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ASSISTED POLISH MIGRANTS TO OTAGO

THE 1870S

MARK BAILEY

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INTRODUCTION

In Dunedin during 1998, many people took part in events designed to celebrate 150 years of organised European settlement. A major way of organising celebration was to dedicate a week to each ethnic group that makes up present day Otago. Representatives of each ethnic group were given resources, through the Dunedin City Council, to organise exhibitions and events that could display their ethnic difference. “It was a huge outpouring of pride in the region, but its impact came from the diversity within unity that creates a society.” Use of this way of celebration showed acceptance of the dominant history that dated Otago from the arrival of the Philip Laing and John Wickliffe while simultaneously criticising it through awareness of ethnic diversity. A meaning of this way of celebration is that ethnicity is imagined as Platonic ideal forms, ‘one’s roots’, that somehow transcend peoples’ histories while being understood through history.

Swava Pociecha, an organiser of Polish Week, was reported as saying that there were three waves of Polish settlement in Otago – 1870s pioneers, WWII refugees and recent arrivals like herself. “All have settled in well; so well, that many descendants of the earlier waves have lost their roots. Swava says Polish Week united the three waves, connected people with their ancestors, and identified the Polish community as part of New Zealand’s history. “We took on board all those wonderful people who were searching for their roots. They were our vehicle for creating the week. We gave them physical evidence of their culture; we connected many families from the North and the South Island, and we brought to light this wee piece of Dunedin’s history that was ‘sleeping’.”

Polish culture is imagined as plant growth on a particular land. Migrant Poles were uprooted from their native soil and somehow brought relics of their culture with them as baggage, that, during the act of settlement, was left to moulder in storage, becoming slowly forgotten. The baggage was irrelevant to these Adams and Eves as they laboured as peasant pioneers to provide for the family dynasties they generated. These families were swallowed or assimilated by the dominant

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Anglo-Celtic culture to eventually become New Zealanders. Historians, genealogists and new waves of Polish migrants are rescuing the cultural baggage, from old tumble-down sheds, so that the descendants can reclaim their birthright. This story, using imagery of baggage, does not fit my experience of descent from Polish migrants to Taranaki. In this essay, I aim to tell a story of the 1870s Polish migrants to Otago that is consonant with my experience and with recent New Zealand historiography.

Erik Olssen, in his article on New Zealand historiography, offers a possible path towards this aim.

Our method, while defining the conditions any history must meet, also needs to accept the possibility that it is the complexity, not to mention the ways in which those complex differences were negotiated, that most deeply shaped our nineteenth-century history. Local history – historiographically conscious, sociologically informed, alert to 'the new cultural history', and involved in 'a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structures' – offers a new perspective. 3

The local of my history research is the assisted Polish migrants who arrived in Otago during the 1870s. The global is imagined through the modernity/postmodernity discourse. By celebrating British settlement through ethnic diversity, Dunedin's people were part of this discourse. Tacking between this local detail and this global structure is not plain sailing, because neither are points with stable navigational co-ordinates. The global includes the local and the global is seen through the local. I recognise the local and the global through reading many texts that intersect, overlap, form partial networks, contradict one another and are discontinuous. My text tacks between the local and the global intertextually rather than assuming a stable foundation that can be defined in context. The 'dia-' (between) of dialectical is understood as 'among'.

For me, mediated mass communication is the marker of modernity/postmodernity. In the sequence of road, post, sailing ship, printing, canal, railway, telegraph, steamship, telephone, cinema, car, radio, aeroplane, television and computer technologies and markets, there were changes in social
organisation and ways of thinking, as communicative ability spread geo-culturally. Thomas Kuhn's use of the concept of paradigms in his texts of changes in scientific thinking, crossed with Michel Foucault's concepts of episteme and knowledge-power structures, is useful for understanding changes in social organisation and ways of thinking.4 I share many confusions, without the same clarity, with Kuhn about paradigms, but I find his description of the gestalt shift of paradigm switch in the sciences insightful for understanding changes in social patterns of thought. I reserve judgement about the degree of incommensurability between paradigms, the revolutionary nature of the shift – socially, not individually – and the size of a paradigm. Even with reservations, the concept is useful. It gives a possible explanation of why people, seen historically, can often seem so dumb.

This appearance of dumbness may be an effect of paradigm shift. In the West, I believe there has been a sequence of three dominant paradigms – the Christian Kingdom, the Enlightenment and the postmodern paradigms. The first groups to think in a new paradigm perceive those thinking in the old paradigm as naïve or wilfully evil. ‘Proper’ education and rule by the ‘educated’ are the means advocated to bring social organisation that conforms with the new paradigm. Thinking with a new paradigm does not abolish all thought that could be viewed as thinking in the old paradigm. What in one paradigm is universal becomes relative, and sometimes irrelevant, in the new. A person building a house uses a spirit level, assuming a flat base, while believing in a curved Earth. Local ‘folk’ religious practices continued within Christianity but with changed meaning for the new Christians.

"New Zealand thus began its Wakefieldian history as an interlocking set of experiments, and this could have happened only in a post-Enlightenment world. All the speculation and scheming presupposed the capacity of civilised (i.e. rational) men to analyse scientifically the social and cultural foundations of civilisation and to recreate them deliberately through systematic attention to the correct principles."

The dominant organisation, selection and valuation of migrants to New Zealand occurred within the modern Enlightenment paradigm.

I think of this paradigm as the belief that co-operating humans were capable of rational omniscience. In the path towards omniscience, humans would gain increasing rational control of nature and society. The individual human mind was the imagined base, the *tabula rasa* of reason. There was a clear divide between the subjective and the objective. The human subject, through scientific study of the objective, could discover the natural laws that governed the world. The laws could be objectively known as part of the world, but there was a belief that, in some sense, the knowing subject was a transcendent master. Scientific endeavour was the way towards a unifying transcendence and was thus the authority of Government. The world views of Christian sects were to be judged by a future omniscient science and, until then, they were a matter of private belief. Tolerance of diversity was a modern ideal, but toleration within an order heading towards homogeneity. Respect was not an automatic individual or group human property. It had to be earned or culturally inherited. If there has been a gestalt shift from the modern Enlightenment paradigm to a postmodern paradigm, it can be seen in a shift from privileging homogeneity to privileging heterogeneity. Rather than dividing people into a vanguard of respectable subjects and a tolerated, backward mass of objects, every person is to be seen as both subject and object. There is no transcendental order available to the dominant group. Knowledge and respect are immanent to the complex negotiations and struggles of relative power among humans. Nobody living at the same time is 'ahead of their time' or 'living in the past'. They are just telling different stories.

An alternative narrative to that of subjective and objective is one derived from Walter Benjamin's 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' crossed with Michel de Certeau's explorations of everyday life. Benjamin distinguishes between the aura of immediate experience and mediated experience. For experience to be perceived as local, it needs an aura of immediacy. Language and patterns of thought with which the immediate is perceived are reached through mediated experience. An expression of recognition of the dynamics of immediate

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and mediate is – "I am not racist. Some of my friends are of X race. But ..."

Another story that expresses this recognition is that of soldiers in the trenches of the First World War occasionally fraternising with the enemy. The soldiers functioned with the idea that mediated enemies could be immediately treated as enemies but occasionally as friendly acquaintances.

The immediate aura of 1870s Polish migrants no longer exists, but in writing of their lives I need to acknowledge that their sensual immediacy, perceived through mediated discourse, was the changing local, the passionate reference point for the many small decisions of what to do that constructed their lives in imagined communities. I cannot view sensual immediacy as 'subjective' and thus outside 'objective' historical study. Memories of sensual immediacy are the mechanism that allows communication. Differences of memories mean that both gaps of understanding and shared understanding make up communication. Communities are created through communication and are thus sites of understanding and misunderstanding, belonging and alienation. The communication technologies of modernity, exemplified by railways and telegraphy, allowed the Polish migrants and other New Zealanders to live in plural communities. Geographical sites were not the only locations of local communities. There were historico-cultural local communities based for example on ethnicity or religion.

In 1872 the majority of Otago adults had migrated here. The oldest that the Otago born children of the 1848 settlers could be was 24. The adults' participation in the local communities of their birthplaces and travels were not abolished by migration. They translated the environment of Otago into a familiar place with practices and memories of their old places, through letters 'home' and through mediated communication available in Otago. I imagine that homesickness was not as traumatic as it would have been in a society of few migrants. Strangers meeting in the new settlement would recognise the signs of homesickness and could share a "You, too?!" moment "that gives cause to solidarity". Europeans of this time were generally aware of strangers from other countries living in their countries. Britain, because of its wealth, reputation for liberalism and colonial rule, attracted

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foreigners. Also the British would have been aware of strangers from other cities, towns and villages, because of the internal migrations that were part of changes in agricultural and industrial production. They would have been aware, either through face-to-face encounters or second-hand reports, of processes of communicating through translation of different behaviour patterns, accents, broken English and foreign languages. Irish navvies, central European Jews and political refugees, freed slaves and middle class Bengalis were not total outcasts. The Poles were variously identified as British, Catholic, socialist or ethnic ‘others’. The British were variously identified through family, county origin, religion, gender or class. People did not have singular identities. Which identity was emphasised depended on the dominant narrative of the mediated or immediate encounter. This applied also in Otago and New Zealand.

The sources of my information about the migrant Poles can be divided into four categories – bureaucratic records; family histories that were published by J.W. Pobog-Jaworowski; mass media; and historiography. My narrative path through these four connected/disconnected categories imitates the narratives of the Otago Early Settlers Association that were centred on ships’ arrivals and the dispersal of passengers. The difference is that I do not view the passengers as founders of a new place, but as a few people who were part of the changing organisation of Otago and New Zealand society through their everyday living. Though I researched the statistics of their birth, marriage, mobility, land ownership and death, these statistics do not feature heavily in my text. The discourse of being Polish is cultural, and statistical language does not describe adequately the intertwining of languages, attitudes and passions. My interest in Polish migrants is as a way to understand the Vogel rush of migrant workers in the 1870s. The Polish, in this rush, were statistically insignificant, but this marginality does not mean they should be ignored. From studying a marginal group, I hope that I may gain some insight into the processes of that shift from oral culture to literary culture, that is modernisation. Oral cultures are mainly local and, thus, are nearly all marginal. Language difference may make the informal networks of communication clearer.

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CHAPTER ONE

From our shipping columns, it will be observed that a case of scarlatina has occurred on board the ship Christian McAusland, which arrived yesterday from London, with nearly 300 immigrants on board. In recollection of the disastrous results that followed the introduction of the scarlet fever by the Robert Henderson, it is to be hoped the Board of Health will take the most stringent measures in the present instance to prevent the infection being again introduced into the Province. In addition to the Christian McAusland’s immigrants, those by the Palmerston may be expected to land in a day or two, as that vessel was sighted off the Ocean Beach last evening by Mr G. S. Brodrick, who distinctly made out her four mast. The addition to the population of the Province by these two ships will be several hundred souls.

Otago Daily Times, Friday, 6 December 1872.

The news of the arrival of the two ships did not disrupt or dominate the flow of news in the Otago Daily Times and the weekly Otago Witness. It was expected. Bureaucratic structures, such as the Board of Health, were in place to supervise the flow of migrants. Scarlatina was seen as a natural hazard that could be controlled through quarantine, rather than something alien brought in by dirty immigrants. Ships bringing immigrants were not an unusual phenomenon. Assisted immigration organised and selected under central government control was recent. The control was debated but not the need for immigration.1 The shortage of labour in Otago was apparently a greater hazard than loss of Provincial control of migration or the threat of infectious disease.2

Press surveillance and publicity was not in charge of a government’s surveillance and discipline, nor of market discipline, but did participate in both through the choice of what and whose information was printed. The reporter seldom named the informants and posed as a roving, independent and objective eye-witness. The naming of Mr Brodrick, the eye-witness of the Palmerston off the Ocean Beach, conveyed to the newspaper reader that any reader could be an eye-witness informant and, thus, any newspaper information was likely to be objective. The bureaucracy

2 Otago Witness, 1 February 1873, pp.1-2.
being organised by central and provincial governments through the dispersed managerial hierarchy of Minister of Immigration, Agent-General and Provincial Immigration Officers, had more knowledge of immigration than the press. With the Enlightenment paradigm, the ideal bureaucracy would objectively know everything in its jurisdiction and have the internal communication to allow its impartial officers to exercise enlightened control. The immigration bureaucracy, especially Isaac Featherston, the Agent-General, was criticised in the press for ignorant or partial decisions, but the tendency of the criticism, in the glow from the ideal image, was to assume that the bureaucracy had greater knowledge than it could have. An official source tended to be a guarantee of objective knowledge. "We are informed that the Dunedin German Society, the Deutscher Verein, sent, through Mr Colin Allan [the Otago Immigration Officer] a quantity of fruit, &c., to the children on board of the Palmerston. Mr Marsh, of the Harbour Office, also kindly sent them a box of balls." The reporter did not need to be informed by the ships' passengers because the official had already given the objective panoramic view from the right perspective. The passengers' views were limited, subjective and unscientific. The reporter could observe the passengers.

The attitudes of Dunedin newspapers, during the 1872-73 summer, were similar to those expressed by Richmond in parliament – "I do not think it essential that we should introduce full-blown British society into this country. We require bone and sinew in far greater proportion than any other ingredient of civilised life." The cultural origins of the 'bone and sinew' were of little importance compared to the dangers of labour shortages. In the newspapers that reported the quarantine, there were reports of 'experiments' involving the use of Chinese and Māori as navvies. The subtext was that Chinese and Māori, because they were from societies that were not 'rationally' self-organised, were not self-disciplined. The phenomenon of them performing rational productive labour was a spectacle, like that of children at play imitating adult behaviour. They could be watched fondly, critically, or with amusement, but they needed disciplined surveillance to have any chance of working

4 Otago Daily Times, 14 December 1872, p.2. Items cited from the ODT were normally on page two, so unless a page is named further footnotes refer to page two.
6 ODT, 12, 18, 31 December 1872. OW, 14, 28 December 1872, 11 January 1873.
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successfully. If, as likely, they failed to perform properly, they were to be dismissed, ignored and left “to live on fern root in dignified isolation” or to rely on “the Colonial Government and Mr McLean ... for flour and food.”\(^7\)

The surveillance of the migrants in quarantine was more benign. The ODT praised them as potential labourers – “The immigrants generally, in both vessels, look healthy and well”, “the passengers [Palmerston] look a fine healthy lot, and apparently have been well disciplined”, they “are a very acceptable accession to our community, being a fine class of immigrants”.\(^8\) The newspapers stressed how well the migrants were treated in quarantine while, at the same time, reporting the makeshift nature of the accommodation. The possibility of cultural clashes between British navvies and North European peasants was hinted at – “It was thought advisable not to place the two batches of immigrants together. ... The Government have been requested to give the services of the Police to enforce discipline, and to ensure the observance of the quarantine.”\(^9\) Two days later, the ODT reported that “Mr Beasley, who came down here in charge of the batch of Armed Constabulary when our Police were on strike, has charge of Quarantine Island.”\(^10\) Elsewhere, on the same page, the Minister of Immigration was blamed for the inadequacy of quarantine facilities. The Witness explained why the migrants needed to be seen as being well treated. It criticised the “miserable muddling for which the General Government are notorious,” because they did not prepare adequately for the possibility of contagious disease on immigrant ships even though Dr Featherston had warned of the danger of small-pox from Europe, “in a despatch published months ago. ... It certainly seems as though the chief sin of our Government were to damn New Zealand as an emigration field as completely as possible in the eyes of the working population of the countries from which we obtain our immigrants.”\(^11\) The Poles had arrived at a time when their status as possible harbingers of many future labourers was valued so highly that language and cultural differences were of minimal importance.

\(^7\) ODT, 31 December 1872. 
\(^8\) ODT, 7, 9 December 1872. 
\(^9\) ODT, 7 December 1872. 
\(^10\) ODT, 9 December 1872. 
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The Witness, 11 January 1873, reinforced this stance in its Passing Notes. After criticising parents who had brought their children with whooping cough to the Highland Games, the writer taught, with a sentimental vignette, how like us were the culturally alien.

I have a few more remarks to make about the “little people”, and I am glad that this time they are of a pleasant character. In common with many more, I was not a little interested and amused the other evening by seeing a number of the German women who lately arrived in Dunedin standing with their children outside a toy-shop, and eagerly gazing at its contents. The children were in ecstasies, clapping their hands with pleasure at the sight of the toys, while the mothers – well they seemed, if that were possible, to be even more happy than their children, at seeing them so delighted. I wish a Dickens or a Hans Christian Andersen had passed by at that moment. He would have done the scene justice. I can’t. 12

Later in Passing Notes, the writer complained that, at the Governor’s ball, after the Governor had complimented Dunedin’s Scottish origin, only two or three ballgoers danced to the Scottish reel. “They turned up their noses at the bare idea of such a dance as a Scotch reel being proposed, as if it had been something akin to a corroboree.” This cultural embarrassment is used, with the archness of a gossip column, to excuse the drunkenness of “one or two of the patriotic Scotchmen present”. The Scots, a part of the British Empire, were culturally dominant in cosmopolitan Dunedin, and their culture was more than reels, Games and whisky. Each week, the Witness was publishing a page on the history of Otago.

The fond surveillance the Witness cast on the Palmerston’s migrants had changed by 1 January. The migrants, released from quarantine 23 December, “are now quartered at the Immigration Barracks, Princes street, where those requiring employment may be engaged at once.” 13 By 28 December, the ODT reported that, “All the females and single men, and several of the families by the Christian McAusland, have been engaged. The Continentals, ex Palmerston, are being rapidly hired – females at about £25 per annum; married couples, at £50 to £52; and single men, at from 15s to 18s per week, and found.” The “married Germans ... to the number of 60”, unhired by 12 January, were hired en masse by Messrs. Brogden as

12 OW, 11 January 1873, p.13.
13 ODT, 24 December 1872, p.2.
navvies, through Colin Allan’s mediation.\textsuperscript{14} This signalled to the \textit{Witness} that the experiment of foreign migration to Otago had failed. The British married migrants had been hired privately, thus, nationality must explain why 60 married Germans had not, considering "how great is the demand for labour in the Province at the present time." Married foreigners should be sent to "Wellington or Hawke's Bay, where the General Government continue their care over them after they are landed by establishing them in special settlements, and providing them with food and work. But in Otago, where such a hothouse system is not adopted, and where the immigrants have to obtain work for themselves, and earn their own living, irrespective of Government aid, they are found to be a deadweight, and therefore a source of trouble and loss to all concerned."\textsuperscript{15} The Scottish culture of Otago, for the \textit{Witness}, was a rational, pragmatic recognition of the laws of political economy as they worked in this progressive Province of a young Colony. This unflinching clarity did not involve inhospitality. It was reported in the same issue that arrangements had been made for “the married Germans” to be “comfortably housed while engaged on this work.”\textsuperscript{16}

The \textit{Witness} assumed that the special bush settlements in Wellington and Hawkes Bay were common knowledge among its readers. I assume that this knowledge was disseminated from official papers through speeches, informal conversations, letters and newspaper items, to such an extent, that it was recognised as general knowledge. There was up to, at least, a year’s gap between the transmission of an official paper and its publication in the \textit{Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives} or the \textit{Provincial Government Gazettes}. The extent of anybody’s reading of these papers is unknown, but I am sceptical that any official read them in the large chunks that a historical researcher does. In an 1874 exchange of telegrams between James Macandrew, the Superintendent of Otago, and Julius Vogel, the Premier, Macandrew wrote, “I cannot lay my hands on Parliamentary papers referred to in your telegram.” Vogel replied, on the same day, “The Parliamentary papers are sent to Superintendent’s Office and to Provincial Council Library, so that you might have

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{ODT}, 13 January 1873. The wages quoted differ from the wages reported by Colin Allan, see this chapter’s appendix.
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{OW}, 18 January 1873, p.13. Of the 322 British migrants on the Christian McAusland, 225 were described as “For Messrs. Brogden”. \textit{AJHR}, 1873, D.-4., p.4.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{OW}, 18 January 1873, p.15.
them looked up."¹⁷ General political knowledge relied more on spoken exchange of fragments of read, remembered or heard knowledge than on resort to the complete written record. The archive or history was used rhetorically as a reference of authority, but was there mainly for pedants to consult – pedants who were free from the pressing need for instant political decisions in the ride on the wave of history. Knowledge was often perceived as a function of charisma. For politicians like Vogel, knowledge could be occasionally honed to use as a political weapon. Knowledge of why Poles were migrating, or that they were, was not very valuable. The important knowledge was seen in imagery of irrigation of the land. The politician who knew how to draw from the European stream of migration to increase the land fruitfully would be honoured.

New Zealand did not have many faceless bureaucrats, though its civil society believed in their value for civilisation. They were too expensive.¹⁸ Colin Allan, from his official reports and his obituary, appears to have been one.¹⁹ He seems to have effaced his personal prejudices in good-humoured pursuit of fulfilling his functions efficiently. He tried to gather information impartially, made suggestions and did not hold back from sharing relevant information within his organisation. His official report on the Palmerston is usually quoted in historical writing on German, Scandinavian and Polish ethnicity in New Zealand.²⁰ The quality of his report stands out among the ship arrival reports in the Appendix. It conveys succinctly the official reception of the migrants in Dunedin and is here reprinted as an appendix for this chapter. The report was sent to the Agent-General 14 February 1873.²¹

¹⁷ AJHR, 1875, D.-1., pp.6-7. This exchange was 5 September 1874, less than a month after Vogel said that the North Island Provinces were to be abolished.
¹⁹ 'Obituary Mr Colin Allan 1823-1909', ODT, 21 June 1909, p.2. He was born at Dunvegan, Skye and migrated in 1856, after being hired by the Otago Provincial Council. He was the first teacher at Port Chalmers 1856-1861 and the Otago Immigration Agent 1861-1888. "In the course of his duties he became acquainted with many prospective colonists, and his bluff and hearty manner made him many friends."
²¹ AJHR, 1873, D.-1., pp.48-49.
Among the many reports sent to the Agent-General 1872-73 and published in the 1873 Appendix was the report on the ship Friedeberg, which arrived at Christchurch 30 August 1872.\(^{22}\) J. Edwin March, the Christchurch Immigration Officer, reported 26 September that the 61 single women were hired within a few days of the opening of the Barracks, the 33 single men within seven days and, out of the 53 families, 14 families were still in the Barracks. He recommended that, in further shipments, the Government should send only up to 35 families and an increased amount of single people, because the presence of young children delayed the hire of their parents. He wrote that “there is also a considerable demand for married couples thoroughly accustomed to farm work” and, elsewhere, “but some of the Poles and German Poles described as farm labourers do not seem fitted for general farm work.” March included with his report a report from J.D.L. Temple, the Surgeon-Superintendent of the Friedberg. Temple distinguished the migrants through national characteristics and through ethnic differences among the German nationals:

The true German families were few in number; they comprised two carpenters, and the rest were bonâ fide agricultural labourers. I cannot speak in too high terms of this part of our passengers. Patient, well-meaning, industrious, sober, and honest, they form a class of people of which the Colony will see the advantage in future times; and I feel convinced that if further immigration is carried on from Germany, this is the class of people to whom special inducements ought to be held out.

The Poles, who also speak German, on the contrary, are lazy, indolent, and dirty in their habits. I am afraid they will, with few exceptions, be found comparatively useless, and I should certainly not consider it desirable to import any more of them. Among the single men there were few Poles, but here also they maintained the characteristic of the nation.

Allan did not distinguish among nationals and ethnicities as regards character. “The immigrants were chiefly composed of Danes, Norwegians, and German-Poles, there being only about fourteen Germans proper among the number” is the only sentence that describes difference. He described the migrants’ character generally under the generic term Scandinavian or German. A later reply telegram “re Scandinavian immigrants”, from C Allan to the Under Secretary for Immigration 16 May 1873, was included in the Appendix among reports for the Agent-General. Allan wrote, “I have had the most gratifying reports from their employers in different

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\(^{22}\) AJHR, 1873, D.-1., pp.7-8 This was the first arrival to New Zealand of a large quantity of Poles.
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parts of the Province, as regards their diligence and industrious habits. I have no
doubt another shipment would be hailed here with much satisfaction. 23 Allan might
have been informed by the captain or the ship’s doctor, as March was informed by
Temple, that most of the German nationals were Polish. Officials learn primarily
from officials. The ODT reported on 10 December that, when the Board of Health
first investigated the Palmerston, “Dr Alexander, speaking German, was the medium
of communication between the Board and surgeon and captain of the Palmerston.” 24
They reported in the same item that, “the emigrants in the Palmerston consist entirely
of Germans, and some Scandinavians.” If Allan or Alexander was their informant, it
means that the question of Polish ethnicity was not very important because it was
either not raised or not remembered. Temple seems to have raised the issue of Polish
ethnicity from prejudice rather than scientific observation. Allan and March wanted
to ‘dispose’ of the migrants as quickly and cheaply as possible. Their job was to
ensure a smooth flow of migrants through their jurisdictions. Questions of nationality
and ethnicity were important for official knowledge to the extent that
nationality/ethnicity blocked or smoothed the flow. Allan thought
nationality/ethnicity had negligible influence. The migrants’ lack of English language
and the presence of young children caused blockages. March included Temple’s
theory that Polishness caused a blockage but did not wholeheartedly endorse it.
Young families were the greater cause of blockage. Temple had inspected the
migrants and ship in Hamburg before they sailed. He made a full report to
Featherston, who was visiting Hamburg to inspect arrangements for assisted
emigration. Featherston, in his report to the Colonial Secretary, published in the 1872
Appendix, did not mention any anti-Polish reports from Temple. 25

Featherston’s decisions enabled Poles to migrate from Hamburg to New Zealand,
without him being aware of them as Poles. His position as Agent-General fell
between elected politician and appointed bureaucrat. His first decision to arrange
Scandinavian migration was made before he was appointed Agent-General. In 1870
he and Francis Dillon Bell travelled as Commissioners, part of the new Government
administration, “to plead with the Imperial Government to delay the withdrawal of

23 AJHR, 1873, D.-1., p.90.
24 ODT, 10 December 1872, p.2.
25 AJHR, 1872, D.-No.1B., pp.3-4.
troops. The intransigent attitude of the British Government to New Zealand on this occasion brought the first wave of anti-British sentiment in New Zealand.”

Featherston used this anti-Britishness to negotiate from the British Government a guarantee for a million pound loan to the Colony. According to Featherston’s apologist, C.R. Carter, Bell would have settled for a smaller amount. The 1871 Appendix contains a ‘Memorandum on Emigration and Railways, in connection with a recent visit to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and North Germany’ from Bell and Featherston to the Colonial Secretary 9 September 1870. Featherston exceeded his instructions and contracted agents to gather Scandinavian migrants. He blurred his roles as Commissioner and as Superintendent of Wellington. The migrants sailed to Wellington.

Parliament passed the Immigration and Public Works Loan Act the month of Bell and Featherston’s memorandum. Featherston was not appointed Agent-General until March the following year, after he had returned from Europe and resumed his duties as Superintendent. The obvious speculation is that the Government, through Featherston, sought a possible alternative source of migrants as a negotiating ploy of independence from the British Colonial Office. Other possibilities are that they feared the Colony did not have an adequate bureaucracy, free from Colonial Office influence, to prevent paupers being sent as migrants. Or, that Featherston was lobbying to be Agent-General, through a display of his skill at arranging a quick shipload of suitable migrants before the end of the year. “If they proved favourable, then the inducement offered by the Government, by reducing the cost of the passage to New Zealand to the same amount as to America, would be amply sufficient, and a stream of emigration would be created which would probably require to be stemmed, rather than to be stimulated.” Featherston described the stream of emigration from Northern Europe as educated, rural and able to afford £7 passage money. “They seem to have great facility in acquiring the English language, and in habits, manners, and customs resemble very closely our own countrymen, especially the Scotch.”

28 AJHR, 1871, D.-No.3, pp.5-6.
29 The press attitudes to these migrants can be read in Grigg, pp.19-39.
30 AJHR, 1871, D.-No.3, p.6.
Featherston does not name his informants, but his information formed the framework with which officials, and from them historians, viewed Scandinavians and Germans. He was not aware that Poles were part of the stream migrating from Hamburg. “The emigrants embarking from Hamburgh consist, to a very large extent, of small farmers, possessing means, and all well trained, from the rural districts of Mecklenburgh, Silesia, and Saxony; but the firm through whose hands the emigration passes has promised to furnish, at an early date, a detailed report.”

The Colonial Secretary, Gisborne, wrote 24 January 1871, enclosing Featherston's September memorandum, to the Superintendents of Otago, Canterbury and Nelson asking if they wanted any of the Scandinavian migrants sent to their Province. Macandrew was absent from Dunedin, so his secretary telegraphed a reply February 6 that Gisborne's communication had been gazetted along with the information that—"Although the Provincial Government considers the present Provincial system of immigration to be sufficient, and the best adapted to meet the requirements of the Province, yet it will gladly forward to Wellington any applications that may be received for the said immigrants". Macandrew had different ideas. He realised that unless Otago squeezed the Central government for all the loan money it could get, the other provinces would benefit at Otago's expense. He telegraphed Gisborne from Oamaru 9 February that Otago could absorb them at once, "if at all suitable". Mr Cooper of the Public Works Office telegraphed a reply 10 February that the immigrants “desire to remain in a body, and to settle in the Province of Wellington.”

In April, Macandrew wrote to the Treasurer, Vogel, demanding about £7000 refund for immigration costs incurred since the passing of the Immigration and Public Works Loan Act. "It is true that the Wellington immigrants may have been selected by the direct agency of the General Government, while ours have been sent out through the agency of the Province. I venture to submit, however, that practically this is a distinction without a difference, and that the Government will be complying with the spirit if not the letter of the Act by acceding to my request." Gisborne replied a month later that the government would make a special appropriation next Parliamentary session to subsidise Otago's immigration. It could not refund under the Act.

31 Ibid., p.7.
32 Ibid., p.41.
The bureaucracy of immigration, with the selection and shipping of migrants under General Government control and the reception of the migrants under Provincial control, was structurally bound to lead the Provinces to make impossible migration demands of the Government. Making impractical demands, the powerful Provinces created political pressure for greater Provincial control of migrant selection. The Government was unable to grant the Provinces enough control of the migration bureaucracy to dampen the political pressure, so it was tempted into subsidising public works in the Provinces as a response to their political pressure, rather than for efficient Colonial development. Another way to respond to the political pressure was to send the Provincial demands undigested to the Agent-General and let him try to satisfy the often contradictory demands. Featherston had acquired his bureaucratic position through his political power. His skills were of the political type which were favoured when political power was still partly viewed as an acquisition from royal or aristocratic patronage, akin to that of the Governors. The power resided more in the person than in the rational system controlled by elections. How Featherston viewed his power was complicated by his scientific training at Edinburgh University, and by his awareness of media power over politicians learned when he was editor of the Independent in Wellington, especially through his disputes with the Wakefields. He organised a fairly efficient immigration bureaucracy in Europe, but hampered its efficiency by withholding or ignoring information and impeding its flow between London and Wellington, for motives of control. In his position, he was unable to be a faceless bureaucrat.

Gisborne sent instructions to Featherston 8 June 1871 to await his July arrival in London as Agent-General. The only government sanctioned migration was that arranged by Mr Ottyweil, agent for Canterbury, until the Agent-General could start work. Featherston had the right to appoint agents, but Gisborne suggested that the Provincial Agents would be satisfactory as his sub-agents. The government did not want to restrict his freedom to organise efficiently by sending detailed instructions. “The results of the long experience of the Imperial Immigration Commissioners, and of those of the Australian Colonies, will be at hand for your guidance; but when you

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of those of the Australian Colonies, will be at hand for your guidance; but when you
have settled all the details and printed them, the Government will be glad to be
furnished with copies, both for their own information and approval and that of the
General Assembly.” 35 Macandrew had written to Gisborne 9 May that Otago would
keep its agency in Britain, not to interfere or compete with Featherston but to co­
operate with him. 36 Featherston was sceptical both of the Imperial and Provincial
Governments. He appointed his deputies 1 October, Rev. P. Barclay for Scotland and
C.R. Carter for the United Kingdom. They arranged the sub-contracting of 120 Local
Agents, officially appointed 17 February 1872, at the rate of “10s. per adult for
married people and single women, and 5s. per adult for single men, selected and
approved.” On 17 October 1871, Featherston contracted a Norwegian firm and a
Danish firm to gather 5000 migrants at the rate of “£1 per statute adult selected and
approved.” 37 He wrote to Gisborne 13 November 1871, “I have it in contemplation to
establish a uniform system for the whole Colony, based upon the principle adopted in
regard to Scandinavian emigration.” 38 His 1870 success, in arranging some
acceptable Scandinavian migrants through local private firms, convinced him that to
control migration he needed his personal surveillance, through trusted deputies, of
commercially motivated local agents whose prime loyalty was to the contractor’s
enforceable instructions. In this way, he hoped to escape political subversion of the
bureaucratic efficiency necessary for the progress of the Colony.

The Government hired and sent Agents to ‘assist’ Featherston and to show that
they were listening to the Provinces. B.E. Friberg was appointed 17 November,
Thomas Birch and James Seaton 21 November, and H.W. Farnall 15 January 1872.
Macandrew “engineered” the appointment of Birch and Seaton. “Relations between
the men and Featherston were very strained and he eventually managed to force their
dismissal.” 39 Friberg was appointed to recruit and select Scandinavians and Farnall to
do the same with Germans. The New Zealand Government’s aims clashed with the
bureaucracies of the North European Governments and with Featherston’s
arrangements. Norway, Denmark and Germany had strict control of emigration

36 Ibid., p.43.
38 AJHR, 1872, D.No.1A., p.3.
indemnity against fraud. Any unlicensed agents were subject to prosecution, which happened to J. Matthies in 1875 when he was illegally recruiting migrants for Jackson’s Bay Special Settlement. Matthies died of “apoplexy” before he could be tried. “The Berlin Agents, Messrs. Johanning and Behmer, write to me that, notwithstanding all their caution, he allowed himself to be entrapped by the Prussian police. ... My agents cannot hear of any emigrants he has engaged in Pomerania.” Featherston sent Farnall to Ireland. G.M. O’Rorke, a Minister of Immigration, reported to the Legislative Council – “He is an Englishman, not an Irishman. He was educated in Germany, and has been conversant with the German settlers at the Puhoi, north of Auckland. He had no special knowledge of Ireland to fit him for conducting emigration from that country.” Featherstone wanted only local agents, not agents sent from New Zealand who could communicate with the Provinces and bypassing Featherston’s information control. “I am not responsible for the actions of peripatetic agents sent home by the Government, in whose appointment I have been allowed no voice, and who usually act in defiance of my instructions.”

On 16 November 1871, Featherston sent information to the Colonial Secretary on his arrangements for continental migrants, but he regretted “exceedingly that time will not permit me to enter into and explain more fully these arrangements.” Featherston never did explain his complete continental arrangements in one despatch. The Ministers could never rely on stable information. The 16 November despatch informed that Featherston had made arrangements in Hamburg for 2000 migrants over two years. This was additional to agreements at Christiana for 3000 adults over two years, at Copenhagen for 1000 Danes and maybe an offer in Gothenburg for 2000 Swedes. Of the 2000 from Hamburg, Featherston wanted no more than 200 unmarried men and as many single women “accustomed to domestic service as they can secure ... the remainder to be young married couples, with not more than from one to three children to each couple; all to be selected from the rural districts, and to be subject to my approval.” The Government was to pay passage of £14 for each single

40 AJHR, 1872, D.-No.1A, pp.21-2.
41 Featherston to Minister of Immigration, AJHR, 1876, D.-2, p.3.
42 Journals and Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Council of New Zealand, 1872, Appendix No. 12, p.51.
43 Featherston’s political wrangling with Farnall can be read in, and this quote comes from, Richard P. Davis, Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1860-1922, Dunedin, 1974, pp.29-36.
woman, £10 for all other statute adults and an agency fee of £1 for each statute adult. “This contract will certainly not prove remunerative unless one-fourth or one-third are single women.” Apart from the single women, the married adults were to pay to the Government £5 in cash or by promissory note and the single men had to pay at least £4 of the £5 in cash — “for the obvious reason that they can probably afford it, that they don’t constitute the most eligible class of emigrants, and that they can easily at any time leave the Colony. Single women and young married couples are fixtures”. By arranging for the Scandinavians to embark from Hamburg on foreign ships, “the cost of the passage for married couples and single men will be only £10 per adult, while Messrs Shaw, Savill, and Co. Have been charging £14 15s per adult to Canterbury.” A bonus for New Zealand from these arrangements was that they would make a strong argument in negotiating a better deal for shipping British migrants.

Featherston praised Mr Sloman, “one of the wealthiest merchants and the largest shipowner in Hamburg”, so highly that one suspects friendship, pride in links with a wealthy businessman and pleasure at mutual advantage.45 On 1 May 1872 Featherston wrote to the Colonial Secretary that the use of foreign ships “must be regarded as an experiment ... which may or may not be successful.” But the Queensland Government “expressed the highest satisfaction with the class of emigrants sent to them from Germany” and with their shipping, and emigration regulations in Europe were so stringent that only a local company could cope.46 In May Featherston was in Hamburg inspecting the “Friedeburg”. He sailed down the river a few miles with Mr Sloman and his entourage and reported that Mr Sloman “stands at the head of the commercial community. He seems so desirous, feeling that his own reputation is at stake, that the whole emigration contract, for which he has made himself personally responsible, should be carried out faithfully, successfully, and to the entire satisfaction of the New Zealand Government, that he is prepared to

44 AJHR, 1872, D.-No.1A, pp.4-5.
45 Agent-General to Colonial Secretary 7 March 1872, about the agreement signed in London February 17 with Messrs Louis Knorr and Company, AJHR, D.-No.1A, p.12. "... only five shipping houses were authorised to despatch emigrants from the Continent, three of which shipped passengers solely to the United States. Of the two Hamburg firms licensed for the Australia run Kirchner had to choose between Dieseldorf & Co. acting for Godeffroy & Son, and Louis Knorr & Co., freighters to the Sloman line. In April 1870 he recommended Knorr & Co. to the Government, because they offered to ship at £13 per head," and in May a formal agreement was signed.” Alan Corkhill, Queensland and Germany: Ethnic, Socio-Cultural, Political and Trade Relations 1838-1991, Melbourne, 1992. p.58.
In July C.R. Carter inspected the Palmerston at Hamburg. His report concentrated on the ship and its arrangements for the passengers, praising especially the ventilation system. He found a "book cupboard" with "German and a few Danish books" and spent £2 13s on "a quantity of school books and writing materials for the use of such of the 77 children on board as may attend the school, to which I have appointed a German schoolmaster, with a Danish assistant." The passengers did not seem to have been consulted about these education arrangements. "The emigrants were mustered on deck, and I may say I found them to be a farm labouring class of people, of a very good kind. About seventy of them are from a farming district called Marienwerder, near to the Baltic, in Prussia." Carter appears to have accepted the contractor's description of the migrants and their selection. He did this, apart from it being easy, because - "The contractor's permitted me to make several alterations that I deemed necessary for the comfort of the emigrants, in accordance with the contract; and I have the pleasure of testifying to the readiness of the contractors, aided by Mr Sloman, to carry out in their integrity the various stipulations in the contract." The contract and Mr Sloman guaranteed suitable migrants.

Knowledge of the Polish migrants among the migration bureaucracy and the Dunedin press was limited to their shipping, their passage into paid work and fragmentary cultural observations. It was not transparent, consistent knowledge that could be learned by any casual inquirer. From my awareness of some stories exchanged among descendants of the Polish migrants, some of the migrants thought that they were sailing to America. In the next chapters I will explore what can be known about the migrants' knowledge - pre-migration, during settlement, and how they lived with such knowledge.

47 Agent-General to Colonial Secretary 20 May 1872, AJHR, 1872, D.-No.1B, pp.3-4.
CHAPTER TWO

To know something of what the migrants knew, I rely on reading among historiography, published family stories, and sociological/anthropological texts. These texts refer to no stable map of Poland and Polish. Present day Poland is unreliable as a map. Its boundaries, place names and ethnic relations are different to those of eighteenth-century pre-partition Poland, nineteenth-century partitioned Poland and the inter-war Polish nation. Modern Poland is ethnically homogeneous compared to the vicinity's previous heterogeneity. Most of the Jews migrated, fled or were killed in the Holocaust. The Germans migrated West as refugees. Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians identified with other nations, soviets or with the Poles. Historiography of this area is haunted by the Holocaust. It looms as a telos that demands explanation or is repressed. It morally charges descriptions of pre-Holocaust events as convergent or resistant. It undermines belief in the Enlightenment images of civilisation. Any map of Poland carries this moral charge, including those seen from New Zealand. Thus, what I can know of what the migrants knew is haunted by anachronism and based on uncertain maps.

During the nineteenth century, Poland was a country of imagination for the educated. The uneducated did not read or count. Larry Wolff, in his exploration of Enlightenment texts, explored how a popular image of Eastern Europe was invented in Western Europe that justified support for Napoleon’s and Hitler’s invasions of Russia, and for the Cold War. Renaissance texts imagined Latin Europe as civilised. The barbarians lived in the north. As the northern cities of Paris, London and Amsterdam became wealthier and more powerful than Rome, Florence and Venice, barbarians were imagined as living eastward. Northern Europe became civilised Western Europe compared to the East. “It was Eastern Europe’s ambiguous location, within Europe but not fully European, that called for such notions as backwardness and development to mediate between the poles of civilization and barbarism. In fact, Eastern Europe in the eighteenth century provided Western Europe with its first

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model of underdevelopment, a concept that we now apply all over the globe.³

"Eastern Europe was located not at the antipode of civilization, not down in the depths of barbarism, but rather on the developmental scale that measured the distance between civilization and barbarism."⁴ Poland, through the drama of its partitions, became a site for writers to read the scale. Voltaire and Rousseau read the scale from a distance.

Voltaire read that the Poles were so unenlightened that they needed to be ruled by the enlightened despot with whom he corresponded. Rousseau imagined the political possibilities of nationalism in Western Europe by writing Considerations on the Government of Poland as an open letter to the "brave Poles", from a distant observer. "If you make it so that a Pole can never become a Russian, I answer you that Russia will never subjugate Poland." The way to do this was by having Polish institutions that aimed to "form the genius, the character, the tastes, and the manners of a people; that make it itself and not another; that inspire in it that ardent love of country founded on habits impossible to uproot." Rousseau criticised the tendency of Europe to adopt French manners, and advised the Poles to resist this tendency. "Today there are no more French, Germans, Spanish, or even English ... There are only Europeans."⁵ Edmund Burke was enthusiastic about the Polish Constitution of 3 May 1791, and praised its peaceful introduction compared to France's bloody Constitution. He marvelled that "a People without arts, industry, commerce, or liberty" could produce such a "happy wonder". In 1791 the 'English public' were so worried about possible Russian expansion into Eastern Europe and Turkey that William Pitt threatened to send the English navy to the Black Sea and the Baltic. Tsarina Catherine ended the Russian war with Turkey, invaded Poland, destroyed its new Constitution and arranged its second Partition 1792. The English navy did not sail. Burke resigned himself to the defeat of a Constitution that he had once described as "the most pure and defecated public good which has ever been conferred on

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³ Wolff, p.9.
⁴ Wolff, p.13.
⁵ Rousseau quoted in Wolff, pp.239-240.
mankind”⁶, by reflecting that “with respect to us, Poland might be, in fact, considered as a country in the moon.”⁷

Two travellers, who had sailed with Cook in the Pacific, wrote on the Poles and civilisation. Georg Forster was born into a German family, 1754, near Danzig, which was then in Poland not far from Marienwerder district, where, according to Carter, seventy of the Palmerston’s passengers had lived later on. In the 1760s Forster had accompanied his father on his trip, commissioned by Catherine, to research a possible German settlement on the Volga. In 1772 he sailed with his father as a natural historian on Cook’s second voyage. His book on the voyage was published in English and German to great acclaim. In 1784, the Polish Commission on National Education hired him to teach at the University of Vilnius. He wrote from Vilnius to a friend –

You would find ample material to laugh at in this mishmash of Samartian or almost New Zeaiander crudeness and French super-refinement ... or perhaps also not; for one laughs only about people whose fault it is that they are laughable; not over those who through forms of government, rearing (such should education be called here), example, priests, despotism of mighty neighbours, and an army of French vagabonds and Italian good-for-nothings, become spoiled already from youth, and have no prospect for future betterment before them. The actual people, I mean those millions of cattle in human form, ... is at present through long-habitual slavery truly sunken to a degree of bestiality and insensibility, of indescribable laziness and totally stupid ignorance, from which perhaps even in a century it could not climb to the same level as other European rabbles.⁸

He wrote elsewhere that, because of the Poles management of serfs, they only earn one-tenth the income that “the freer, happier, more rational peasant would bring them.” The Poles “through their impotence have become the mockery and amusement of all their neighbours.”⁹

John Ledyard, a New England Puritan, studied at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, to become a missionary to the American Indians. He did not finish the course but spent some time among the Iroquois. In 1776, he sailed with Cook on his third voyage. During the search for the Northwest Passage around North America,

⁷ Wolff, p.280.
⁸ Wolff, p.338.
⁹ Wolff, p.337.
Ledyard met Russian fur traders in the Aleutian Islands, the back of beyond of Eastern Europe. From this experience, he conceived an expedition from Paris through Russia, Siberia and then exploring Northwest America and ending up at New York. His journal recorded the “nice Gradation by which I pass from Civilization to Incivilization” which can be observed in “their manners, their dress, their Language, and particularly that remarkable and important circumstance of Colour which I am now fully convinced originates from natural Causes; and is the effect of external and local circumstances.”

Two hundred miles from the Siberian coast, Ledyard was arrested, by order of Catherine, and escorted to the Polish border. “O Liberty! O Liberty! How sweet are thy embraces! Having met thee in Poland I shall bless that Country; indeed I believe it wants the blessing of every charitable mind.” He lodged at the house of a Jew, “a large dirty house filled with dirt & noise & children”, from where he observed that the whole region was “solely inhabited by Jews who are ever nuisances.” After three days, he wanted “to hurry out of the Country” that held “not only the poorest Peasantry but the poorest men I ever saw.” He continued to record anthropological observations as he hurried west, noting that there was a mix of costumes and customs because of Poland’s geographical situation “between the Eastern and Western World.” “The Jews are entirely in the Eastern Stile.” The Poles, “if I include the Ladies”, are European but “both the Dress & Manners of Europe sit ill upon them.” His journey convinced him of the vast inferiority of the East to the West. “If cultivation can produce such effects I see nothing romantic in supposing that the Men of the West may become Angels.”

Ledyard believed that his travels had made him extra sensitive, “with a kind of passive attention”, to the transitions and gradations of the different “Characters of People” but no transition was as abrupt as that between Poland and Prussia.

I have within the Space of 3 English Miles leapt the great barrier of Asiatic & European manners; from Servility, Indolence, Filth, Vanity, Dishonesty, Suspicion, Jealousy, Cowardice, Knavery, Reserve, Ignorance, Basses d’Esprit & I know not what, to everything opposite to it, busy Industry, Frankness, Neatness, well loaded Tables, plain good manners, an obliging attention, Firmness, Intelligence, &, thank God, Cheerfulness & above all Honesty, Which I solemnly swear I have not looked full in the Face since I first passed to the Eastward & Northward of the Baltic. Once more welcome Europe to my warmest Embraces.

10 Wolff, p.345.
11 Wolff, pp.351-3.
12 Wolff, p.354.
Poles lived both sides of Ledyard’s divide.

After the Napoleonic wars, the Quadruple Alliance defined the map of Europe. France became part of the Alliance in 1818, when the four Powers deemed it politically stable. It was an era of realism and realpolitik. The aspirations of the Polish nobles were viewed sympathetically but were seen as not being realistic. Alfred Jarry set his 1897 play *Ubu Roi* in Poland, “c’est-à-dire Nulle Part.” Germans imagined Russians as semi-barbarians to be contained, French as cynics and English as money-grubbing shopkeepers. They imagined themselves through the foreign-invented image of German Michel, "a gentle, simple, nightcap-wearing figure, honest and frequently taken advantage of.”13 They were proud of their enlightened culture but feared it was provincial and backward because of its fragmentation into many kingdoms. Berlin was no rival to the excitement of Paris or London. British travellers in Germany enjoyed the cheap prices and high culture. They tended to see it as the land of poets and thinkers, or dreamers and idealists, than as a potential rival.14 The surprising victories of the Prussian army over the Austrian and French armies slowly modified but did not abolish this image. The *Taranaki Herald*, 3 February 1877, reported from Inglewood that “Frederick TREBISZ, a German, in Government employment, while absorbed in his work or dreaming of his fatherland, was lifted up by a wild bullock which was being driven along the road, and was carried several yards on the animal’s horns.”15 Feeling part of the British Empire and involved in a pioneering colonial enterprise encouraged the reporter to write with the smugness of being born into the wide-awake English culture.

Part of waking up was becoming wealthy and powerful, which, for the German kingdoms, meant becoming a united state. The British and French empires were models to be imitated but also warnings of what to avoid. Prussia, through its military victories, was able to define the culture of united Germany. Prussian definition drew

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14 A New Zealand reaction to Germany can be read in Frances Porter, *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson*, Wellington, 1989.
from the Enlightenment writers, folklore studies and the historians that had learned from Ranke and Hegel. German was defined against the barbarism from the East. "Herder, in formulating the Slavs as above all an object of folkloric study, helped to establish the philosophical perspective according to which Hegel would exclude them from historical consideration." But, German was also defined as Protestant against Catholic France and Austria. William Scherer, the first holder of a chair in German literary history, wrote that, "Luther's Bible was the decisive act toward the establishment of a unified German culture and language. It was the act of creation of that which we now call our nation." Catholic reaction, not the reformers' action, destroyed German unity during the Thirty Years War. The Enlightened Protestant intelligentsia was uncovering the spiritual continuity between the independent primordial Teutons and German high culture that had been obscured by Catholic ritual, superstition, idolatry and bigotry. The German masses could be lead astray by superstition. They needed the learned middle class to reveal to them their true German genius, and to protect them from Rome, aristocrats corrupted by courtly power, and barbarians. Romantic poets, like Novalis, were praised for their insight into the soul of the German people but were criticised for their artificial, mannerist attraction to Catholicism. They were straying from "the much more fundamental tradition of German Innerlichkeit." In 1896, Max Weber argued against the charge that the Poles had been made into "second-class German citizens" by claiming that "the opposite is true: we made the Poles into humans." 

The Poles who struggled for a united Polish nation drew from similar texts as drawn on by the German nationalists – Rousseau, Kant, Herder, Hegel and Fichte. France, both for its Catholicism and for its revolutionary romanticism, served as a model and a place of refuge. Polish intellectuals studied at German universities and discussed freedom with Russian liberals. Polish nationalists, galvanised by the 1830

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15 J.W. Pobog-Jaworowski, History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand 1776-1987, Warsaw, 1990, p.82. Trebisz was a Pole.
16 Wolff, p.315.
18 Smith, p.23.
19 Smith, p.25.
20 Smith, p.27.
revolutions in France and Belgium and by Tsar Nicholas’s refusal to negotiate, engineered the secession of the Congress Kingdom from the Tsar’s rule. The insurrection attracted volunteers from France, German kingdoms, Hungary, Italy and Britain. It inspired poems from Tennyson, Musset, Lamartine, Hugo and, in Germany, “gave rise to a whole genre of Polenlieder.” The rebellion was defeated and punished by the Russian army. Polish nationalism became a major image of romantic, national liberalism, almost as powerful as Greek nationalism. “One of the strongest elements of its appeal lay in the fact that its cause was thought to be ‘lost’.” The Polish nationalists, like the German nationalists, claimed to be acting on behalf of the hidden desire of the masses. Politically, they were not but their activities and stories changed the desires of the peasants, through the clergy. Adam Mickiewicz’s image of Poland as a nation that was crucified, because of its refusal to bow to human-made idols, was pervasive. “For the Polish Nation did not die. Its body lieth in the grave; but its spirit has descended into the abyss, that is into the private lives of people who suffer slavery in their country ... But on the third day the soul shall return again to the body, and the Nation shall arise, and free all the peoples of Europe from slavery.” The image of the stubborn victim that might be a messiah was powerful in a time of change and, I think, it influenced the stories of migrants not knowing their destination.

The migrants did not preserve written records, which seems to indicate that their local culture was mainly oral. This does not necessarily mean that they were illiterate. German and Polish nationalists operated within literary culture, by establishing literary canons through identification and exclusion. The big events in literary culture, and for many oral cultures, were the Franco-Prussian War and the formation of a united German state that excluded Austria. Bernard Fabish, born 1889 in Inglewood, told Pobog-Jaworowski the stories that he remembered from fireside conversations with his father. 38 year old Jozef Fabish, Bernard’s father, arrived 4 August 1876 at Wellington on the Fritz Reuter, accompanied by his wife and four children, his brother’s family and fifteen families from his village, Koskoszki. The 17 families had owned small farms but had also needed to work casually for Wurtz, a

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22 Zamoyski, p.273.
23 Davies, p.35.
24 Davies, p.216.
German whose estate included two neighbouring villages. During the Franco-
Prussian War, the adult males worked full-time for Wurtz, because he had arranged
with the local officials that their work on his estate exempted them from conscription
into the army. Wurtz required, as a condition of this arrangement, that they deposit
the title deeds of their farms with him for the duration of the war. This was for their
own safety as Poles who were not fighting with the army. After the war, Wurtz
claimed that their land was his, because it was only through his generosity that they
were still alive. "There was nobody to whom they could turn for help ... Previously,
they had refused to attend German schools. Only one of the eighty six persons could
read and write and he became the saviour of the groups. He remembered reading a
pamphlet about possibilities of a new life overseas. On his advice they decided to
emigrate. When WURTZ heard of their decision he expelled them from their
homes."26 The story reads more as an oral cautionary tale than as an historical
reminiscence referring to general historical knowledge. It is similar to stories a parent
tells a child of how hard the parents and grandparents worked in their youth. Jozef
Fabish did not name the person who remembered reading the pamphlet. The
important points were not to trust outsiders with important papers, to suspect officials,
and the value of literary education in coping with an untrustworthy world. Jozef was
instructing his child on how to live in a literary culture. He did not say how the
impoverished families travelled to Hamburg, or what happened to the parents of the
migrant adults, or why they did not seek advice from the local priest. Wurtz was
named as the evildoer. Injustice was tied to a particular person rather than to the
system. The system, like the weather, was to be used, avoided and endured. The
individual was to be judged.

In 1885, an ethnographic researcher interviewed a shoemaker who lived in a village
near Kaunas, which is now Kowno in Lithuania.

- What tribe do you belong to?
- I am a Catholic.
- That’s not what I mean. I’m asking you whether you are a Pole or a
  Lithuanian.
- I am a Pole, and a Lithuanian as well.

25 Davies, p.9.
26 Pobog-Jaworowski, p.83. Father Władysław Szulist, from Msciszewice, informed Pobog-
Jaworowski that Franz Wurtz left Koskoszki shortly before liberation on 6-3-1945. "The land was
divided and given to local farmers." Koskoszki is in the lower Vistula near Starograd Gdański.
The researcher and shoemaker did not consider that the shoemaker was Russian even though Kaunas was part of Russian Poland from 1795. Empires and nations were identified with a particular 'tribe', such as English, Russian, Austrian, French or German, even though the state ruled over more than one 'tribe'. The researcher probably spoke Russian and the shoemaker would speak, or would be under pressure to speak Russian, as his ancestors would have been under pressure to speak Polish. For the shoemaker Polish and Lithuanian were descriptive, Catholic was self-identification and Russian was the resisted identity. The villagers in Koskoszki had previously “refused to attend German schools.” The Poles and Lithuanians wanted to expand their interaction with the increasingly dominant and populist literary culture through Catholic discourse. Since 966, Catholic villagers had related with literary cultures through the Catholic clergy, and also through the local Jewish merchants later on. In the German discourse of nation building, through the struggle against local and religious resistance, called kulturkampf, the “equation of Catholicism with ‘foreignness’ prompted Catholic Germans in Posnania and Pomerania to identify with the Poles. Similarly, Pomeranian peasants who had never asked themselves whether they were Poles or Germans but knew that they were Catholics, declared themselves to be Polish, since this had become synonymous with being Catholic.”

“In early 1966, the contemporary Association of Poles in New Zealand (Wellington), contacted descendants in Taranaki, inviting them to participate in the Association’s celebration of the Thousandth Anniversary of the Christianization of Poland. One reply received, which was a typical response, thanked the Association for its concern, but stated: “... we are no longer Poles.”” In 1981, Joseph Gorinski told Michele Poole that “he and his brothers do not consider themselves anything but

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27 Davies, p.70.
28 Zamoyski, p.302.
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New Zealanders.36 The Polish migrants, though officially German, considered themselves Poles.31 West Prussia and Posen had been part of Prussia since 1772, and Pomerania had been only tenuously and occasionally part of a Poland since the twelfth century.32 Before Prussian rule, Pomerania had been under Swedish control. After having lived in Prussia for a hundred years, families identified as Polish, whereas, during the next hundred years, the descendants of some of these families identified as New Zealanders. This seems to indicate that Polish identity was a response to Prussian official exclusion of Poles, rather than it was an expression of Polish nationalism. If so, it follows that Polish migrants did not feel excluded by New Zealand officials. An alternative explanation might be that there were enough Poles in Prussia to sustain their separate ethnic identity during German nation building, and use it as a political weapon. The Polish aristocracy and middle class exploited this ethnic identity as chauvinist pressure for independent power. There were too few Poles in New Zealand to sustain an internal hierarchy and ethnic chauvinism.

The official Prussian argument was that the divisive nationalist Poles were not supported by the Polish peasants.

The Polish Republic owed its destruction much less to foreigners than to the inconceivable worthlessness of those persons who represented the Polish nation when it was broken up ... Polonisation was pursued by fire and sword, Germanisation by culture ... (Nowadays) Germanisation is making satisfactory progress ... by which we do not mean the dissemination of the German language, but that of German morality and culture, the upright administration of justice, the elevation of the peasant, and the prosperity of the towns. The peasant from being a despised, ill-used vassal of some noble tyrant is become a free man, the owner of the soil he cultivates. Nobody plunders him now but the usurious Jew. German farmers, machines, and manufactories have promoted agriculture and husbandry. Railways and good roads have increased the general well-being ... Schools organised after the German pattern impart elementary

30 Michele Poole, “A Study of the Polish Settlement at Greytown; a general history, with some speculation about assimilation in the early twentieth century”, third year history project, University of Otago, 1981, p.16.
31 This can be seen in ‘Observations on a Sea Voyage from Hamburg to Port Chalmers in the Four Masted Sailing Ship Palmerston with Emigrants from Poland Germany Bavaria Denmark Norway and Sweden’, a transcribed copy of the ship diary of C. Christensen held in Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin. Christensen described passengers, normally when describing a birth or death, as German, Norwegian, from Jutland, Polish, Danish or Swedish. See also appendix to chapter one.
32 Places in West Prussia are often described as Pomeranian, for example Pobog-Jaworowski, p.32, whereas in maps Pomerania was west of West Prussia. Pauline J. Morris wrote about Waihola that, “As at Allan ton, bilingual ethnic Poles, from regions of West Prussia, were in the majority.” James N. Bade, ed., The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century, Auckland, 1993, p.79, footnote 31.
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instruction to Polish children. Gymnazia teach the higher sciences, not by the hollow, mechanical methods of the Jesuit fathers, but in the solid German way which enables people to think for themselves. Army service completes whatever is left unachieved by the schools.\textsuperscript{33}

In economic terms, the people of the Vistula basin were improving their wealth under Prussian rule. When writing on political economy, the primary language is statistical, dealing in net increases. Many Poles felt that the net was not picking them up because of their culture. George Pedofsky, the 78 year old son of Jozef Pedowski and Anna Walinska, passengers on the \textit{Palmerston} who had married in Dunedin, told the story of how Jozef had worked as a stable boy, looking after two race horses on a large German-owned estate. One day, the German foreman hit Jozef with a whip for giving the horses too much oats. Jozef, without thinking, hit back and knocked him out “with one blow of his arm.” Thinking the foreman was dead, Jozef ran away. “Joseph knew that if caught he would be sentenced either to death if he had indeed killed the foreman or to many years in prison, because he had dared to raise his hand against a German.”\textsuperscript{34} According to Friedrich (“Hussar”) Müller, born in East Prussia and arrived in Brisbane 1872 on the \textit{Reichstag}, the wages on his six months contract work at Ipswich “were meagre, but it was still a pleasure to work, as nobody wielded the big stick over me as was the fashion in many of the large estates of East and West Prussia.”\textsuperscript{35} While keenly aware of class-based oppression in Prussia, Friedrich did not feel culturally threatened. When driving to settle on his newly-acquired land, “I twiddled with my moustache and imagined for a moment that I was Bismarck and that I was as clever as Moltke and as dare-devilish as Benedeck.”\textsuperscript{36} Both Poles and Germans were migrating from Prussia, moving to industrial regions and having to adjust to a changing agricultural economy. The statistics of relative cultural involvement in these activities were gathered as part of nation building, \textit{kulturkampf} and modernisation. Thus, they were gathered with a cultural bias. While there was an official policy of Germanisation and an underground movement of Polonisation, there

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\item \textsuperscript{33} Bismarck in an 1869 speech to the \textit{Landtag}, quoted in Davies, p.125.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Pobog-Jaworowski, p.34. Jozef was born in Tczew/Dirschau in the lower Vistula.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Alan Corkhill, \textit{Queensland and Germany: Ethnic, Socio-cultural, Political and Trade Relations 1838-1991}, Melbourne, 1992, p.260. This is quoted from \textit{Queensländer Herald}, 1901 commemorative issue.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
was no trans-cultural agreement on when to count a person as German, and what type of German.

Max Weber used religion to distinguish between German and Pole in his 1895 inaugural lecture as new appointee to a chair in economics at Freiburg University. In the fertile districts the Catholics (i.e. the Poles) are relatively most numerous on the estates, while the Protestants (that is the Germans) are to be found in greater proportion in the villages. In districts with poor soil precisely the opposite situation prevails. Weber was talking about the decline in power of German culture in West Prussia, its economic causes, and the implications for the future political economy of Germany. He was arguing that the time of Junker hegemony was past. The Polish peasants were gaining ground because of their lower expectations of the standard of living, both in a material and an ideal sense, something which is either natural to the Slav race or has been bred into it in the course of its history. The German peasants were migrating because, due to their cultural superiority, they were unable to adapt to changing economic circumstances. "The small Polish peasant gains more land because he is prepared even to eat grass." Weber advocated that the government acquire land, colonise it with Germans and close the Eastern border, to reverse this trend, rather than trying to preserve Junker estates. "From the standpoint of the nation, large-scale enterprises which can only be preserved at the expense of the German race deserve to go down to destruction." Weber briefly acknowledged that there were German Catholics in West Prussia. "Here the bond of the church is stronger than that of the nation, memories of the Kulturkampf also play their part, and the lack of a German educated clergy means that the German Catholics are lost to the cultural community of the nation."

Helmut Walser Smith published a table of ethnic and confessional composition for six regencies in Prussia – Allenstein, Bromberg, Danzig, Marienwerder, Oppeln and Posen. The figures were drawn from the 1910 Prussian census, "the first that counted

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38 Ibid., p.4.
39 Ibid., p.8.
40 Ibid., p.10.
41 Ibid., p.12.
42 Ibid., p.7.
both confession and mother tongue." Jews were not included in the table. The totals were, for a count of 6,545,759, 47% German and of that number 57% were Protestant and 40% were Catholic. Poles were counted at 48%. The figures for Marienwereder were, out of a count of 960,855, 59% German and of those 75% were Protestant and 23% Catholic. There were 41% Poles. A plebiscite was held in Marienwerder district, 11 July 1920, over whether to be part of the new Poland. Poland wanted the district “in order to possess the direct railway from Warsaw to Danzig, but where the population was predominantly German, ...[the] plebiscite gave only 8,018 votes for Poland, 96,923 for East Prussia. Depending on the relative cultural position of the text, people were either counted or ignored. Large numbers of German Catholics and Jews could disappear. C.R. Carter reported that 70 of the passengers on the Palmerston were from a “farming district called Marienwerder.” This could mean that they came from a district that was predominantly German, or a regency that was 40% Polish and half Catholic, or that they had been recruited by an emigration agent based in the town Marienwerder. Weber said that Marienwerder which was, along with Stuhm, a most well-favoured district that provided “an average net tax yield of around 15 to 17 marks [per hectare], saw the greatest emigration (of 7-8 per cent), whereas on the higher ground the districts of Konitz and Tuchel, with a net yield of 5-6 marks, experienced the greatest increase, and one which had remained constant since 1871.” After 1945 Marienwerder town was called Kwidzyn, but there was no Kwidzyn district.

The Polish migrants as Poles were a cultural, rather than a political economic event. Their atlas was based on stories rather than geography. The area they had left was a site of cultural struggle, of which the words were – nation-building, Germanisation, Russification, Polonisation, Pan-Slavism, the Polish Question, the Jewish Question, kulturkampf, pogrom, the Pale of Settlement, Zionism and modernisation. As people, the migrants were sometimes counted as they culturally were, and sometimes not. Statistically, they are best viewed as part of the migrating

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43 Smith, p.172.
stream out of Northern Europe that was diverted by Featherston to New Zealand.\textsuperscript{46} Political economy was the language of their commercial lives in the modern world. Culturally, they are best viewed as Catholics who wanted to live in New Zealand society. Polish had a different meaning in Prussia than it had in New Zealand. The recruiting agents, the various officials and some Prussian Junkers might have misled or cheated the migrants, but that oppression did not lead to a Polish nationalist response. Their treatment became part of family stories that were told as a way of knowing how to live in New Zealand.

Some immigrants, such as the 60 German-Poles and their families who worked on the Taieri section of the Clutha railway and settled at Allanton (then named Greytown), suffered their privations quietly. At the other extreme the railway navvies, introduced by Brogden and Sons, a London company which had contracted with the Government to construct railways, demanded their rights. More than 500 of these men arrived in Otago. Although most of them had been recruited from the rural counties neighbouring London they had a distinctive lifestyle and sometimes went on strike.  

The Poles were not the focus of this excerpt from a paragraph of Olssen’s Otago history. They were there as an extreme contrast to the navvies’ militancy, a militancy that might help explain the demonstrations of the unemployed in Dunedin during the late 1870s. These demonstrations were based on the belief, born from the experience of assisted migration, that it was the Government’s duty to ensure enough work was available in slack times through public works schemes. Olssen assumed that no Poles demonstrated against unemployment. I will frame this chapter around questioning the assumption that the Poles “suffered their privations quietly.” It is a secularised version of Mickiewicz’s image of the Polish nation as the stubborn victim that through its stubbornness might save Europe. The ethnic and religious resistance becomes a passive compliance or a silenced resistance with no chance of saving anybody in the modern world. Passive resistance becomes bovine simplicity. The democratic activists were the avant-garde of modernity, dragging the rest behind them. My contention is that the Poles were not dragged kicking and silent into the modern world. They were working out ways of living in environments that they were participating in changing through communication and experiment. Trans-ethnic Catholic discourse framed their family-organised lives and deaths.

Differentiating between the reactions of Polish navvies and English navvies to unemployment implies that workers reacted to political economic conditions on the basis of their ethnicity rather than their experience in the particular work structure. It is reasonable to differentiate when working conditions were based overwhelmingly on

ethnicity, as they seem to have been for Chinese and Maori. But this did not seem to have applied to the Poles. On the *Christian McAusland* there were, according to C.R. Carter, “about forty real navvies” among the 225 passengers designated for Messrs Brogden. The forty were the skilled workers who would direct the unskilled workers in building a railway line. They were privileged workers because of the necessity of their knowledge. They taught the Polish workers, through a translator, how to lay track. The *Otago Daily Times*, 13 January 1873, had published an advertisement: “Wanted, German INTERPRETER – one acquainted with Railway Works preferred. Apply A.J. Smyth, Brogdens.” Colin Allan was pleased to receive reports from the contractors that the Poles were working well. This meant that the English navvies were communicating with the Polish navvies. There are no published family stories of tyrannical navvies. Many of the Poles worked on railway construction and maintenance for many years. It is hard to believe that British and Polish navvies did not talk about colonial working conditions, as some of the Poles learned a sort of English. If they had disagreed strongly, the Poles would have earned a reputation of causing workplace friction and would, thus, be the first to lose their jobs when public works were retrenched. The Polish were not identified as a group that could be made redundant collectively, unlike the Chinese.

The Polish migrants of the *Friedberg* and *Palmerston* were the last of the passengers to be hired from the Immigration Barracks. Farmers or runholders hired twenty eight families from the *Palmerston* and the other families were hired by the railway contractors. From the passenger list, there were 100 married passengers, which means that 22 families were hired by A.J. Smyth. Pobog-Jaworowski lists 22

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2 See p.28 of this essay.
3 Olssen, pp.89-90.
5 *AJHR*, 1873, D.-4, p.4.
6 Terry Coleman, *The Railway Navvies: A history of the men who made the railways*, London, 1965, pp.192-206. Although Coleman did not write on navvies in New Zealand, he gave some idea of their status in the international market of railway construction, in popular media, and in legend. “A navvy told a parson they were like the Israelites. ‘We goes about from place to place, we pitches our tents here and there, and then goes on’.” P.203.
7 *ODT*, 13 January 1873, p.1.
8 *AJHR*, 1873, D.-1, p.90.
families as Polish. The non-English names associated with Greytown/Allanton are found on Pobog-Jaworowski’s list. I suspect that the Poles resisted being hired piecemeal and scattered, rather than being less appealing to farm employers because of their ethnic appearance, compared to the Scandinavians. They managed it in such a way that Allan did not suspect their active resistance. Temple blamed the failure of the Poles, from the Friedberg, to be hired quickly on their ethnic inferiority. They managed to settle in a cluster in Marshland, north-east of Christchurch, as the Palmerston Poles managed to settle in a cluster in Greytown. In Prussia, they had learned tactics of quiet resistance as a way to avoid becoming passive servants of officials and employers. They might have used similar tactics to resist their navvy foremen, but without angering them. There is no way of knowing if they shared the stories of these tactics with the rural British navvies, just as there is no way of knowing if they were angered by the common fear of being swamped into poverty by Chinese workers. The Poles cannot be separated ethnically from the process of class formation in New Zealand. They were part of it.

An alternative explanation for the Poles being the last hired might be that a hundred years of official cultural marginalisation had led them to become afraid and deferential. The air of subdued victim, that they displayed, did not appeal to potential employers. Supporting this explanation are the stories of migrants who did not learn fluent English. Jozef and Franciszka Welnoski, aged 35 and 34 years when they sailed on the Palmerston, are remembered as never having learned to speak English. Jozef “settled in WAIHOLA and worked for N.Z. railways. He died in MILTON on 19.4.1910 and is buried at WAIHOLA.” Jozef Pedowski, the groom who had knocked out his German foreman, and Maria, his wife, “learned English from their children. Unable to speak English for a long time they were exploited at work and robbed by shopkeepers.... As a result they never had any money.” Jozef was aged 26 and Maria 17 when they sailed on the Palmerston. They married before Bishop Moran, Bishop of Dunedin, 1875, and instead of signing the register they made there

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11 AJHR, 1873, D.-1, pp.7-8, and the appendix to chapter one.
12 Pobog-Jaworowski, pp.22-23.
13 AJHR, 1873, D.-1, pp.7-8.
14 Andrew Hill Clark, The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants, and Animals: the South Island, New Brunswick, 1949, pp.147-8.
15 Pobog-Jaworowski, p.36.
16 Ibid., p.35.
marks. They had thirteen children from 1877, of whom George, the informant, was the tenth. “He remembered that his father corrected him each time he said something badly in Polish. As a result his knowledge of Polish was quite good.”

The daughter of Maria’s 1879 New Zealand-born cousin, according to her daughter, “would not allow any of her children even to mention parliament or politics for fear of reprisals.” Both explanations, deferential fear and quiet, stubborn self-assertion, are probably valid. Mary Wroblewski, the daughter of Maria’s cousin, married James Millar, “a Scot from AIADRIE in Scotland who at that time was an unpaid Union Secretary (Mines).”

Jozef Pedoński and Maria Walinska were single when A.J. Smyth hired the available married passengers of the Palmerston. Presumably Jozef and Maria were hired to work elsewhere than Greytown, but they ended up living there. How Jozef and Maria were able to keep in touch with one another and with the settlers in Greytown, as illiterate non-anglophones, is not known. But it means that, unless Jozef and Maria accompanied the married passengers to Greytown in 1873, that there were networks of communication available in Otago for Polish and German-speaking illiterates. I suspect that these networks were created with the assistance of German-speakers who had already settled in Otago. The Otago Witness, 24 September 1870, reported a meeting of 50 Germans in the European Hotel, George street, that was called to discuss ways of raising funds for the relief of wounded German soldiers, widows and orphans “in the present war.” The Dunedin Deutscher Verein had sent luxuries to the children in quarantine on the Palmerston. Allan had no difficulty finding a translator. Ten days after Smyth’s advertisement for a translator, F.W. Reichelt was advertising for a clerk who could correspond in German. The German community in Dunedin did not seem to nurture the Prussian anti-Polish sentiments expressed by Temple. The existence of a friendly German-speaking network

17 Otago/Southland, NZ Diocese of Dunedin. Roman Catholic marriages, microfiche, Dunedin Public Library. The bride is Anna Walinska on the passenger list and in Pobog-Jaworowski.
18 Pobog-Jaworowski, p.35.
19 Ibid., p.27.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., p.34. “On his arrival at Allanton he became a farm worker.”
22 Otago Witness, 24 September 1870, p.15. A committee was formed consisting of Messrs Houghton, Hayman, Brebner, Eggars, Hamann, Levien, Meyer, Hirsch, Ziele, Lühning, Reichelt, Steinmetz and Dr Beaver. Judging by surnames, the committee comprised both ‘true’ Germans and German Jews.
23 ODT, 14 December 1872.
24 ODT, 23 January 1873.
probably encouraged the Polish migrants to assert their rights. Allan wrote that, before the migrants accepted work as navvies, “they deemed it advisable to depute two of their number, in whom they had confidence, to visit the work and report.”

When there was no longer a labour shortage, officials responded differently to migrants’ self-assertion.

The Polish migrants mapped their bearings in the new territory by clustering. As a Polish cultural site, Greytown was a temporary trig station rather than a lasting monument. It was not a hiding place from the stranger but a base from which to befriend the alien. They needed to work out long term economic and religious survival. A tent was no place to raise a family. Railway construction could obviously not support everybody long term. The dominant and most familiar mode of economic survival was agricultural. Jozef Pedofski found farm work around Greytown, presumably at Hopehill the large local farm owned by James Allan (no relation to Colin Allan). “Many of these people [the Poles] found employment on Hopehill and the surrounding farms and they cultivated their own small holdings to some purpose.”

Prussian agriculture, according to Weber, was dominated by large Junker estates, but also had villages of co-operating subsistence landowners. Otago agriculture was dominated by large runholders, but was also under pressure to provide small farms for past and future migrants. Otago Waste Lands Acts, deferred payment schemes, and ‘lands for the people’ were new to both anglophone and germanophone settlers. The Poles adjusted in communication with other settlers, otherwise they would never have acquired land through ballot. In the 1882 list of the Freeholders of New Zealand there was recorded the names of assisted Polish migrants from the Palmerston who owned land: Julius Bescheski, Greytown/Allanton, 241 acres, £240; Johan Dysarski, Waihola, 2 acres, £200; Johan Halba, Waihola, 2 acres, £150; Anton Kowalewski, Allanton, 2 acres, £200; August Kowalewski, Greytown South, 250 acres, £800; August Orlowski, Waihola, 3 acres, £220; Johan Orlowski, Waihola, 1 acre, £120; Franz Rekowski, Milton, 83 acres, £207; Frank Rogutzki, Mosgiel, 1 acre, £220; Johan Wrobieski, Westland, 22 acres, £46.

The migrants were spreading along the Taieri and Tokomairiro plains, and even further afield. The Bruce

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25 See appendix to chapter one.
26 M.S. Shaw & E.D. Farrant, *The Taieri Plain: Tales of the Years that are Gone*, Dunedin, 1949, p.99.
27 *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1884.
Herald of Milton, 15 July 1873, reported that Paul Baumgardt, Johan Dysarch, August Orłowski and August Plewa had bought £3 blocks of land at Waihola.28 Johan Bucholz won, 6 May 1874, the right to buy by deferred payment Section 11, Block I in the Waikaka survey district, north-east of Gore. "Shortly afterwards [he] received permission to divide his 200 acre section amongst his fellow countrymen."29 His "fellow countrymen" were not all ethnic Poles and were not all passengers on the Palmerston. The German language in Otago seems to have enabled a co-operative solidarity among German settlers that transcended the ethnic friction being produced in Germany's nation building.

The ODT, 11 August 1874, reported that there were "a number of German and, we believe, Italian immigrants still in the Barracks. We are informed that they are all good working men, but are unable to speak English. Perhaps some of their countrymen resident in Dunedin might interest themselves in that matter, with a view to helping them to get employment."30 Nominated migrants were preferred because the 'private' networks of the nominators, "their fellow countrymen", helped acclimatise settlers without requiring 'excessive' government expenditure. A possible reason why the Scandinavians of the Palmerston did not attempt to cluster like the Poles was that they had already garnered, through letters, information on how to settle in New Zealand. They knew that there were cluster trig stations of their ethnicity that they could rely on for support. The book that contains Christiansen's shipboard diary also contains names and addresses of people in Auckland, Christchurch, Kakanui, Manuka Kreek, as well as addresses in Denmark and Prussia.31 The Poles wrote letters to Prussia creating a similar network of knowledge to that available to Christiansen. The Otago Provincial Gazette printed a notice from Colin Allan, dated 21 July 1875. "As letters sent from this Province by Immigrants from Germany to their friends there frequently miscarry, from being indistinctly addressed and

30 ODT, 11 August 1874.
31 Christiansen diary, Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin. There is no provenance for this diary, so I have no idea why it was saved.
insufficiently stamped, the Emigration Agent in Germany [W. Kirchner] recommends that such letters be in future sent to the Immigration Officer, Dunedin, who will transmit them under cover to the former, for distribution, free of expense. 32 The later-arriving Polish migrants were landing in a different environment than that of the Polish Palmerston migrants. The environment had been changed by networks of knowledge.

The Wellington Immigration Commissioners reported the arrival of 280 migrants on the Reichstag, 6 August 1874, from Hamburg. About forty of the passengers reached Waihola. 33 Hyacinth F. Wisnesky of Petone, the son of Bernard who was a baby on the Palmerston, told the family stories he remembered to Pobog-Jaworowski. Hyacinth’s grandparents “walked from Dunedin to Waihola where they settled on a small allotment which was made ready for them. There his grandfather built with his own hands a clayhouse.” 34

His grandparents told him that the Germans were bad, but the Russians who occupied other parts of Poland were twice as bad. When they heard in the village of the possibility of emigrating to New Zealand all Poles there decided to leave. However this was not so easy. While at home they were employed by the Germans who treated them like pigs, they had to live with the pigs and the payment that they received from their employers represented pocket-money rather than salary. When a Polish family decided to leave the village all relatives of the family and their friends had to put all the money together for the travelling expenses from home up to HAMBURG, etc. Once a sufficient amount was collected, they prepared a draw and the winner was given the money for the passage. As a result only small groups were leaving their birthplaces at any one time. When they arrived in New Zealand they were happy to start a new life here far away from home where a foreign ruler was the master. They never wanted to go back there, anyway they were too poor to afford such travel. 35

The draw for migration sounds so much like the ballot for land that one suspects the struggle to raise money for migration and for buying land in New Zealand were telescoped into one story. In 1897, the Government bought part of A. Thomson’s property, Momona or Block IV Maungatua, and divided it into fifteen lots, of from

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33 Pobog-Jaworowski, pp.42-44. The Reichstag landed at Dunedin, in this book, but I could not confirm it through ODT shipping notices.
34 Pobog-Jaworowski, p.45. According to Morris, most of these arrivals worked on the railways. If they had been hired in Dunedin, Michal and Anna Wisniewski would not have needed to walk.
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five to twenty acres, for leasehold. Bernard Wisnesky won one of the lots.\textsuperscript{36} Michal told his grandson a story that could justify the family split during migration, and help recreate belief in loyalty to family and friends by using the recent important family event of winning a ballot for land. Hyacinth remembered his grandfather reading out extracts from the Bible in Polish, but being unable to read German or English. He remembered two occasions when Michal got Carl Hilgendorf to help him write a letter. Hilgendorf was a German-born road contractor and storekeeper living in Waihola. Hilgendorf applied to the Otago Wastelands Board, 27 August 1874, for land to be granted to the recent arrivals on the \textit{Reichstag} and \textit{Sussex}. The reason the Board gave for refusing the twice-made request was that “these men are fully employed, and in a very few weeks they will be able to buy a section for themselves.”\textsuperscript{37}

The environment for Polish settlers in Otago was changing through the government action that was reacting to the 1874 rush of migrant ships. The stream of migrants was arriving in such a large flow that the Provincial officials were struggling to ‘dispose’ of all the migrants cheaply and efficiently. The reports of their difficulties alerted higher officials to the previously trivial knowledge that it was more expensive to dispose of Scandinavian or German migrants than it was for UK migrants. The Vogel-inspired speculation that financing both migrant settlers and public works on transport and communications infrastructure through government loans would lead to an instant wealthy state was losing political support. The financial returns from increased economic activity were not adequate to prevent the necessity of more loans from a tight market. The government responded with retrenchment. The cheaper UK migrants that were pouring in would more than meet the political demands for hard working, reproducing settlers. The flow from Hamburg could be stopped.

The government could not stop the flow from Hamburg instantly. They needed the provincial governments to approve. They were unsure of Featherston’s contractual arrangements. Vogel sent Featherston a telegram, 10 September 1874, instructing him to send 1200 migrants to Otago each month until December, “none after, except

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{36} Shaw & Farrant, p.101. \textit{Momona} was a section of \textit{Hopehill} previously.
\textsuperscript{37} Morris, p.75.
nominated or specially selected. As far as practicable let Adam [Otago Emigration Agent in Britain] approve all Otago emigrants.... Proportion of children small; numbers include nominated, but exclude Scandinavians." Atkinson was appointed Minister of Immigration and Walter Kennaway was appointed as secretary to the Agent-General. The new Minister sent Featherston a telegram, 26 October 1874, that all Scandinavian migrants should be sent to Wellington, "fifty single women for Taranaki [Atkinson’s province] – all must agree to be transhipped where required – Napier as ordered." In the despatch sent the same day, Atkinson reiterated that the Scandinavians “must be given clearly to understand” that officials could tranship them to any port in New Zealand. He demanded that a greater proportion of single women be sent, “as I understand this class of emigrants can without difficulty be obtained in Germany.” He finished the despatch by complaining that he had not received copies of the agreements re Scandinavian migrants, “send immediately.” Featherston replied, 22 January 1875, that there were only 400 left to send under the old contract, 1665 under the contract taken over from the Queensland government, and 4000 “which Mr Kirchner has undertaken to select.” He wrote that he was uncertain “on the prospects of continental emigration” because “the bond of conscription is most sternly exacted in the countries of Northern and Central Europe, from which the colony has hitherto been most desirous to attract immigrants.... It is not so easy as you have been led to suppose to obtain that large proportion of single women suitable for domestic labour, which you wish me to secure, from Germany.” He included the agreements with Mr Kirchner and with the ship-owners, Sloman and Frederick Leopold Loesener. Featherston sent to Atkinson, 6 April 1875, Kirchner’s report for 1874. Featherston had not sent it earlier because he wanted to consult Vogel, who was in London partly to discipline Featherston, but Vogel’s “continued indisposition” meant he should no longer delay. Kirchner wanted money to publish a New Zealand Handbook in German and broadsheets of translated letters from satisfied migrants to be distributed in the area of their destination. If he received £3-4 cash advance for each migrant’s expenses, his agents could supply many single Swedish women, Swiss migrants, Italians (“the best railway labourers on the continent”) and some pacifist

38 AJHR, 1875, D.-1, p.2.
39 AJHR, 1875, D.-1, p.10.
40 AJHR, 1875, D.-1, pp.10-11.
41 AJHR, 1875, D.-2, pp.68-70.
Menonites from Russia. One can imagine Sloman and Kirchner anticipating the profits from the ensuing flow of migrants. Atkinson thwarted their expectations.

Atkinson acknowledged receipt of Kirchner's report, 7 June 1875, and wrote about the idea of a translated Handbook, "in the probable contingency of not continuing to encourage German emigration, the expenditure is unnecessary." Part of the process of retrenchment was the resentment engendered in politicians and officials towards the people hurt in abrupt policy changes. Finding scapegoats allowed some relief from the fear of guilt or opprobrium. Vogel blamed Featherston in a remarkably vituperative stream of published correspondence. Carter wrote that "the bitter despatches" from Vogel and Haughton, the Under Secretary for Immigration, were penned "to screen themselves from public censure and the consequences of their own acts, in sending home reckless orders for a vast body of emigrants to be procured and sent out in a foolishly short period of time." He also wrote that Featherston "often laughed at these despatches," blaming them on Haughton's rancour at having been accused by Featherston of sodomy. "This Mr Mallard, alias C. H. . . . was an Irishman by birth, and one not likely to forget to avenge this affront - when an opportunity occurred, even if it were at the expense of truth and justice." Atkinson's spleen was expressed in his despatches by resentment that continental migrants, paid for by the government, tried to act independently of official needs. He was indifferent to what they had been promised by other officials and agents. The government had paid for them, so they had to serve the government's needs. This attitude spread to the provincial officials and to the general populace. James Terr wrote to Edmund Barr MP, from Jackson's Bay 14 February 1876, "No doubt by this time you have heard of the landing of the German 'convicts', as they are called here." Major Atkinson announced in his immigration statement to the House, in the Committee of Supply, 8 October 1875, the cancellation of the contract for Scandinavian migration. "Therefore we shall probably have only one or two shipments of Scandinavians... Of course

42 AJHR, 1875, D.-2, pp.88-89.
43 AJHR, 1875, D.-1, p.30.
46 AJHR, 1879, H.-9A, p.75.
there are a few who have not proved satisfactory immigrants, but, taken as a body, they are quite as good as they were expected to be.”

Peter Brzoskowski wrote from Dirschau (Tczew), 20 June 1876, to his brother-in-law, Johan Halba, a Palmerston passenger living in Waihola. “We received your dear letter [10 May] together with the money [£20] and we thank you for it several thousand times. May Dear God give you a lot of luck and blessings in the foreign country and keep your children in good health.” He changed the money at an English bank in Danzig, after a six week delay, into 133 Thaler and 10 silver groszy. “Dear Brother in Law, quite a lot has changed our plans to emigrate to New Zealand. Ships with emigrants are not departing to New Zealand any more, they are now sailing to Queensland in Australia, but we do not wish to go there. We wrote to the Agent and he replied that he can arrange the passage to New Zealand but this will cost us 111 Thaler for each person.” If they travelled at the old price of 11 Thaler, “then the English Government will post us to the work in the forest and we will be unable to live with you in the same place.” Peter mentioned that the people “who left in October and November, all wrote that they work in the forest and that they are not together with their relatives.” He had given Growski, from Dirschau, Johan’s address, “he wanted to be with you, has he arrived?” Peter had sold his belongings in the expectation of travelling to New Zealand at the old assisted rate, and, because of his migration plans, he was evicted from his room. “Now I have to share a room with two other persons.” There is no record of Peter having migrated to New Zealand.

Johan’s wife, born 1833 Johanna Brzosowski, was believed by her descendants to be the daughter of ship or boat builders. Her son Joe started working with his father on railway construction as a plate-layer in 1875, when he was twelve. A passenger, spelled Jas Gorowski by Pobog-Jaworowski, arrived in Wellington on the Lammershagen, 11 July 1875, and was then transhipped to the Jackson Bay special settlement on the West Coast, south of the Haast river. Peter had written of two brothers, Drozdowski, from Lubiszewo/Liebschau, who had sailed for New Zealand in November “and now work also in the forest.” The Drozdowski brothers were

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47 AJHR, 1875, D.-8, p.4. The ending of the contracts with Sloman and Kirchner were acrimonious and litigious, see AJHR, 1877, D.-2.
48 Pobog-Jaworowski, p.198.
49 Ibid., p.32.
50 Ibid., p.54.
recorded as having sailed from Hamburg, 7 October 1875, to Wellington, 23 January 1876, on the *Shakespeare*. They were transhipped to Jackson Bay.\(^{51}\) Charles Hilgendorf wrote on 26 August 1875 to an "Immigration Officer" that six families intending to join friends in Otago "have been trans-shipped to Hokitika, to go from thence to Jackson Bay, having been made to believe that they were being sent into the immediate neighbourhood of their friends. Such pranks are not likely to forward the interests of immigration."\(^{52}\) The Minister wrote that they could be removed, but none left until one family late 1876. The rest left between November 1877 and April 1879.\(^ {53}\)

The Jackson Bay special settlement was a fascinating multi-cultural settlement of scattered 'ghettos', strangled by insufficient and misdirected government investment.\(^ {54}\) No adequate jetty was built that would satisfy trading needs. Pascoe thought that the 1879 Royal Commission was impartially and perceptively just in vindicating the Resident Agent of Jackson’s Bay, Duncan MacFarlane, from the scurrilous and ignorant criticism that forced an inquiry. Roxburgh thought that the Commission proved that MacFarlane’s suggestions, based on local knowledge, were not heeded by Wellington politicians and that this led to the settlement’s failure. Pobog-Jaworowski thought that the Commission whitewashed everybody of blame, when somebody should have been held responsible. I thought that the Commission was prejudiced in favour of officials and anything that had been written down and officially noticed. If the oral testimony, printed in the *AJHR*, is read with the assumption that the foreign-speakers were not stupid, misled or personally-obsessed, there appears to be grounds to suspect MacFarlane of non-malicious jobbery and favouritism. The Germans, and others of Hokitika, were accused of criticising the scheme because "it had supposed that Jackson’s Bay would become a port of call for Melbourne steamers and that trade and business of Hokitika would be injured."\(^ {55}\)

The standard of evidence applied to critics of officialdom was many times more stringent than that applied to officials or defenders of officials. "We thought it only

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\(^{51}\) Pobog-Jaworowski, pp.59-60.  
\(^{53}\) From a list gleaned from *AJHR*, 1879, in Pobog-Jaworowski, p.75.  
\(^{55}\) The Commission cited in Roxburgh, p.70.
right to mark our sense of the utterly unprincipled manner in which this memorial has been set on foot by refusing to allow any expenses to those witnesses who attended from the Haast Pass, and whose names were attached to the petition."^56 The Commission took evidence from 18 of the 36 people who signed the petition that alleged embezzlement, "and of those who have not been examined, almost everyone of whom was a foreigner, we believe that hardly any had a clear notion of the statements he was asked to sign." The evidence from the petitioners showed that each had "his own particular grievance," no one petitioner could prove the allegations in the petition.^57 The particular grievances were ignored because they were not recorded in the petition, which was now official writing that had to be disproved because it attacked officials. The grievances were trivial, oral and hearsay complaints.

The passengers who arrived from Hamburg into Wellington on the Shakespeare, 23 January 1876, were transhipped to Hokitika on the Murray, 5 February 1876.\textsuperscript{58} They were transferred to the SS Waipara, the ship that serviced Jackson's Bay and was owned by the Provincial Superintendent of Westland, J.A. Bonar. Some of the German-speaking passengers sneaked ashore at Hokitika, which they were instructed not to, and learned where they were bound for. They refused to settle in Jackson's Bay. The force used by officials, to try to compel the migrants to go where they were ordered, appalled so many local residents that Bonar held an inquiry. One exchange at this inquiry was –

\begin{quote}
Joseph Stahurski: I am from West Prussia. I left for New Zealand, but for no particular place - only for Wellington. 
What induced you to come from Wellington to here? 
We were told in Wellington that we were wanted in Hokitika. 
And you came of your own accord? 
We were supposed to go to Otago, but we were told that there was labour for us in Hokitika. 
Was there anything at all said to you about Jackson Bay? 
No. 
Did you not hear of Jackson Bay? 
No; I never heard of it. 
Who spoke to you in Wellington? 
The German doctor of the ship, and one of the government officers. 
Do you know the name of the Government officer?
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[56] \textit{AJHR}, 1879, H.-9, p.5. 
\item[57] Ibid. 
\item[58] This paragraph draws from the same sources as footnote 54. 
\end{footnotes}
No.
When you found the Government went to the trouble and had a steamer waiting to take you where there was employment, why did you not land where work was provided?
The German immigrants at Jackson Bay spoke to us, and said there was no doctor, and they could not do more than pay for their provisions.
Was that the only thing they said?
It was said it was impossible to live there.
Who said that?
I cannot give a particular name, but those who were working there gave it a bad name – that everything was very dear, and that they must live like wild beasts... We expected to see a town or village, and, on account of not seeing one, we got frightened.\(^59\)

MacFarlane blamed their refusal on the women who “would not listen to anything.”\(^60\) Those who refused to land “told me plainly that they would not live in a place where there was neither church nor priest.”\(^61\) For these resistant migrants, the church was the expression of civilisation. They did not migrate to build a civilisation in the wilderness, but to escape uncivilised officially-sanctioned conditions. Two Polish families from the *Shakespeare*, Osowski and Bielski, stayed in Jackson’s Bay for two years, but they did not bear unfair privations quietly for long.

\(^{59}\) Pascoe, pp.51-2.
\(^{60}\) Ibid.
ASSISTED POLISH MIGRANTS TO OTAGO

CONCLUSION

The stream of assisted Polish migration to Otago had been dammed, not because it was Polish, but because the UK stream was cheaper and more familiar. Most of the Jackson’s Bay Poles moved to the North Island. Joseph Stachurski apparently no longer used the line of communication that had linked him to friends in Otago. The Polish migrants ‘all’ shared the familiar and deliberately cultivated concept that their true home was in the mystical body of Christ. The way station of a church could exist in any civilised place. Their Poland was not a nostalgic Home like the original place imagined by many English settlers, or like the holy mother Ireland that was mocked and passionately defended by many Irish settlers. The world of literary networks in Prussia was not a liveable space for many Poles. As the Poles lived increasingly in a literary reality, their familiar oral networks could not survive in isolation. New networks were made, for civilised living. The Poles resisted living as Germans, with these new networks, because the German-controlled networks were built on the basis of permanent submission of inferior Poles. Migration to New Zealand was one way of making new networks and resisting unfair Germanisation.

The migrants shared stories that partly healed the pain of broken connections and partly mapped new connections. Priests, their literary links, did not travel with the migrants. The migrants constructed their stories with the help of German-speaking Protestant and maybe Jewish translators. The Polish settlers had to work out ways of living in a place that was not assisting any more migrants that were like them. Judging from the settlement of the Palmerston Poles, and from the environment of Prussia that they had left, they would work out their ways through consciously trying not to upset anyone – especially an official.

They could not as Poles, or even as Germans, obtain safety in numbers. There were not enough of them. They were statistically insignificant. Safety lay in forming various networks that could create numerical strengths. The Poles can be counted as Poles only for a brief period. The networks that they strove to form with other settlers would make them something culturally other than they were at arrival. A historian of
a literary world can only imagine the knowledge of people moving between oral and
literary worlds through analogies with what is familiar. I draw an analogy, for some
understanding of the incommensurable, from my familiar awareness of the disdain
and scepticism towards bureaucracies, either governmental or transnationally
corporate bureaucracies, prevalent in New Zealand. I view this disdain as being the
result of uncertainties that literary people feel as they try to map a way of living with
the audio-visual virtual worlds of new communication networks. These networks are
destabilising the familiar knowledge-power structures of one-culture bureaucratic
nation states. In an analogous way, maybe the local village life of Poles was
destabilised as networks of popular literacy mapped nation states. The Poles were not
passive victims of this process. They were participants who barely counted. So were
the bureaucrats, but they counted.

The conclusion I draw from my research is that ethnicity cannot be validly seen as
a closed system. Nation states were not united because of a single ethnicity, but
people often mapped ways of living in nation states through their struggle to impose a
cultural unity that imitated a single ethnicity. New Zealand statistics were gathered as
part of the pursuit of a cultural unity. Ethnic historians gathered statistics to
demonstrate cultural diversity, and a numerical strength for 'their' ethnicity. In doing
so, they created a reactive image of a cultural unity to the studied ethnicity that is as
unconvincing as the image of a single ethnicity for New Zealanders. If the Polish
migrant settlers are studied as being cut off from New Zealand's many webs of
communication, and as being immune to diverse change, one is studying a nostalgic
illusion of transplanted village peasants. The assisted migrant settlers, of whatever
ethnicity, were working out how to live in the modern world of popular literacy. New
Zealand was where they did it.

1 J.W. Pobog-Jaworowski, History of the Polish Settlers in New Zealand, 1776-1987, Warsaw, 1990,
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No.52.

MEMORANDUM No. 30, 1873, for the AGENT-GENERAL, London.
Herewith is forwarded for your information copies of a letter from the Immigration Officer at Dunedin and my reply, on the subject of the settlement of the Scandinavian immigrants by the ship “Palmerston.”

Immigration Office, Wellington, New Zealand, 14th February, 1873.

G. MAURICE O’RORKE.

Enclosure 1 in No. 52.

Mr. C. ALLAN to the UNDER SECRETARY for IMMIGRATION.

Sir,-

Immigration Office, Dunedin, 31st January, 1873.

The Scandinavian immigrants per ship “Palmerston,” from Hamburg, having now been disposed of, I have the honor, for the information of the Honorable the Minister for Immigration, to submit the following report on the character of the immigrants, their suitability for supplying the requirements of the Colony, and other suggestions that may be useful in the event of any future shipments from the same sort.

The classification of the emigrants embarked at Hamburg was as follows:-

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The ship sailed from Hamburg on the 29th July ultimo, and arrived in Port Chalmers on the 6th December, thus making a passage of 130 days. On her arrival she was placed in quarantine, in consequence of having had scarlet and typhoid fever on board during the voyage. The immigrants were admitted to pratique on the 23rd December, and on the same day received into the Dunedin Immigration Barracks, after which date they were open for engagement. The single men and women were easily disposed of, the former at wages averaging from 12s. to 15s. per week with board and lodgings, and the latter at from £20 to £25 per annum. I have not, however, been so successful in placing the married immigrants, as farmers and runholders are generally disinclined to employ men with a family of children, and appeared much more so in their case from the fact that they were entirely ignorant of the English
language, and consequently could not be made to understand what they were required to do by their employers. There were twenty-eight families engaged for farms and stations, at from £30 to £45 per annum, with full rations for their children. The remaining families being in barracks, provided for at the Government expense, and there being little or no demand for them, I applied to Mr. J. Smith, Messrs. Brogden's agent, to give them a contract on the Southern Trunk Railway, which he readily agreed to, but before accepting the offer they deemed it advisable to depute two of their number, in whom they had confidence, to visit the work and report. I took the liberty of employing a conveyance and accompanied them, with an interpreter, in order that they might clearly understand the nature of the work they were expected to perform, and other minor matters of which it was necessary that they should be informed. Having decided upon accepting Mr. Smith's terms, I have had to incur the expense of conveying them and their families in waggons to the locality where they were to be employed, fifteen miles distant from Dunedin, and also to purchase timber to make frames for the tents in which they and their families were to lodge. In incurring these expenses without authority, I hope the Government will give me credit for doing what I thought to be for the best in the circumstances, and more advantageous than having a number of men, women, and children maintained in barracks at the public expense.

The immigrants were chiefly composed of Danes, Norwegians, and German-Poles, there being only about fourteen Germans proper among the number. They appeared to belong to the poorer classes, as was evident from the scantiness of their wardrobe. Although the experiment of introducing them into this Province as farm servants to supplement the labour market has not been altogether so successful as might have been expected, yet I feel gratified in being able to state that those sent to the railway are doing well and making good wages; and I have had reports from their employers in other parts of the country which are equally gratifying. It was, however, rather imprudent to send 100 families in one shipment to this Province, with a view to their being readily absorbed among the settlers as farm servants. Thirty families at one time, with a number of young men and women would be sufficient for our requirements. I feel confident that the immigrants per "Palmerston" would be most successful if they were located together in a special settlement, as their plodding habits and fertility of resources would enable them to overcome difficulties; and their ambition being less extravagant than that of people from the Home country, their wants would be more easily supplied. I may state that I addressed a letter to His Honor the Superintendent of Otago, asking if the Government would be inclined to sell them land in the township of Greytown, on the Taieri River, near their contract on the railway, with a view to forming a Scandinavian settlement there, and I am glad to state that my proposition was favourably entertained by the Government, as may be seen on perusal of the report of the same in the Morning Star, of yesterday's date.

In any future shipments of Scandinavians to the Colony, I would respectfully suggest that English ships should be employed to convey them to their destination and English teachers, both male and female, be engaged to instruct them in the English language on the voyage. The aptitude of foreigners to learn English is well known; and if such means as I refer to were used, they would acquire such a knowledge of the language as would be incalculable benefit to them on their arrival in the Colony.

I cannot speak too highly of their quiet, steady, and unobtrusive character as a class. They are very industrious, and always appeared very willing to do anything required of them. During their sojourn in barracks they cheerfully conformed to the regulations made for preserving order.