from the hostile to the most favourable. These attitudes were marked by two distinct phases.

From 1871 until the beginning of the large migration from Great Britain at the end of 1873 considerable hostility was shown towards these Northern Europeans. At first this hostility had been of an economic nature and had come from the labouring sector of society. But as the value of labour increased with the beginning of the public works scheme and the lack of immigration to meet the demand for labour, the economic arguments were overshadowed by opposition from a much wider section of the colonial society, incorporating people from all spheres of activity.

This opposition stemmed from the basic character of the population which was overwhelmingly of British stock. Few had been away from Britain for more than thirty years and most had been in the colony for much less. Their emigration from the United Kingdom had been voluntary and was based on the hope that better opportunities to advance themselves lay elsewhere than in the growing industrialized society of Great Britain. As a result they came to such places as New Zealand. Many of them did not come to settle but rather to make a living, perhaps amass enough wealth in order to be comfortable, and to return "home" to Britain. Such ambitions were quite common in 1870 and were openly stated. For example Colonel Russell was able to say:

I am consoled in the reflection that... all the best years of my life have been passed in the service of Her Majesty... and that my great hope is that I may yet return to England and finish my days there... Having lived for twenty-five years in the Colony as a soldier and as a settler, having many of my family settled here, and having
embarked most of my means in the Colony, I can speak as a colonist while I do not forget that I am also an Englishman.

The New Zealand colonial was very conscious of the fact that he was an Englishman, or at least from the United Kingdom, and whether he had come to settle permanently or whether he had come with that age-old dream of making a fortune he was not prepared to forsake his link with the mother country. The independence agitation in 1870 over the withdrawal of the troops had been that of a minority. Very few very seriously contemplated following such agitation to its conclusion. For most the whole affair was an attempt to strengthen the imperial link, not to weaken it.

It was with this background that the major opposition to Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand must be viewed. The colonist wished to retain the essentially British character, both of himself and of the colonial institutions and customs, and he feared that the influx of any foreign element into the country would alter the structure of these institutions, weaken the imperial link, and dilute the British blood. Behind such fears lay a belief in the superiority of the British culture, but just how prevalent or how conscious this idea was cannot be measured. As has already been seen elements of it came through in the newspaper editorials and in a few of the Parliamentary speeches. More common, however, was the kinship bond between those in the colony and their fellow countrymen in Great Britain. The main impulse behind the opposition to the Scandinavians was the belief that plenty of immigrants could be obtained from Great Britain without going elsewhere. Immigrants, it appeared, were being sought in Scandinavia before any real attempt was made in the mother-country.

The second phase of New Zealand's attitudes towards Scandinavian immigration saw a substantial change of opinion, based on three things. These were the realization that the Scandinavians were only a small minority among the predominantly British population of the colony; the recognition of their suitability and success in the bush areas where the majority were placed; and the beginning of a large increase of people coming from Great Britain. With this change of attitude towards the end of 1873 went a desire to assimilate the foreigners into the dominant ethnic group. Thus efforts were begun to educate them along the same lines as the rest of the colony's children, to teach them to speak English, to allow them to participate in the political life of the nation, and to introduce into their settlements, which had previously been predominantly Scandinavian, a proportion of British people. At the same time most of the Scandinavians showed a willingness to accept this new country as their home. They were willing to learn English, a task which came easily to them as much of the English language has Germanic and Nordic origins. The fact that many of those who came to New Zealand were single people who eventually married also helped the process of assimilation as they were not opposed to intermarriage with a race of people whom they could truly call cousins.

Danes were by far the largest group of Scandinavians to come to New Zealand at this time, their number by the end of the scheme in 1876 being eighteen hundred and eighty-five, compared with thirteen hundred and thirty-one Norwegians and Swedes. This was an interesting phenomenon in that their introduction, after the first three shipments, was discouraged. As has been observed it was their availability in overpopulated Denmark,

2. AJHR, 1876 D - 5, Immigration Returns.
the displacement of many by the loss of Schleswig-Holstein, the lack of industry to absorb them, and their success at agriculture which enabled them to become an accepted part of the scheme. The success of the shipments to Otego and Canterbury, the second shipment to Mauriceville, and the establishment of Dannevirke did a great deal to alter New Zealand’s attitudes about the value of Danes as settlers.

The discontinuation of organized Scandinavian immigration in 1876 was not the result of any racial opposition to these people but was rather a matter of economics. New Zealand had reached a point in its immigration where it had to limit the number of immigrants entering the country or else a saturated labour market would have resulted. At the same time enough immigrants could be obtained from Great Britain without going elsewhere, and so the importation of Scandinavians was stopped in order that New Zealand could continue to help its brothers in Great Britain and retain its British character.

The fears that surrounded the colonial in regard to Scandinavian immigration were not without importance in shaping New Zealand’s own national development. It has been seen how most of the colonists still regarded themselves as being British. Few ever thought of calling themselves New Zealanders. An independent national consciousness was slow to develop in the country and it was well into the twentieth century before New Zealand citizens stopped looking at Britain as being “home.” But some development towards a national outlook was occurring throughout the Maori Wars of the 1860s and especially with the withdrawal of the troops in 1870. Although the outcome was a strengthened imperial connection it did not prevent New Zealand from gaining an increase in the awareness that it could, if necessary, become an independent country. At the same time it gave the colony a new confidence and an increased responsibility in its self-government, especially in relation to defence matters.
The opposition to Scandinavian immigration was another step in this growth towards nationhood. It made the country consciously define what it wanted to be. Most people desired the country to have Britain's attributes but not her faults, and they wished, as far as possible, to maintain the purity of the country's culture, customs, people and political structure. No doubt this had been realized earlier, but the opposition to the Scandinavians and their rapid assimilation emphasized these desires of the colony to remain British. By so doing it pointed the way for further development in the country's national life, and as New Zealand grew to adulthood the nature of its character was a variant of its parent's character.

Thus although the study of the attitudes towards the immigration of Scandinavians to this country has been one of many neglected aspects of New Zealand's history it is clear that it is not an unimportant episode. The attitudes expressed during its course helped to define the nature of the colony and foreshadowed attitudes that were later to be shown to other alien groups entering New Zealand.
Appendix A

The role of the Monrad family in encouraging Danish emigration to New Zealand is not clear. In local New Zealand histories it has been stated that in 1868, on his return to Denmark, Bishop Monrad was commissioned by Dr Featherston to select from amongst his countrymen a number of families who would make suitable settlers and who would care to exchange the settled conditions at home for the possibilities of a colonial life.¹ No documentary evidence of this commission has been found. In the despatch of 9 September, 1870, written by Featherston and Bell about their trip in Scandinavia, a contract with Bishop Monrad's son is referred to, but in a letter of 22 December, 1870, from Morrison, the New Zealand Emigration Agent in Europe, to the Colonial Secretary, it is stated that "at Copenhagen, Mr Wilken Hornemann, upon the recommendation of Bishop Monrad, was instructed with the selection of the emigrants."² Thus confusion has occurred, but it would seem that Bishop Monrad played no active role in encouraging Danish emigration to N.Z. G.C. Petersen, in his biography of the Bishop, states that

Monrad always spoke of New Zealand in the most appreciative terms and recommended that country as one in which any enterprising young Dane might with advantage seek his fortune. Contrary, however, to what has often been stated, he took no active part in the later conscription of immigrants by the New Zealand Government's agents, nor is there any record that he was asked to do so.³

This comment is based on research both in New Zealand and in Denmark, where the family papers and journals of the Monrad archives in the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen were consulted.⁴

2. AJHR, 1871, D - 3A, 21, Morrison to Colonial Secretary, 22 Dec., 1870.
3. G.C. Petersen, D.G. Monrad, (Levin, 1965), p. 120.
4. Ibid., Preface.
Appendix B

Much confusion seems to exist as to the actual location of the Forty-Mile Bush. In AJHR, 1870, A - 18, the section is headed "Correspondence relative to the Purchase from the Natives of the Forty-Mile Bush, Hawke's Bay," while in the newspapers the Forty-Mile Bush is referred to as stretching north from Masterton into the rest of the Wairarapa, which is and was in the Wellington Province. For example the Evening Post, 15 April, 1872, refers to the Forty-Mile Bush road north of Masterton, while the following day the same paper, referring to the same area of land, talks of it as the Seventy-Mile Bush.

In AJHR, 1870, A - 18, 4, Ormond to McLean, 7 May, 1870, enclosure of the copy of the agreements with the Natives, the Puketoi, Maharahara, Harite and Te Ahuatunga Blocks are all referred to within the context of the Forty-Mile Bush, yet these blocks are to be found on the map of the Seventy-Mile Bush, AJHR, 1871, D - 7. At the same time the southernmost portion of the area, the Mangahao Block, is referred to as forming the lower part of the Seventy-Mile Bush, thus discounting the idea that the Forty-Mile Bush is in the Wairarapa.

It would appear that the terms are used synonymously. Locke could write:

I have the honour to inform you that the block of land known under the general name of Tamaki or Forty-Mile Bush Block... has just passed the Native Lands Court at Waipawa. 2

In referring to this in a letter to Gisborne, Ormond writes:

In my letter of 23rd September, instant, transmitting Mr. Locke's report on the passing of the Seventy-Mile Bush through the Native Lands Court... 3

It would seem, with the continuity of detail and events to be found between AJHR, 1870, A - 18 and AJHR, 1871, D - 7,

1. AJHR, 1871, D - 7, 5, Ormond to McLean, 17 June, 1871.

2. Ibid., 1, Ormond to Gisborne, 23 Sept., 1870, enclosure, Locke to Ormond, 16 Sept., 1870.

3. Ibid., 2, Ormond to Gisborne, 30 Sept., 1870.
that when purchase of the Seventy-Mile Bush was begun by the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council in 1869, it only planned to buy that section of the Bush to be found within Hawke's Bay Province, referring to it as the Forty-Mile Bush, but that with the Government assuming control of the purchase in 1870 it was decided to buy the whole block between Masterton and the Ruataniwha Plain in Hawke's Bay, thus making approximately seventy miles of bush.
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D - 16, Immigration Report by Halcombe.
D - 16A, Reports of Immigration Agents.
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