

## The first British arrivals, 1769-1839

### Context:

The British peopling of New Zealand began as a consequence of the agricultural and industrial revolutions in Britain during the century after 1750. This brought about a rapid expansion of foreign trade and the need to import food and industrial raw materials. Through trade, economic growth in the 'metropolitan centre' drew in the so-called 'regions of recent settlement' in the western and southern hemispheres, including the re-discovered islands of New Zealand. Most of the initial activity came from across the Tasman. New Zealand became an important part of Australia's Pacific frontier, with Sydney as its centre.<sup>1</sup> The sealing, whaling industries, timber and flax trades which brought people to New Zealand were all dominated by Sydney and (a little later) Hobart merchants. Sydney was the base from which the missionaries sought to bring their message to the indigenous peoples of the Pacific.

The first group to settle were sealers, some of whom set up camp in Dusky Sound in 1792. Few appear to have remained in New Zealand. Practically the sole settlement they established, about 1825, was on Codfish Island, off the northern coast of Stewart Island, although within a few years most had moved on to Stewart Island itself or to mainland Southland.<sup>2</sup> Seekers after flax or timber for naval spars, and whalers also appeared in the 1790s. Those involved in the timber trade were more permanent residents. By 1816 cargoes of sawn timber prepared in New Zealand by permanent settlements of sawyers were being exported to Sydney,<sup>3</sup> and Busby's census of 1836 indicated that almost a third

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<sup>1</sup> See Thomas Dunbabin, 'Whalers, sealers, and buccaneers,' *Journal and proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* XI, Part 1, 1925, pp.1-32; J.M.R.Young, 'Australia's Pacific frontier,' *Historical studies, Australia and New Zealand* 12, 45, October 1965, pp.373-387; Barbara Little, 'The sealing and whaling industry in Australia before 1850,' *Australian economic history review* 9, 2, September 1969, pp.109-127; and D.R.Hainsworth, *The Sydney traders: Simeon Lord and his contemporaries, 1788-1821*. Melbourne, 1971. See also James Belich, *Making peoples: a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*. Auckland, 1996, pp.127-137.

<sup>2</sup> Robert McNab, *Murikiku and the southern islands*. Invercargill, 1907; Basil Howard, *Rakiura: a history of Stewart Island, New Zealand*. Dunedin, 1940; and F.G.Hall-Jones, *Kelly of Inverkelly: the story of settlement in Southland 1824-1860*. [Invercargill], 1944.

<sup>3</sup> A number of early visitors commented on these settlements, among them, A.Earle, *A narrative of nine months' residence in New Zealand in 1827*. London, 1832; E. Markham, *New Zealand or recollections of it*. Edited by E.H.McCormick, Wellington, 1963; R.A.Cruise, *Journal of a ten months' residence in New Zealand*. London, 1824; and F.E. Maning, *Old New Zealand*. London, 1863.

of the European adult males were involved in the timber trade.<sup>4</sup> The whalers were at first usually short-term visitors who hunted in New Zealand waters and then set sail again across the Pacific. Their visits did serve to encourage some traders to remain ashore to service their needs, but numbers were small. However from the late 1820s when shore-based whaling began, the effect of whaling was more pronounced. Shore-based whaling stations were established along the coasts from Foveaux Strait to East Cape, 15 Sydney firms at one stage in the 1830s operating some 22 shore stations.<sup>5</sup> Some of these stations acquired substantial populations of between 40 and 80 men,<sup>6</sup> although most seem to have had about 20.<sup>7</sup> The number of men employed in whaling establishments in New Munster (but also including the Bay of Plenty) still numbered 768 in 1843.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, some of the specialised trading stations acquired substantial European populations, 56 being located on Gilbert Mair's Te Wahapu in 1840.<sup>9</sup> These early sealers, traders and whalers included a rich assortment of men (they were very largely male) who had deserted or been discharged from trading or whaling ships, and also convicts (including those who had secured their tickets-of-leave) seeking a refuge from the penal settlements of eastern Australia, although it should be noted that some were deliberately put ashore.<sup>10</sup> The first of these men arrived in the Bay of Islands during the first decade of the nineteenth

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<sup>4</sup> See also W.S.Davidson, *The settlement of Hokianga 1820-1920*. MA Thesis, University of New Zealand, 1948. He indicated (pp.130-136) that of 90 adult males in the Hokianga in 1838, 72 were connected with the timber trade. For the timber and flax traders, see R.P.Wigglesworth, *The New Zealand timber and flax trade 1769-1840*. PhD Thesis, Massey University, 1981.

<sup>5</sup> E.J.Tapp, *Early New Zealand: a dependency of New South Wales, 1788-1841*. London, 1958, pp.56-57. See also David P.Millar, 'Whalers, flax traders and Maoris of the Cook Strait area: an historical study in cultural confrontation,' *Dominion Museum records in ethnology* 2, 6, April 1971, 57-74. On whaling generally, see Robert McNab, *The old whaling days: a history of southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840*. Auckland, 1913.

<sup>6</sup> Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*. London, 1843, pp. 38 and 62; and Edward Shortland, *The southern districts of New Zealand*. London, 1851, p.300.

<sup>7</sup> In August 1840 when, on the eve of the arrival of the French, *HMS Britomart* visited Bank's Peninsula, and found 69 European men and three European women on the three shore whaling stations. See Peter Tremewan, *French Akaroa: an attempt to colonise southern New Zealand*. Christchurch, 1990, pp.113-114. See also James Hight and C.R.Straubel, *A history of Canterbury, Volume 1: to 1854*. Christchurch, 1957, pp.49-50. Tremewan also noted (pp.174-175) that the French were joined soon after their arrival at Akaroa in August 1840, by British settlers, and that during 1843 the number of British (86) exceeded the number of French (69); and, p.231, that while the French naval vessel *Rhin* lay an anchor off the settlement for some 20 months between 1843 and 1846, the ship's surgeon recorded 14 births, most to English women.

<sup>8</sup> *Statistics of New Munster, New Zealand, from 1841 to 1848*. Wellington, 1849.

<sup>9</sup> J.C.Andersen and G.C.Petersen, *The Mair family*. Wellington, 1956, p.27.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Robert McNab, *Historical records of New Zealand*. Wellington, 1908, pp.575-576.

century.<sup>11</sup> Both Kendall and Nicholas recorded the presence in 1815 of runaway convicts at Kororareka,<sup>12</sup> as did Augustus Earle, who visited Kororareka in 1827, Charles Darwin who arrived in the Bay of Islands in 1835, and John Dunmore Lang who was in New Zealand in 1839. Lang added another two groups, namely, ‘fraudulent debtors who have escaped from their creditors in Sydney or Hobart Town, and needy adventurers from the two colonies, almost unequally unprincipled,’ observations which confirmed the predominantly Australian source of New Zealand’s early European community.<sup>13</sup> New Zealand was certainly one of the destinations for escaped convicts, but not surprisingly estimates of their numbers in pre-annexation New Zealand vary considerably.<sup>14</sup> Lavaud, commander of the French naval corvette *L’Aube* which arrived in New Zealand waters in 1840, claimed that they were to be found ‘everywhere in New Zealand.’<sup>15</sup> Others suggested that in the mid 1830s ‘runways,’ that is, deserting sailors and convicts, numbered about 150 to 200, or about ten per cent of the estimated European population,<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Jack Lee, *I have named it the Bay of Islands ...* Auckland, 1983, p.72.

<sup>12</sup> J.L.Nicholas, *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand, performed in the years 1814 and 1815, in company with the Reverend Samuel Marsden, Principal Chaplain of New South Wales*. London, 1817, Volume 1, p.213, Volume 2, pp.189-190; and Robert McNab, *Historical records of New Zealand*. Wellington, 1908, pp.404-405. On Kendall, see Judith Binney, *The legacy of guilt: a life of Thomas Kendall*. Auckland, 1968.

<sup>13</sup> E.H.McCormick, editor, *Augustus Earle, Narrative of a residence in New Zealand, Journal of a residence in Tristan da Cunha*. Oxford, 1966, pp.67, 81, 82, and 189; J. D. Lang, *New Zealand in 1839; or four letters, to the Right Hon. Earl Durham, Governor of the New Zealand Land Company, ... On the colonization of that island, and on the present condition and prospects of its native inhabitants*. 1839, p.7. Darwin’s observation was noted in Jack Lee, *I have named it the Bay of Islands ...* Auckland, 1983, p.162. See also Edward Campbell, *The present state resources and prospects of New Zealand*. London, 1840, p.23; and J.Pitts Johnson, *Plain truths, told by a traveller, regarding out various settlements in Australia and New Zealand*. London, 1840, p.67. On the other hand, Hall-Jones later claimed that ‘In the northern whaling stations, debauchery and licentiousness were apparently so prominent that the absence of these characteristics in the Southland settlements must be specially emphasised. Both the sealing and the whaling folk were of good British stock. One might expect escaped convicts from Australia among them, but many of their biographies have been collected and in no case is there any trace of such origin.’ See F.G.Hall-Jones, *Historical Southland*. Invercargill, 1945, p.47.

<sup>14</sup> James Belich, *Making peoples: a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*. Auckland, 1996, pp.129 and 132; and D.R.Hainsworth, *The Sydney traders: Simeon Lord and his contemporaries, 1788-1821*. Melbourne, 1971, p.37 and *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Tremewan, *French Akaroa: an attempt to colonise southern New Zealand*. Christchurch, 1990, p.187.

<sup>16</sup> *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the present state of New Zealand, 1838. Minutes of evidence*. In *Reports from select committees on New Zealand with minutes of evidence, appendix, and indices, 1837-1840. Colonies, New Zealand, I*. Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Shannon, 1968, p.38; and *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements)*, BPP 1837.vii.1.

while in 1837 the *Sydney Herald* asserted that there were 200 to 300 convicts in New Zealand.<sup>17</sup>

The sealing gangs appear to have been largely composed of ex-convicts,<sup>18</sup> while those who chose or were compelled to live among Maori – the pakeha Maori whose numbers Thomson estimated at 50 in 1830 and 150 in 1840<sup>19</sup> – were drawn largely from the convict settlement of Sydney and from whalers whose crews often included convict seamen. Most were British subjects, most were English or Irish, and from about 1840 most re-joined pakeha society.<sup>20</sup> Among the whalers, James Hay identified two classes, the first comprising ‘the whalers *per se*, hardy, brave, and resourceful; men to be depended upon, and inhabitants of all parts of Europe, America, and Australia. The second-class comprised convicts, who as ticket-of-leave men, were brought over from Hobart, whither they were not permitted to return.’<sup>21</sup> Given that most of Australia’s transportees were drawn from England and Ireland, with just small numbers having been convicted in Wales and Scotland,<sup>22</sup> it might be expected that the English and Irish would

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<sup>17</sup> *Sydney Herald* 30 March 1837.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Dunbabin, ‘Whalers, sealers, and buccaneers,’ *Journal and proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical society* XI, Part 1, 1925, pp.1-32; D.R.Hainsworth, ‘Iron men in wooden ships: the Sydney sealers 1800-1820,’ *Labour history* November 1967, pp.19-25; and Portia Robinson, *The hatch and brood of time: a study of the first generation of native-born white Australians 1788-1828*. Two volumes, Melbourne, 1986, pp.i and 241.

<sup>19</sup> A.S. Thomson, *The story of New Zealand; past and present – savage and civilized*. Two volumes, London, 1859, Volume 2, p.301. See also Edward Markham, *New Zealand, or recollections of it*. Edited by E.H.McCormick, Wellington, 1963, p.13; and J.Buller, *Forty years in New Zealand*. London, 1878, p.27.

<sup>20</sup> See Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: the extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand*. Auckland, 1999. Not all pakeha Maori were British. Among their number was Adolph [‘Chips’] Henrici, a native of Hamburg. See J.C.Jacobson, *Tales of Banks Peninsula*. Akaroa, 1883, 1893, and 1914, pp.164-172.

<sup>21</sup> James Hay, *Reminiscences of early Canterbury, principally Bank’s Peninsula*. Christchurch, 1915, p.50.

<sup>22</sup> James Jupp, general editor, *The Australian people: an encyclopaedia of the nation, its people and their origins*. North Ryde, 1988, pp.326-334, 367-379, 553-559, and 759-765. See also C.M.H.Clark, *A history of Australia*. Volume 1, Melbourne, 1962, especially pp.90-91; and L.L.Robson, *The convict settlers of Australia: an inquiry into the origin and character of the convicts transported to New South Wales and van Dieman’s Land 1787-1852*. Melbourne, 1965. On the Welsh transportees, Lewis Lloyd, *Australians from Wales*. Caernarfon, 1988, pp.27-34; and Deirdre Beddoe, *Welsh convict women*. Wales, 1979. On the Scots, see Ian Donnachie, ‘Scottish criminals and transportation to Australia, 1786-1852,’ *Scottish economic and social history* 4, 1984, pp.21-39; Ian Donnachie, ‘The convicts of 1830: Scottish criminals transported to New South Wales,’ *Scottish historical review* 1, LXV, 1986, pp.34-47; and Ian Donnachie, ‘“Utterly irreclaimable:” Scottish convict women and Australia 1787-1852,’ *Journal of regional and local studies* 2, 8, 1988, pp.1-16. On the Irish, see Portia Robinson, ‘From Colleen to Matilda: Irish women convicts in Australia, 1788-1828,’ in Colm Kiernan, editor, *Australia & Ireland: bicentenary essays, 1788-1988*. Dublin, 1986, pp.96-111; Con Costello, ‘The convicts: transportation from Ireland,’ in Colm Kiernan, editor, *Australia & Ireland: bicentenary essays, 1788-1988*. Dublin, 1986, pp.112-120; and David

feature prominently amongst this particular group of arrivals, but few details of the escaped convicts who remained in New Zealand have survived.

People of a very different stripe were the missionary communities, who first arrived on Samuel Marsden's initiative in the Bay of Islands in 1814. Some of the mission stations acquired substantial European populations: by February 1815, for example, that of Rangihoua numbered 21, by 1819 it had reached 45, and by 1830 over 60.<sup>23</sup> On the eve of annexation, the Church Missionary and Wesleyan Missionary Society missionaries and their families numbered 206.<sup>24</sup>

A further group of pre-annexation arrivals from the Australian Colonies were the free settlers whose numbers swelled towards the end of the 1830s, partly in the expectation of annexation and the establishment of a new capital, and partly in response to a number of difficulties in New South Wales, including drought, falling wool prices, and an increase in the minimum price of Crown lands.<sup>25</sup> Among them were 15 sawyers, carpenters, and a schoolmaster recruited in Sydney in 1838 by former missionary William White for his Hokianga timber enterprise, described by Gittos as 'the William White settlement scheme.'<sup>26</sup> Polack noted the arrival of 'unsatisfied settlers of Western Australia (Swan River and King George's Sound), many of whom have quitted that arid and draughty coast' for New Zealand, while others were arriving from South Australia.<sup>27</sup> Some came

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Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1801-1870,' Chapter XXVIII in W.E.Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland, V, Ireland under the union, 1, 1801-1870*. Oxford, 1989, p.572.

<sup>23</sup> H.M.Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840: early years of Western contact*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, pp.22-23, 26. See also Robert McNab, *Historical records of New Zealand*. Two volumes, 1908, 1914, pp.441-442; and Jack Lee, 'I have named it the Bay of Islands ...' Auckland, 1983, p.100.

<sup>24</sup> Peter Adams, *Fatal necessity: British intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847*. Auckland, 1977, p.26.

<sup>25</sup> J.M.R.Owens, 'New Zealand before annexation,' in W.H. Oliver and B.R.Williams, editors, *The Oxford history of New Zealand*. Wellington, 1981, p.50.

<sup>26</sup> Murray Gittos, *First there were three: biographies and genealogies of the White/Gittos families*. [Auckland], 1992, second revised edition. See also Murray Gittos, 'Mana at Mangungu;' a biography of William White. Auckland, 1991. White's brother Francis, together with his wife and six children had joined him in 1835, while his sister Ann and her husband arrived in 1841. For William White's wife, Eliza, see Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, & Bridget Williams, editors, *The book of New Zealand women*. Wellington, 1991, pp. 722-730.

<sup>27</sup> J.S.Polack, *Manners and customs of the New Zealanders with notes corroborative of their habits, usages, etc, and remarks to intending emigrants*. Two volumes, London, 1840, Volume 1, p.2. See also R.T.Appleyard & Toby Manford, *The beginning: European discovery and early settlement of Swan River, Western Australia*. Nedlands, 1979; and Pamela Statham, 'Swan River Colony 1829-1850,' in C.T.Stannage, editor, *A new history of Western Australia*. Nedlands, 1981, pp.181-210.

to purchase and develop land<sup>28</sup>, some to engage in trade<sup>29</sup>, while others arrived to work for the new government or for the businesses established in the new capital of Auckland, or to take up opportunities in the new colonies being established at Wellington and Nelson.<sup>30</sup> On a second visit to New Zealand, in March 1840, Jameson noted that also on the *Delhi* from Adelaide were about 70 cabin and steerage passengers, 'including several very respectable families, a fair proportion of mechanics and labourers, and several young men proceeding to the new colony with indefinite views, such as the hope of obtaining situations as clerks or governments employees ...'<sup>31</sup>

Finally, there were several attempts made to initiate migration and settlement directly from the United Kingdom. Although they ended in failure, they did bring a number of new settlers to the country. The most notable was the first New Zealand Company, formed in London in 1825 to establish 'agricultural and commercial' settlements at Hokianga and the Thames. The company's ship *Rosanna*, which left Leith with some 60 artisans and tradesmen, arrived in New Zealand waters early in 1826, but in the face of both Maori and missionary opposition, the project was abandoned.<sup>32</sup> The *Rosanna* arrived in Sydney in February 1827 with, according to Shrimpton and Mulgan, only 25 colonists on board, of whom at least four returned to settle at Hokianga, while McLintock recorded that only 'a few of the bolder spirits returned to Hokianga...'<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> See, for example, C.R.Straubel, 'Maori and European to 1850,' in James Hight and C.R.Straubel, general editors, *A history of Canterbury, Volume 1: to 1854*. Christchurch, 1957, p.43; and Joyce Thompson 'Pioneers of Port Underwood,' *Journal of the Nelson and Marlborough historical societies* 2,4, 1990, pp.17-20.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, 'McLennans of Fernaig,' *Journal of the Auckland-Waikato historical societies*, No.36, April, 1980, pp.32-37; D.M.Wilkinson, 'The McGregors of northern Wairoa,' *Journal of the Auckland-Waikato historical societies* 42, April 1983, pp.8-10; Phyllis E.Cowtre, 'The Walton Brothers of Kaipara and Maungatapere,' *Auckland-Waikato historical journal* 55, September 1989, pp.19-22; and Rachel Moon, 'Reminiscences of early Raglan,' *Auckland-Waikato historical journal* 58, April 1991, pp.38-40.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, R.Motion, *James and Helen Motion: a family history*. Tauranga, 1995. William Motion, a carpenter from Montrose, arrived in the Australian Colonies in 1838, in the Bay of Islands in 1839, and then settled in Nelson.

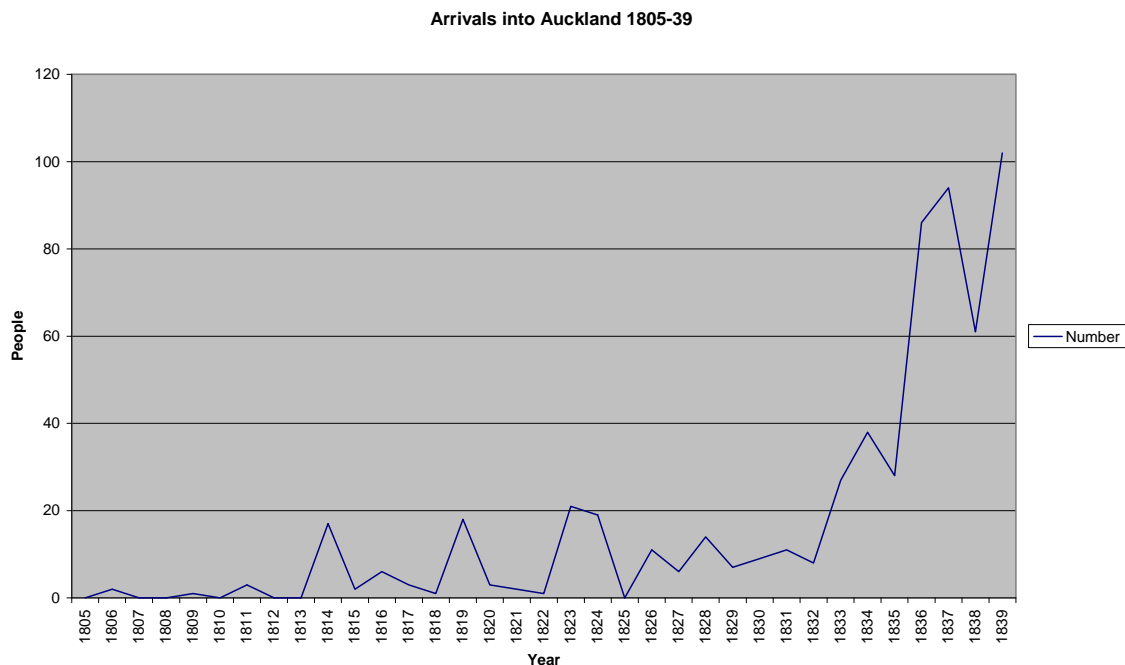
<sup>31</sup> R.G.Jameson, *New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales*. London, 1842, pp.227-228.

<sup>32</sup> See A.H.McLintock, *Crown colony government in New Zealand*. Wellington, 1958, pp.15-16; Jack Lee, *I have named it the Bay of Islands ...* Auckland, 1983, p.127.

<sup>33</sup> A.W.Shrimpton & A.E.Mulgan, *Maori & pakeha: a history of New Zealand*. Auckland, 1921, p.48; and A.H.McLintock, *Crown colony government in New Zealand*. Wellington, 1958, p.16. Dillon noted the presence of some of these men. See P.Dillon, *Narrative and successful result of a voyage in the South Seas ... to ascertain the fate of La Perouse's expedition*. London, 1829.

## Numbers

Data, reliable or otherwise, relating to the size and timing of the British immigrant inflow into pre-annexation New Zealand are few. One source which offers some insights into the inflow into Auckland Province is the *Roll of early settlers and descendants in the Auckland Province prior to the end of 1852*.<sup>34</sup> Although it is claimed that exhaustive efforts were made to ensure that the Roll was both accurate and complete, the data set out in Graph 1 should be regarded as a reasonable indication of trends rather than of absolute numbers.

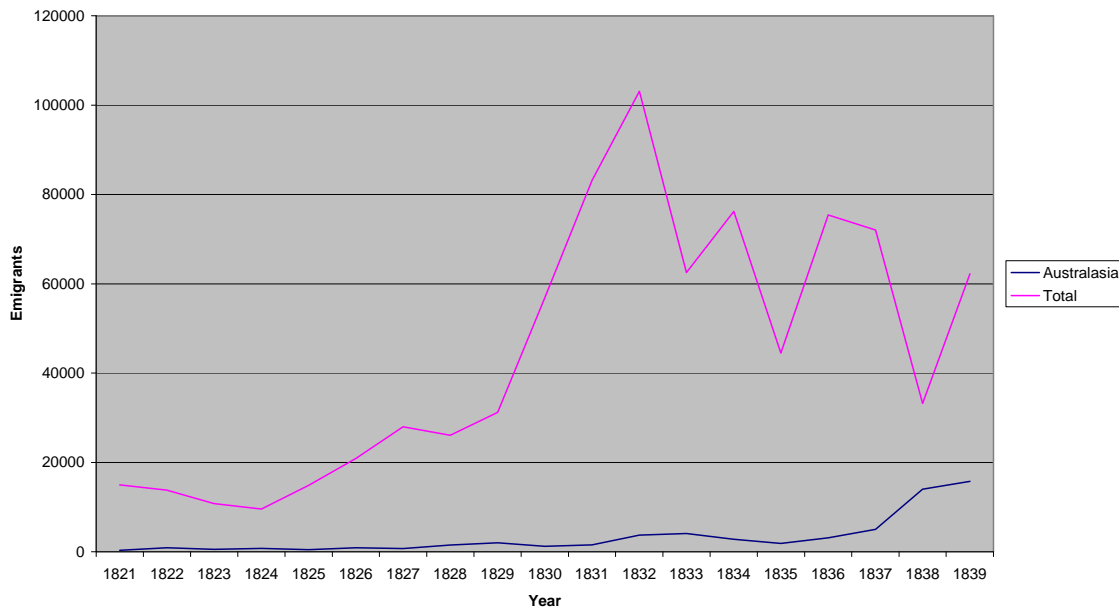


Thus the graph indicates that arrivals were few in number and sporadic until about 1830, and that they began to increase sharply from 1833, trends not inconsistent with those indicated, in Graph 2, for Australasia as a whole.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Eadie Forbes, *Roll of early settlers and descendants in the Auckland Province prior to the end of 1852*. Auckland, 1940. The Roll gives year of arrival and distinguishes between those born out of and in New Zealand, and includes 'the names (so far as they have been able to be ascertained) of all persons (other than members of the Maori Race) who settled or were born in the Province before then end of 1852 ... It would be over-optimistic to say that the Roll is entirely free from error or omission, but at least it can be claimed that every possible effort has been made to and every known avenue explored to ensure its accuracy.'

<sup>35</sup> For emigration from the United Kingdom during the period up to 1839, see Charlotte J.Erickson, 'English,' in Stephan Thernstrom, editor, *Harvard encyclopaedia of American ethnic groups*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980, pp.319-336. Both the United States and the Australian Colonies drew their English immigrants from the rural south-east and south-west. For Scotland, see J.David Wood, 'Scottish migration

Annual emigrants from United Kingdom 1821-39



Contemporary estimates of the number of *Europeans* in New Zealand, not surprisingly, vary widely.<sup>36</sup> The only ‘censuses’ were those carried out by James Busby, and the first of his estimates, of the European population at 1 February 1836, is presented in Table 1. In his second estimate, for June-August 1836, Busby tabulated the names of male household heads, their occupations, the composition of their households, and their locations. Busby’s figures suggest a population of 722 in February 1836, and while the

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overseas,’ *Scottish geographical magazine* 1964, pp.164-176; M. Flinn, *Scottish population history from the seventeenth century to the 1930s*. Cambridge, 1977, p.452; and Michael Brander, *The emigrant Scots*. London, 1982. Prior to 1815 Scotland’s emigrants were drawn primarily from the Highlands and Islands, but from about 1815 onwards, emigration from the Lowlands, and especially its urban centres, accelerated. For Ireland, see Patrick J.Blessing, ‘Irish,’ and Maldwyn A.Jones, ‘Scotch-Irish,’ in Stephan Thernstrom, editor, *Harvard encyclopaedia of American ethnic groups*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980, pp.524-545 and 895-908 respectively; David Noel Doyle, ‘The Irish in North America, 1776-1845,’ in W.E.Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland. V: Ireland under the union, 1, 1801-1870*. Oxford, 1989, Chapter XXXI, pp.682-725; Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history*. Harlow (Essex) 2000; William J.Smyth, ‘Irish emigration, 1700-1920,’ in P.C.Emmer and M.Morner, editors, *European expansion and migration: essays on international migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe*. New York, 1992, pp.49-78. Most of Ireland’s pre-Famine outflow was directed towards the United States, and much of it took place from Ulster’s Presbyterian communities and from Ireland’s ports, namely, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick and their immediate hinterlands

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the present state of New Zealand, 1838. Minutes of evidence*. In *Reports from select committees on New Zealand with minutes of evidence, appendix, and indices, 1837-1840. Colonies, New Zealand, 1*. Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Shannon, 1968, pp.14, 38, 186-187, 260, and 265; and *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements)*, BPP 1837.vii.1.



data for June-August 1836 are incomplete, they suggest that numbers were increasing rapidly. Busby's third estimate, prepared in 1839, appears to suggest a total European population of 1 100, although that may relate to those living 'north of Thames.'<sup>37</sup> Most of the males were employed as whalers, traders, missionaries, sawyers, carpenters, grog-sellers, and settlers. Those married included, in particular, the missionaries and traders, while the sawyers and whalers included many single, or at least unaccompanied, men. In 1844 the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, on the basis of despatches from the colony's governor, gave New Zealand's (European) population as 2 050 in 1840.<sup>38</sup> Thomson also gave a figure of 2 050 in 1840, although he appears to omitted the clusters of whalers and others around the coasts.<sup>39</sup> As noted above, evidence of those who visited the southern shore whaling stations suggested that the numbers of Europeans involved were substantial. Nevertheless, the estimates of about 1 000 by 1839 and 2 050 by 1840 have persisted,<sup>40</sup> although both McLintock and Adams suggested that the number had reached some 2 000 by 1839.<sup>41</sup>

**Table 1: Busby's estimates of the European population of New Zealand, February 1836**

District	Males	Females	Children
North Cape to Whangaroa	7	4	3
Whangaroa	15	2	5
Bay of Islands	102	40	61
Hokianga	84	16	73
'All places south of Bay of Islands and Hokianga'	73	11	16

<sup>37</sup> See John Blackett's evidence, *Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand, together with the minutes of evidence*, BPP 1840.vii.447.

<sup>38</sup> *General report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners*, BPP 1844. xxxi.11.

<sup>39</sup> A.S.Thomson, *The story of New Zealand; past and present – savage and civilized*. London, 1859, Volume 2, Table XIII, p.329.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, *Census of New Zealand, 1945. Volume 1: Increase and location of population*. Wellington, 1947, p.111, which estimated the numbers as 50 in 1800, 200 in 1815, 1 000 in 1839, and 2 050 in 1840; R.J.M[arolle], 'Immigration,' in A.H.McLintock, editor, *An encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 2*. Wellington, 1966, p.130; J.M.R.Owens, 'New Zealand before annexation,' in W.H.Oliver with B.R.Williams (editors), *The Oxford history of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1981; and Marcia Stenson and Erik Olssen, *A century of change: New Zealand 1800-1900*. Auckland, 1997 (second edition), p.20. On the other hand Bawden suggested, without citing a source, that the number of Europeans permanently resident in New Zealand reached some 2 000 between 1830 and 1838, with some 500 in the Bay of Islands. See Patricia Bawden, *The years before Waitangi: a story of early Maori-European contact in New Zealand*. Auckland, 1987, p.141.

<sup>41</sup> A.H.McLintock, *Crown colony government in New Zealand*. Wellington, 1958, p.28; and Peter Adams, *Fatal necessity: British intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847*. Auckland, 1977, pp.25-27.

Total North Island	281		
Total South Island <sup>1</sup>	180		
Chatham and Stewart Islands	30		
Totals	491	73	158

Source: Busby census, J. Busby, *Despatches of the British Resident in New Zealand 1833-1840*. <sup>1</sup>The South Island total included 30 at Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay, and 150 at Codfish Island, Preservation Inlet and Port Cooper and who were 'supposed to be without exception convicts.' Not included are 29 'sailors' on New Zealand owned vessels.

## A profile of the pre-annexation arrivals

### Sources:

The following analysis is based on information gleaned from the death certificates of 178 persons who arrived in New Zealand up to the end of 1839, and who died from 1876 onwards.<sup>42</sup> Several points should be borne in mind. First, the sample population is made up of those who remained in New Zealand, although there is no evidence to suggest that those born in one of the countries which made up the United Kingdom were more likely to remain than those born in any other. Second, the sample was drawn from the registers of deaths which only from 1876 offer sufficient information on which to base an analysis. Despite a search of the registers of deaths from 1876 to 1939, only a small number of arrivals was identified, so that the generalisations and conclusions drawn should be regarded as tentative. As a result, the sample is likely to be biased towards those who arrived towards the end of the 1830s.<sup>43</sup> For that reason, too, the sample may also include a slight bias towards females.

### Country of Origin

Table 2 gives the country of origin of the sample as compared with the United Kingdom census of 1841. The English were slightly over-represented; the Scots strongly so; while the Irish and Welsh were under-represented. In terms of timing those born in England were the earliest arrivals, most of the Scots- and Irish-born arriving in 1839.

<sup>42</sup> The assistance of Mrs June McDougall of Dunedin in identifying pre-1840 arrivals in Otago and Southland is gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>43</sup> As Hall-Jones indicates in his short biographies of some of Southland's pre-1840 arrivals. See F.G. Hall-Jones, *Kelly of Inverkelly: the story of settlement in Southland 1824-1860*. [Invercargill], 1944.

**Table 2: National Origins of New Zealand's immigrants pre-1840 (percentages)**

<b>Country of birth</b>	<b>Pre-1840</b>	<b>Share of UK total, 1841</b>
England	62.1	55.4
Wales	1.6	3.9
Scotland	20.4	9.8
Ireland	15.6	30.4
Isles in British seas	0.3	0.5
	100.0	100.0
n=	314	

Source: Death registers, and Census of England and Wales, 1841.

### **Regional Origins**

With respect to regional and county origins, the English-born immigrants display a quite distinctive pattern (Table 3). Just over 72 per cent had been born in three regions, namely, London-Middlesex, followed by the South-west, and the South-east. Especially prominent among the counties of the South-west were Cornwall (5.9 per cent), Devon (7.9 per cent), and Somerset (9.9 per cent). Kent (7.9 per cent) and Hampshire (4.0 per cent) in the South-east were also major contributors. The only other significant sources were Essex (4.0 per cent) in the East, and Yorkshire (5.0 per cent). This pattern is consistent with the 1831 census for England and Wales which reported that local decreases of population through emigration had occurred in many districts in the south of England, from Cornwall and Wiltshire in the south-west, to Kent in the south-east, to Lincoln and Suffolk in the east, to the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire. By 1841, it was clear that most of southern and eastern England had lost population through emigration. The pattern also closely matches that suggested for the free English immigrants who arrived in both Australia and the United States of America over much the same period. But whereas a significant proportion of Australia's transportees was drawn from Lancashire and the counties of the Midlands, the former contributed just 2.0 per cent and the latter 8.2 per cent of New Zealand's pre-1840 English immigrants.

**Table 3: Regions of birth of New Zealand's English immigrants to 1839**

<b>Born in</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
London-Middlesex	28.6
South-east	18.4
East	6.1
South-west	25.5
Midlands	
East	3.1
Central	2.0
West	1.0
South	2.0
Yorkshire	6.1
Lancashire-Cheshire	2.0
North-east	3.1
North-west	0
Off-shore islands	0
North Wales	1.0
South Wales	1.0
	100.0
Not stated	28
n=	126

Source: Death registers

The number of immigrants from Scotland was small, making generalisations about regional origins even more tentative than in the case of English-born. The available data suggest that most of the pre-1840 Scots-born arrivals came from the Eastern Lowlands (notably Edinburgh), followed by the Western Lowlands (both Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire), and the Highlands (notably Ross-shire) and the Far North (notably Caithness). This 'pattern' of Scots immigrant birthplaces contrasts with that for Australia, the latter drawing most of its free Scots immigrants from the Eastern Lowlands, the North-east, and the Borders, although over the period 1837-1842 Australia also drew in a significant number of Highlanders.

The number of Irish-born arrivals was even smaller, but they were drawn largely from Munster (notably Cork) and Leinster (notably Dublin). It is worthwhile noting that a high proportion of Australia's Irish transportees was drawn from Dublin and Counties

Tipperary, Limerick, and Cork in Munster. The religious affiliations of the Irish-born suggest that pre-1840 New Zealand drew upon the 'Anglo-Irish',<sup>44</sup> (as reflected in those who gave their affiliation as the Church of Ireland), and the Celtic Irish (as reflected in those who gave their affiliation as the Roman Catholic Church), rather than upon those of Scots-Irish descent. It appears that the substantial post-1815 outflow of the Scots-Irish from Ireland remained fully focussed on North America.

### **Age and Gender**

While the young appeared to dominate the migrant inflow, it is likely that the distribution of ages reflects the limitations of the sample as outlined above. Overall, 74.0 per cent were aged from 15 to 39 years when they arrived in New Zealand, while a higher proportion of males than females fell into that age range. Males predominated, forming 64.0 per cent of the total. The imbalance was most marked amongst those in the age range 15 to 44 years. A considerably higher proportion of the females than the males arrived during the last five years of the period, suggesting that the character of the inflow changed in anticipation of annexation. On the other hand, there were some females among the arrivals of the 1820s, almost certainly the members of missionary families. The pre-1840 inflow was dominated not only by males, but also by single males. Whereas just 23.4 per cent of all males were married, the corresponding proportion for females was 47.6. From 1836 onwards, the proportions of both married men and women showed a modest increase, again indicating a change in the character of the inflow immediately prior to annexation. The importance of Australia as the proximate source of pre-1840 New Zealand's British-born immigrants is apparent in the fact that of those who had married prior to arrival in New Zealand, a quarter had done so in Australia, notably in Sydney. Most were recently married, and had only just begun to establish their families.

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<sup>44</sup> The term 'Anglo-Irish' needs to be used with care. Those to whom the term is taken to refer were 'really an ethnic hodge-podge ... among the most hybrid of all the hybrids who came to Ireland after the Goidelic settlement.' See L.P.Curtis, jnr. 'The Anglo-Irish predicament,' *Twentieth century studies* 1, 1970, 37-63. Reference on p.40.

## Occupational Background

Table 4 sets out the details of the occupations of the fathers of New Zealand's pre-1840 English/Welsh and total arrivals from the United Kingdom. Most of the immigrant body as a whole was drawn from agricultural, pre-industrial craft, and white collar backgrounds. Table 4 suggests that the English/Welsh-born were drawn from a wider range of backgrounds, and, in turn, that considerably higher proportions of the small number of the Scots and the Irish were drawn from agricultural backgrounds.

**Table 4: Occupations of fathers of pre-1840 immigrants aged 20 and over from the United Kingdom**

Occupations	English/ Welsh	All immigrants
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmers	11.1	21.1
Agricultural labourers	1.9	2.6
Total agriculture	13.0	23.7
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	7.4	6.6
<i>Servants</i>	0.0	0.0
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>		
Building	5.6	6.6
Mining	0.0	0.0
Other pre-industrial skills	27.8	23.7
Total pre-industrial	33.3	30.3
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>		
Total industrial	16.7	11.8
<i>White collar</i>	20.4	19.7
<i>Other occupations</i>		
Soldiers	0.0	0.0
Seamen	9.3	7.9
Others	0.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	31	44
n=	85	120

Source: Death registers. For details of the classification of occupations, see Appendix 1.

## Conclusions

Although the statistical evidence is fragmentary and the sample population small, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. The inflow of arrivals from the United Kingdom

clearly remained at low levels until the early 1830s and quickened with development of trading posts and shore whaling stations, and, at the end of the decade, with the prospect of annexation. As that inflow quickened, it began to draw increasingly on those born in Scotland and Ireland in place of an earlier reliance on those born in England. Thus, while those of English/Welsh birth dominated the inflow and indeed appear to have been over-represented when compared with their share of the United Kingdom's total population in 1841, it was the Scots who were markedly over-represented. The Irish were markedly under-represented in the pre-annexation inflow. The available data also suggest that those born in three regions of England - London-Middlesex, the South-west, and the South-east – were over-represented in this early English flow to New Zealand. Finally, the evidence also suggests that both the ethnic and regional mix of New Zealand's early immigrants from the United Kingdom were influenced but not entirely fashioned by the earlier inflows into the Australian colonies.