

## 2: Immigration during the Crown Colony period, 1840-1852

### Context

In 1840 New Zealand became, formally, a part of the British Empire. The small and irregular inflow of British immigrants from the Australian Colonies – the ‘Old New Zealanders’ of the mission stations, whaling stations, timber depots, trader settlements, and small pastoral and agricultural outposts, mostly scattered along the coasts - abruptly gave way to the first of a number of waves of immigrants which flowed in from 1840.<sup>1</sup> At least three streams arrived during the period 1840-1852, although ‘Old New Zealanders’ continued to arrive in small numbers during the 1840s. The first consisted of the government officials, merchants, pastoralists, and other independent arrivals, the second of the ‘colonists’ (or land purchasers) and the ‘emigrants’ (or assisted arrivals) of the New Zealand Company and its affiliates, and the third of the imperial soldiers (and some sailors) who began arriving in 1845. New Zealand’s European population grew rapidly, marked by the establishment of urban communities, the colonial capital of Auckland (1840), and the Company settlements of Wellington (1840), Petre (Wanganui, 1840), New Plymouth (1841), Nelson (1842), Otago (1848), and Canterbury (1850). Into Auckland flowed most of the independent and military streams, and into the company settlements those arriving directly from the United Kingdom. Thus A.S.Thomson observed that ‘The northern [Auckland] settlers were chiefly derived from Australia; those in the south from Great Britain. The former,’ he added, ‘were distinguished for colonial wisdom; the latter for education and good home connections ...’<sup>2</sup>

Annexation occurred at a time when emigration from the United Kingdom was rising. Graph 1 sets out details of gross emigration from the United Kingdom over the period 1840-1852.<sup>3</sup>

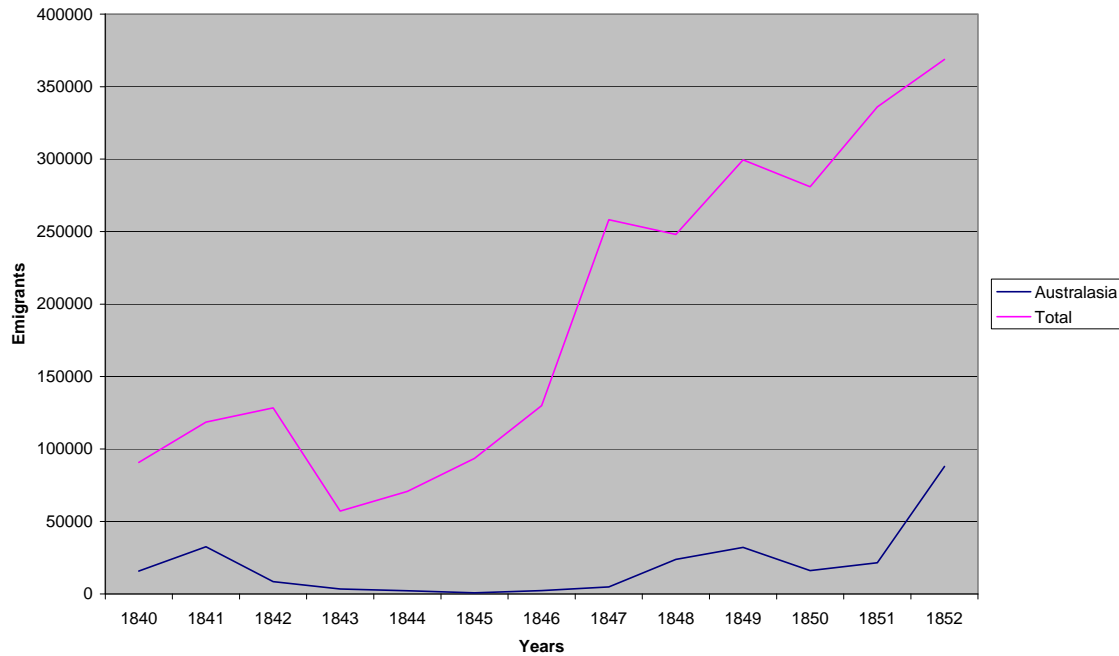
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<sup>1</sup> The term ‘Old New Zealand’ was first used by F.E.Maning, *Old New Zealand: a tale of the good old times*. Second edition, Auckland, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> A.S.Thomson, *The story of New Zealand; past and present – savage and civilized*. London, 1859, Volume 2, p.59.

<sup>3</sup> The source for Graph 1 is *Return of emigration for the years 1815 to 1863 (first six months) in continuation of Appendix 1 to the Emigration Commissioners’ Reports*, BPP 1863.xxxviii.19.

**Graph 1: Gross emigration from United Kingdom, 1840-52**  
(Source: British Parliamentary Papers, 1863)



The ebb and flow coincided with pronounced cyclical fluctuations in the British economy, most notably a marked and protracted agricultural and industrial depression in the years 1837-1842, a period of improving prosperity during the middle years of the 1840s, and finally another period of economic depression, industrial unrest, and social distress.<sup>4</sup> Adding to the difficulties were major crop failures, notably in Ireland, but also in the Highlands and islands of Scotland, and in Cornwall. Total gross numbers departing from the United Kingdom increased sharply in 1847, in small part an indication of a gathering outflow from the crofting parishes of the Scottish north-west,<sup>5</sup> but in large part of the major exodus taking place from Ireland as it struggled to deal, especially from 1815 onwards, with rapid population growth, increasing dependency on agriculture, de-industrialisation,<sup>6</sup> and finally, during the 1840s especially, widespread famine,

<sup>4</sup> A.D.Gayer, W.W.Rostow, and A.J.Schwarz, *The growth and fluctuation of the British economy, 1790-1850*. Oxford, 1952; and See Norman Gash, *Aristocracy and people: Britain 1815-1865*. London, 1979, especially pp.210-212.

<sup>5</sup> Jeanette M. Brock, *The mobile Scot: a study of emigration and migration 1861-1911*. Edinburgh, 1999, pp.23-25.

<sup>6</sup> See Liam Kennedy and Philip Ollerenshaw, editors, *An economic history of Ulster, 1820-1939*. Manchester, 1985; Eric Richards, 'Margins of the industrial revolution,' in Patrick O'Brien and Roland Quinault, editors, *The industrial revolution and British society*. Cambridge, 1993, pp.214-215; Frank Geary, 'Regional industrial structure and labour force decline in Ireland between 1841 and 1851,' *Irish*

destitution, and premature death.<sup>7</sup> The pre-Famine outflow had originated largely in Ulster and been directed to western Scotland<sup>8</sup> and the United States,<sup>9</sup> although the late 1830s had seen increasing numbers of poorer emigrants from the largely rural and Catholic districts of Connacht and Munster join the outflow. The Famine transformed an outflow into a massive exodus of small tenants and agricultural labourers which, while it embraced most of Ireland, drew in particular on Connacht and Munster.<sup>10</sup>

The numbers departing for Australasia followed a generally similar course. From a high level of almost 33 000 in 1841, reflecting the 'great migration' to New South Wales, numbers fell to very low levels during the years from 1842 to 1847, grew modestly from 1848 to 1851, and then increased sharply in 1852 as the gold rushes to New South Wales and Victoria gathered momentum. Details of the country of birth of those leaving the United Kingdom are not available: rather British official statistics indicate that the numbers departing *from* England rose rapidly from 1847, while the number leaving *directly from* Ireland also rose sharply from 1847. In fact, most of the Irish leaving the United Kingdom departed from the major emigrant port of Liverpool, while an estimated 90 per cent of all of those embarking at Liverpool were Irish. It is interesting to note that

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*historical studies* 30, 118, November 1996, pp.167-194; and Frank Geary, 'Deindustrialisation in Ireland to 1851: some evidence from the census,' *Economic history review* LI, 3, 1998, pp.512-541.

<sup>7</sup> For accounts of the Famine, see Oliver Macdonagh, 'The economy and society, 1830-1845,' Chapter X in W.E.Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland. Ireland under the Union, 1, 1801-1870*. Oxford, 1989, pp.218-241; Christine Kinealy, *This great calamity: the Irish famine, 1845-1852*. Dublin, 1994; Peter Gray, *The Irish famine*. New York, 1995; Cathal Poirteir, editor, *The great Irish famine*. Cork, 1995; Robert J. Scally, *The end of hidden Ireland: rebellion, famine, and emigration*. New York, 1995; and Christine Kinealy, *A death-dealing famine: the great hunger in Ireland*. London, 1997.

<sup>8</sup> B.Collins, 'Irish emigration to Dundee and Paisley during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,' in J.M.Goldstrom and L.A.Clarkson, editors, *Irish population, economy, and society*. 1981, pp.195-212; and J.Bardon, *A History of Ulster*. Belfast, 1992.

<sup>9</sup> For a recent analysis of Irish emigration to the United States, see Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history*. Harlow (Essex) 2000. See also S.H.Cousens, 'The regional variation in emigration from Ireland between 1821 and 1841,' *Institute of British geographers, Transactions and Papers* 37, 1965, pp.15-30; Maldwyn A.Jones, 'Ulster emigration, 1783-1815,' in E.R.R.Green, editor, *Essays in Scotch-Irish history*. London, 1969, pp.46-48; R.J.Dickson, *Ulster emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1785*. Belfast, 1976; Maldwyn A.Jones 'Scotch-Irish,' in Stephan Thernstrom, editor, *Harvard encyclopaedia of American ethnic groups*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980, pp.895-908; Deirdre Mageean, 'Ulster emigration to Philadelphia, 1847-1865: a preliminary analysis using passenger lists,' in Ira Glazier and Luigi de Rosa, editors, *Migration across time and nations: population mobility in historical context*. New York, 1986, pp.276-286; and Deirdre Mageean, 'From Irish countryside to American city: the settlement and mobility of Ulster migrants in Philadelphia,' in Colin.G.Pooley and Ian D.Whyte, editors, *Migrants, emigrants, and immigrants: a social history of migration*. London, 1991, pp.42-61.

during the period 1840-1852 only 242 persons left Liverpool for New Zealand, while no emigrant ships left Irish ports for New Zealand. Rather, British statistics indicate that of 18 146 persons who left the United Kingdom for New Zealand over the period 1840-1852, 16 817 departed from England and the small balance of 1 329 from Scotland.

## **New Zealand Immigration 1840-52**

### **Numbers**

Comprehensive and reliable data relating to New Zealand's population growth during the crown colony period are lacking. The European population of New Zealand was counted in a haphazard way by resident magistrates in each of the settlements from 1840, the data collected forming the basis of the annual *Blue Books*. There was a census of the province of New Munster (the southern part of the North Island and the South Island) in 1848, and a similar census of New Ulster (the northern part of the North Island) in 1851. The first colony-wide census was ordered by the *Census Ordinance of 1851*, and enumeration was carried out by the governments of New Ulster and New Munster, but while the census questions are known, few results were ever published.<sup>11</sup> Graph 2 is based on such data as are available and indicates that from a total of some 11 000 in 1842, the British civil

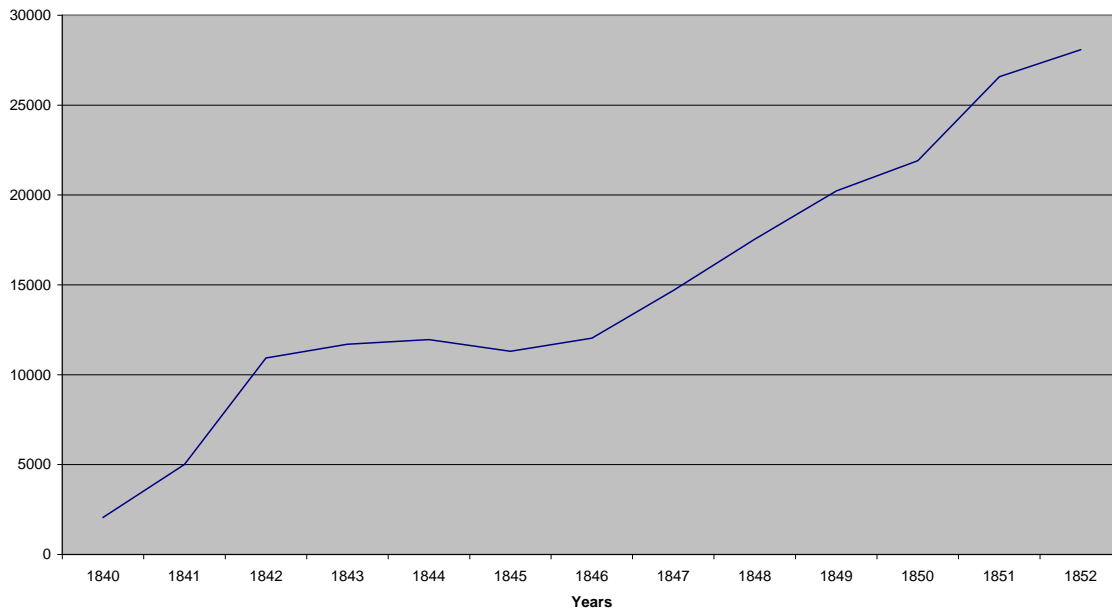
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<sup>10</sup> David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1801-1870,' Chapter XXVII in W.E.Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland, V, Ireland under the union, 1, 1801-1870*. Oxford, 1989, p.565.

<sup>11</sup> *New Zealand official yearbook, 1990*. Wellington, 1990, pp.130-131. Some results for some districts have been published, but even they appear to be less than complete. See James Hight and C.R.Straubel, general editors, *A history of Canterbury. Volume 1: to 1854*. Christchurch, 1957, p.247.

population of New Zealand grew steadily after 1846 to exceed 28 000 in 1852.<sup>12</sup>

Graph 2: Estimated Non-Maori population of New Zealand 1840-52



Most of that growth represented immigration rather than natural increase. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners published separate data of emigration to New Zealand and the details are set out in Table 1. Although the Commissioners' data do not include a small number who sailed in vessels not covered by the *Passenger Acts*, they indicate that, following the establishment of Nelson, direct emigration from the United Kingdom fell to very low levels. That fall reflected both a sharp contraction in the total numbers departing from the United Kingdom following an economic recovery from about 1843, and coincided with the legal and financial difficulties confronting the New Zealand Company, the outbreak of the Northern War in March 1845, an exodus of European settlers to an embattled Auckland, and a growing pessimism about the colony's future. The recovery in the inflow apparent from 1847 marked the departure of emigrants for the settlements at Otago and Canterbury. New Zealand's share of the total emigrant stream departing for Australasia fluctuated sharply, the low proportions in 1841 and

<sup>12</sup> The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, on the basis of despatches from the colony's governor, gave the (total European?) population as 5 000 in 1841 and 13 341 in 1842. See *General report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners*, BPP 1844.xxxi.11.

1852, in particular, reflecting respectively the ‘great migration’ to New South Wales and the discovery of gold in both New South Wales and Victoria.

**Table 1: Gross emigration from the United Kingdom to New Zealand and Australasia, 1840-1852**

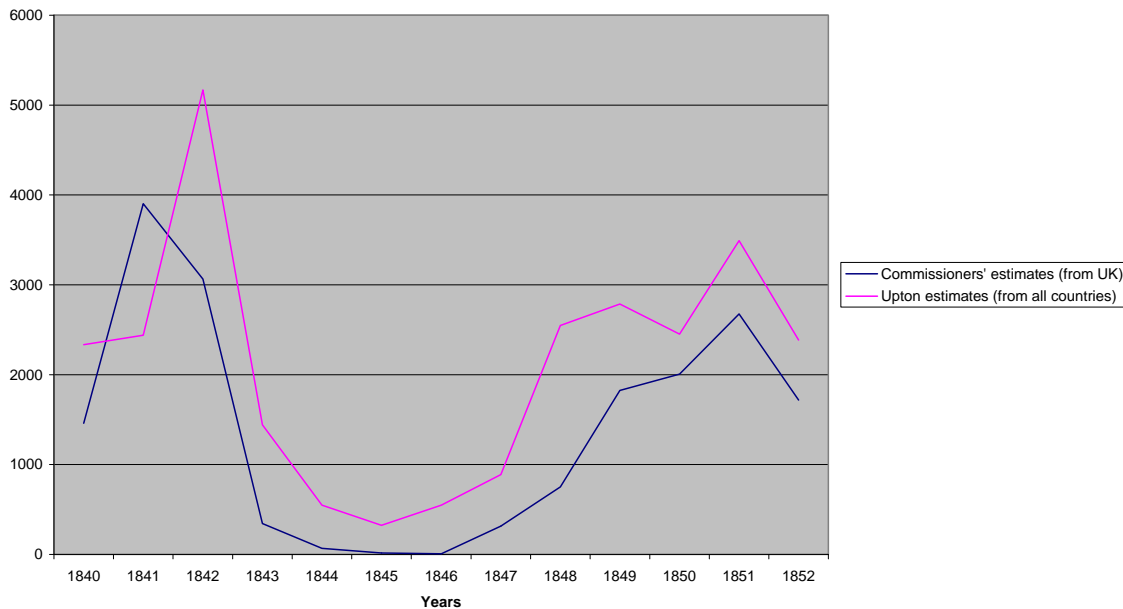
Year	New Zealand	Australasia	New Zealand's share of Australasian total
1840	1 458	15 850	9.2
1841	3 901	32 625	12.0
1842	3 064	8 534	35.9
1843	343	3 478	9.8
1844	68	2 229	3.0
1845	14	830	1.6
1846	6	2 347	0.2
1847	316	4 949	6.3
1848	751	23 904	3.1
1849	1 825 <sup>1</sup>	32 191	5.6
1850	2 005	16 037	12.5
1851	2 677	21 532	12.4
1852	1 718	87 881	1.9
Totals	18 146	252 387	7.2

Source: *General reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, BPP *passim*. <sup>1</sup> Includes 100 for the Auckland Islands.

In New Zealand, official data relating to immigration were compiled for the country as a whole only from 1853. One recent estimate indicates that just under 25 000 people, mainly from the United Kingdom, arrived over the period 1840-1853,<sup>13</sup> although a new estimate, based on a wide variety of sources, puts total civil arrivals from all places for the period 1840-1852 at almost 27 500.<sup>14</sup> Graph 3 sets out the estimates published by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners and those prepared by Sue Upton, and suggests that both followed a similar course, especially when it is allowed that departures recorded in the United Kingdom in one year frequently appeared as arrivals in New Zealand in the following year.

<sup>13</sup> *New Zealand official yearbook, 1990*. Wellington, 1990, p.144.

Graph 3: Immigration to New Zealand, 1840-52

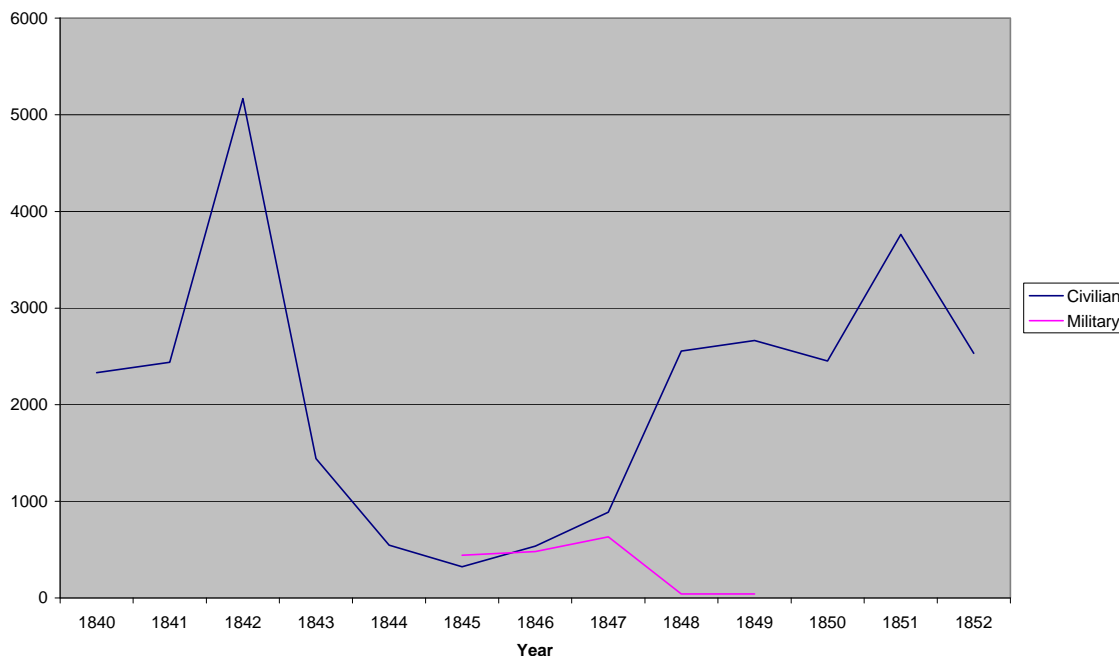


Further, if the two series are even only approximately accurate, then Graph 3 suggests that about two thirds of New Zealand's immigrants during the period 1840-1852 arrived from the United Kingdom. Most of the balance arrived from the Australian Colonies.

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<sup>14</sup> As part of the project, Sue Upton, then of the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs, prepared detailed estimates of immigrant arrivals for the period 1840-1852 from shipping lists and the *New Ulster Gazettes*.

**Graph 4: Immigrants to New Zealand by type, 1840-52**  
(Source: Upton estimates)



Graph 4 sets out both civil and military immigrant arrivals for the period 1840-1852: the comparatively large number of arrivals in the early 1840s and again at the end of the decade clearly reflects the establishment of Wellington (1840), New Plymouth (1841) and Nelson (1842), Otago (1848), and Canterbury (1850). The number of civil arrivals fell to low levels in the middle years of the decade, the same period which saw the arrival of an estimated 1 615 soldiers and their families, largely from Australia. The Northern War, fought in the Bay of Islands between March 1845 and January 1846, drew in the 58<sup>th</sup> (Rutlandshire) Regiment from Australia and the 65<sup>th</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> Yorkshire North Riding) Regiment from England. Thomson notes that the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment included 83 married women and that were 32 children born during 1848.<sup>15</sup>

### Country of Origin

**Table 2: The national composition of the immigrant inflow, 1840-1852**

Born in	1840-52 (sample)	New Munster 1848	New Ulster 1851	NZ census 1858	UK census 1841	Representation indices
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<sup>15</sup> A.S.Thomson, 'A statistical account of Auckland, New Zealand, as it was observed during the year 1848,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, September 1851, pp.227-249. Reference on p.246.



England	64.3	76.5	58.8	65.0	55.4	116
Wales	1.1	0.8	0.4	0.6	3.9	28
Scotland	20.6	17.9	13.0	21.9	9.8	210
Ireland	13.5	4.7	27.8	12.5	30.4	44
Off-shore Isles	0.5				0.5	
n	1061					

Sources: Death registers; Census of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, 1841.

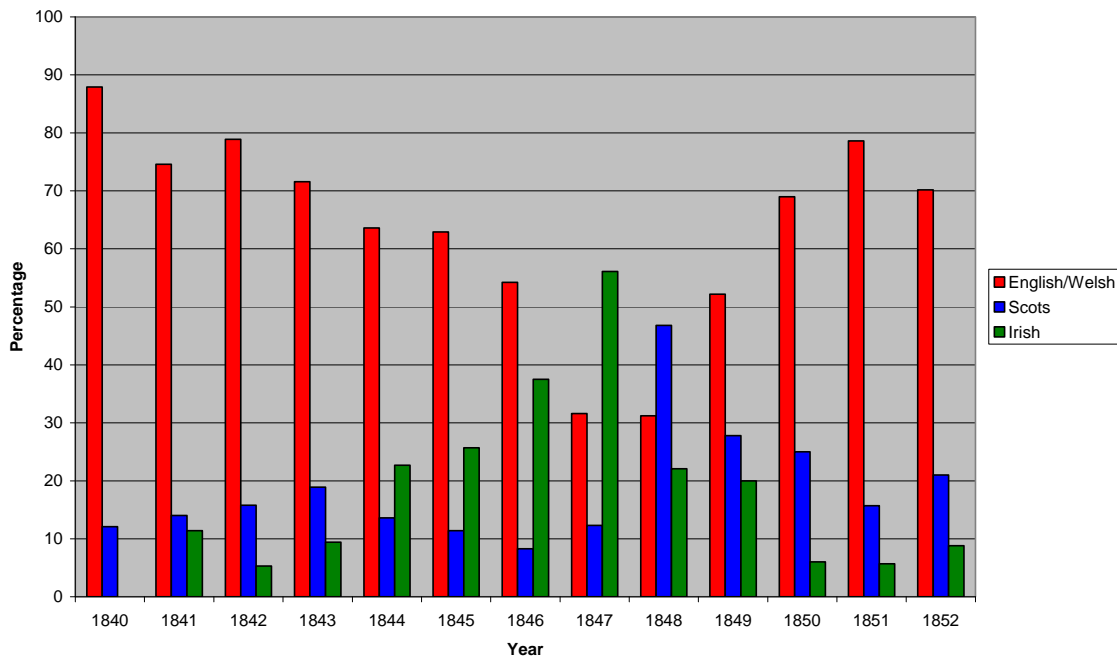
Our analysis is based on a random sample of 1061 persons drawn from the registers of deaths. Table 2 gives the national composition of the immigrants. It provides four other sets of figures for comparison. The first is the composition of the UK born population in New Munster in the census of August 1848. New Munster included Wellington, Wanganui, Nelson, Akaroa and Otago. Interestingly enough the census included the Otago Association's first arrivals and it is worth noting that of Otago's total population of 403 who had been born in the United Kingdom, just 56.8 per cent had been born in Scotland, but 35.7 per cent in England, 1.5 per cent in Wales, and 6.0 per cent in Ireland. Since most of those who arrived under the auspices of the Otago Association were Scots, Otago's pre-New Edinburgh arrivals – the sealers, whalers, and traders – appear to have been largely English with a sprinkling of Irish.<sup>16</sup> The second set of figures is based on the census of New Ulster (including Mangonui, Russell, Auckland and New Plymouth) in November 1851. The third represents the New Zealand census of 1858 and the fourth set of figures is the United Kingdom census of 1841. Finally we provide representation indices which indicate the relationship between our sample and the United Kingdom 1841 population distribution.

Looking at these figures it is worth commenting first on the close correlation between the distribution of national origins in the sample and the New Zealand census figures. Second in all of the New Zealand figures the English and Scots were over-represented by

<sup>16</sup> See *Statistics of New Munster, New Zealand, from 1841 to 1848*. Wellington, 1849. See also James Hight and C.R.Straubel, general editors, *A history of Canterbury, Volume I: to 1854*. Christchurch, 1957,

comparison with their distribution in the United Kingdom, while the Irish were under-represented. The comparison with the New Ulster and New Munster census are also revealing for they point to distinct regional differences within New Zealand. In 1848 New Munster was markedly more English than the rest of the country and contained very few Irish. The numbers for the Scots would rapidly increase in the years after 1848 as the Otago Association recruited migrants north of the border. The striking fact about the New Ulster figures are the high proportion of Irish, who, as we shall see, were especially attracted to Auckland.

**Graph 5: Immigrants from UK by country of origin, 1840-52**  
(Source: Registers of deaths)



As our comment on the Scots suggests and as Graph 5 indicates the national composition did change quite markedly over time. The proportion born in England and Wales declined from 1840 to reach just 31.2 per cent in 1848 before rising sharply to 78.6 per cent in 1851 as Canterbury's settlers arrived. There was a small surge in Scots arrivals in the early 1840s, marking the arrival of an organised group from Paisley settlers into Auckland in 1842 and a much larger increase over the period 1848-1850, clearly marking

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Appendix VI, p.248. The appendix lists religious denominations for Canterbury according to the Census of 1851.

the establishment of Otago. The surge in Irish arrivals in the late 1840s reflected the arrival of Auckland's Fencibles, a large group (2581 in total) of former soldiers and their families brought in from 1847 to strengthen Auckland's defences.

## Gender

**Table 3: Men and Women by nationality, 1840-52 (percentages)**

Born in	Women	Men
England	62.1	65.8
Wales	1.6	0.8
Scotland	20.7	20.6
Ireland	15.4	12.1
Off-shore Isles	0.2	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Death registers

Males significantly outnumbered females, the general sex ratio being 143.9 males per 100 females. While the English/Welsh and Scots inflows were dominated by males (151.4 and 143.3 males per 100 females respectively), the Irish inflow was more evenly balanced with 113.4 males per 100 females. This is reflected in Table 3 where we see the Irish comprising a significantly greater number of the women than of the men. The contrast was even stronger if we just examine the adults. Of those who arrived aged or 20 or over, the sex ratio for the English and Welsh was 174.6, for the Scots 184.1, but for the Irish a very even 108.5. The overall gender ratio for adults was 162.9. Further, the general ratio fluctuated considerably through the period, rising from relatively low levels in the early 1840s to reach 288.9 males per 100 females in 1845 before declining again to low levels in the remaining years of the decade (112.8 males per 100 females in 1850). The relatively low levels at the beginning and end of the 1840s almost certainly reflected the assisted and family-oriented character of both the New Zealand Company inflows into the Southern areas and the Paisley and Fencible settlers into Auckland, while the higher ratios of the middle of the decade and again after 1850 indicate the migration of soldiers and single men coming across the Tasman.

## Age

**Table 4: Ages of Immigrants 1840-52 (percentages)**

<b>Ages</b>	<b>English males</b>	<i>English females</i>	<b>Scots males</b>	<i>Scots females</i>	<b>Irish males</b>	<i>Irish females</i>
<b>0-4</b>	9.4	<i>11.1</i>	7.1	<i>12.4</i>	6.6	<i>10.6</i>
<b>5-9</b>	11.5	<i>17.0</i>	11.0	<i>15.7</i>	5.3	<i>6.1</i>
<b>10-14</b>	9.9	<i>13.7</i>	11.0	<i>9.0</i>	5.3	<i>4.5</i>
<b>15-19</b>	12.0	<i>8.9</i>	7.9	<i>13.5</i>	14.5	<i>7.6</i>
<b>20-24</b>	18.0	<i>8.1</i>	14.2	<i>19.1</i>	15.8	<i>12.1</i>
<b>25-29</b>	15.4	<i>13.7</i>	16.5	<i>10.1</i>	18.4	<i>15.2</i>
<b>30-34</b>	9.9	<i>8.9</i>	15.0	<i>10.1</i>	14.5	<i>22.7</i>
<b>35-39</b>	7.9	<i>8.9</i>	5.5	<i>4.5</i>	3.9	<i>9.1</i>
<b>40-44</b>	3.6	<i>5.6</i>	7.1	<i>4.5</i>	7.9	<i>7.6</i>
<b>45-49</b>	1.4	<i>2.6</i>	1.6	<i>1.1</i>	5.3	<i>3.0</i>
<b>50+</b>	1.0	<i>1.5</i>	3.1	<i>0</i>	2.6	<i>1.5</i>
<b>n</b>	416	<i>270</i>	127	<i>89</i>	76	<i>66</i>

<b>Ages</b>	<b>English males</b>	<i>English females</i>	<b>Scots males</b>	<i>Scots females</i>	<b>Irish males</b>	<i>Irish females</i>
<b>0-14</b>	30.8	<i>41.9</i>	29.1	<i>37.1</i>	17.1	<i>21.2</i>
<b>15-24</b>	30.0	<i>17.0</i>	22.0	<i>32.6</i>	30.3	<i>19.7</i>
<b>25-34</b>	25.2	<i>22.6</i>	31.5	<i>20.2</i>	32.9	<i>37.9</i>
<b>35-44</b>	11.4	<i>14.4</i>	12.6	<i>9.0</i>	11.8	<i>16.7</i>
<b>45+</b>	2.4	<i>4.1</i>	4.7	<i>1.1</i>	7.9	<i>4.5</i>
<b>Ave. age</b>	21.0	<i>20.4</i>	23.4	<i>19.2</i>	25.9	<i>24.9</i>
<b>n</b>	416	<i>270</i>	127	<i>89</i>	76	<i>66</i>

<b>Ages</b>	<b>All males</b>	<b>All females</b>	<b>All</b>
<b>0-14</b>	28.7	37.4	32.3
<b>15-24</b>	28.2	21.0	25.3
<b>25-34</b>	27.4	24.7	26.3

<b>35-44</b>	12.2	13.4	12.7
<b>45+</b>	3.5	3.5	3.5
<b>average</b>	22.1	20.9	21.6
<b>n</b>	624	433	1057

Source: Death registers

At first sight the immigrants of the 1840s seem to be a remarkably young group with an average age of under 25. But we must remember that these figures are derived from the death registers beginning in 1876. Obviously a very high proportion of those who had arrived aged 40 or over would have died before 1876, so we have a sample somewhat skewed towards the younger age groups. However the differences between the groups are worth noting. In general females were younger than males, and a much higher proportion appear to have come as children. Second, the Irish tended to be older. This probably reflected the particular character of the Fencibles inflow.

### Marital Status

**Table 5: Percentage of UK Immigrants married on arrival**

	<b>Eng/ Wales males</b>	<b>Scots males</b>	<b>Irish males</b>	<b>All males</b>	<b>Eng/ Wales females</b>	<b>Scots females</b>	<b>Irish females</b>	<b>All females</b>	<b>All</b>
<b>All</b>	28.6	33.3	36.8	30.6	42.6	40.0	56.7	44.2	36.2
<b>Aged 20+</b>	50.0	53.1	53.8	51.2	83.2	72.7	80.9	80.7	62.4

Source: Death registers

The immigrant body as a whole was dominated by single persons (63.8 per cent), but this is only part of the story when three additional factors are considered. First once we look at those arriving married as adults (aged 20 or over) we see that in fact a clear majority of these were married (62.4%); so that the overall level of the single reflects the large numbers of children. Second when we look at gender we see a marked distinction between men and women. Among adult women four out of very five arrived as wives. Third once we examine country of origin we see a more marked propensity for the Irish to be married than the other groups, with the striking exception of English adult women. This in large part follows from the greater gender evenness among Irish adults and their

smaller number of children. Further differences emerged among the three major national groups when place of marriage prior to arrival was considered. While a high proportion had married in their country of birth, the proportion was lowest in the case of the Irish, 15.4 per cent of whom had married in England. Almost certainly that group included soldiers who had taken their discharge in England. A small proportion (3.4 per cent) of the entire immigrant body had married in Australia prior to arrival in New Zealand, clear evidence that the inflow of the period 1840-1852 included a trans-Tasman component. It is also noticeable that 6.2 per cent of the Irish who married prior to arrival did so in India, an indication that a number of the Fencibles had served in East India Company Army.<sup>17</sup>

## Religion

**Table 6: Religious Denomination at Death of Immigrants 1840-52 (percentages)**

	All	England/Wales	Scotland	Ireland	UK census 1851 for England & Wales <sup>18</sup>	NZ census 1858
Church of England/Ireland	51.8	66.3	19.0	28.8	49.8	51.4
Presbyterian	21.2	7.8	71.7	9.0	0.1	19.4
Methodist	13.6	17.9	4.9	5.4	15.3	10.0
Other Protestant	2.8	3.2	3.3	0.0	11.2	5.1
Catholic	10.2	4.4	1.1	56.8	3.4	11.1
Jewish	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	-	0.1
Not stated	175	107	35	33		2.6
n	1061	698	219	144		59,328

Source: Death registers

Table 6 reveals the religious denomination of the immigrants as indicated by the person officiating at the funeral service. While the data are likely to record fairly accurately the proportions belonging to the Catholic and Protestant churches, the same probably cannot be said for the distribution among the Protestant faiths. However there are some interesting points to note. One is the large number of Anglicans among the English and

<sup>17</sup> So, too, did some of the English. Thus T.M.Haultain, born Buckinghamshire in 1817, and who served in India with the 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot married Jane Bell, the daughter of an officer in the Bengal Heavy Artillery, at Agra in 1844. Haultain was appointed a captain in the Fencibles and arrived in Auckland in 1849. See Joan Stanley, *A Haultain history*. [Matamata, c.1991].

<sup>18</sup> There were also 20.2 per cent of 'other' denominations

the even more disproportionate number of Methodists. Almost a third (32.9 per cent) of those belonging to the dissenting churches were drawn from the South-west of England, considerably in excess of their 23.0 per cent contribution to the English/Welsh flow. Among the Irish one notes the comparatively low numbers of Catholics (56.8 per cent as compared with 80.9 per cent in the Irish population in the 1841 census), and the comparatively high number from the established church (28.8 per cent as compared with 10.7 in the Irish population at home). The differences are revealing. The Catholics at home formed a very large majority in Connacht and Munster and were over-represented among the rural cottiers, labourers and urban unskilled workers. Until 1788 they had been excluded by the penal laws from public office, the leading professions and (largely) the ownership of land. By contrast those belonging to the Church of Ireland were to be found in Ulster (about half of them) and Leinster (about a quarter) and were over-represented among landowners and the professions. The strong representation of members of the established church among the migrants to New Zealand at this time points up to a certain crisis among that community in Ireland. With a contraction in the Irish economy after the Napoleonic Wars, increasing rural conflict and the end of the penal laws, the Anglo-Irish minority in Ireland found their political, economic and social star on the wane. They looked across the sea to the new colonies. They were a distinctive presence in Australia in this period; and by extension also in New Zealand.<sup>19</sup> Finally it is worth comment that although the Catholic percentages were not great among the English and Welsh (under 5 per cent) yet as a proportion of the total number of Catholics the English and Welsh comprised over 28 per cent. The Catholic church at this stage was not overwhelmingly Irish.

### **Occupation**

#### **Table 7: Occupational backgrounds of immigrants aged 20 and over, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

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<sup>19</sup> T.McClaughlin, 'Protestant-Irish settlement,' in James Jupp, general editor, *The Australian people: an encyclopaedia of the nation, its people and their origins*. North Ryde, 1988, pp.573-576. Gordon Forth, "'No petty people": the Anglo-Irish identity in colonial Australia,' in P.O'Sullivan, editor, *The Irish in new communities*. London, 1992, pp.128-142. See also G.Forth, 'Anglo-Irish,' in James Jupp, *The Australian people: an encyclopaedia of the nation, its people and their origins*. North Ryde, 1988, p. 577. On the Anglo-Irish in New Zealand, see, for example, Edmund Bohan, *'Blest madman': Fitzgerald of Canterbury*. Christchurch, 1998.

<b>Occupations of fathers</b>	<b>Eng/Welsh</b>	<b>Scots</b>	<b>Irish</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Agriculture</i>				
Farmers	23.4	37.0	37.5	28.4
Agricultural labourers	5.2	4.0	3.1	4.6
Total agriculture	28.5	41.0	40.6	33.0
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	10.0	2.0	4.7	7.5
<i>Servants</i>	1.0	-	1.6	0.9
<i>Occupations with little technical change</i>				
Building	6.9	7.0	6.3	6.8
Mining	2.4	0.0	0.0	1.5
Transport (traditional)	2.1	2.0	0.0	1.8
Other pre-industrial	19.2	9.0	18.8	16.9
Total pre-industrial	30.6	18.0	25.0	27.0
<i>Occupations with great technical change</i>				
Industrial	4.1	14.0	7.8	6.8
<i>White collar</i>	21.3	18.0	14.1	19.6
<i>Other occupations</i>				
Soldiers	1.4	2.0	4.7	2.0
Seaman	1.7	4.0	1.6	2.2
Others	1.4	1.0	0.0	1.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
not stated	89	25	35	149
Total	380	125	99	604

Source: Death registers

Table 7 shows the occupational background of the fathers of those immigrants aged 20 or above. It is important to note that the information does not exist for a high proportion of the sample. The findings point up the very large numbers with an agricultural and pre-industrial craft background and the surprising number from the white collar classes, especially among the English. On the other hand there were few from the industrial communities of Britain among New Zealand's early immigrants, with the slight exception of the Scots, a probable reflection of the Paisley migrants. One also notes the representation of people whose fathers were soldiers among the Irish.

### **Regional origins: English/Welsh**

**Table 8: Regional origins of New Zealand's English and Welsh immigrants, 1840-1852 (per cent)**



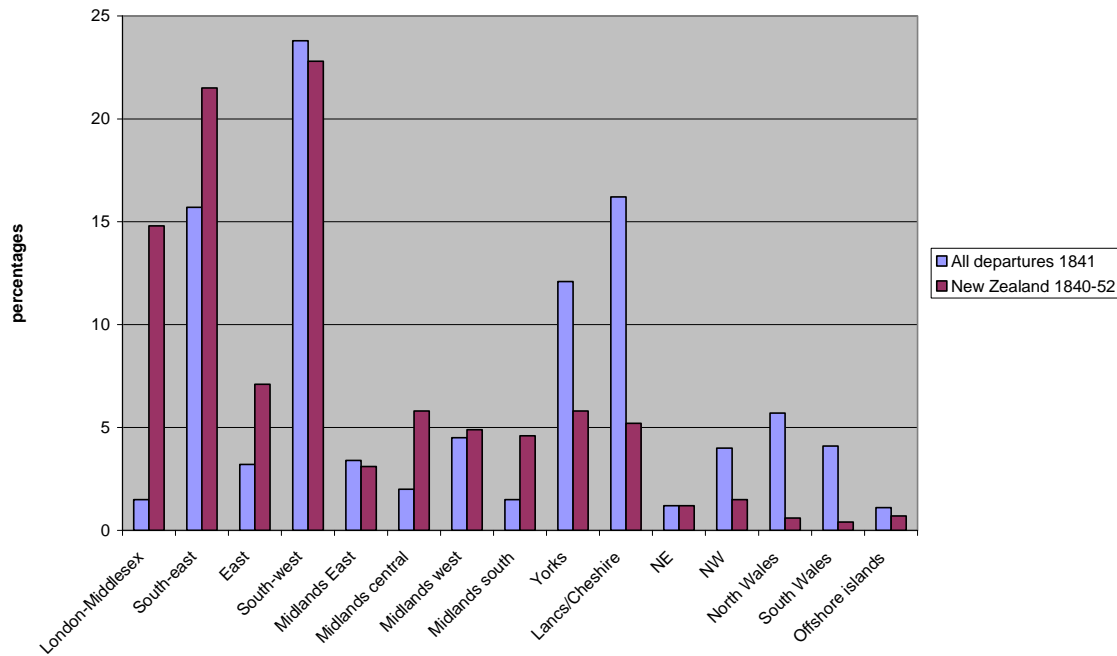
Regions	Share of NZ Immigrants <sup>1</sup>	Share of E/W population, 1841 <sup>2</sup>	Representation Indices
London-Middlesex	14.8	9.8	151
South-East	21.5	11.1	193
East	7.1	10.5	68
South-west	22.8	10.9	209
Midlands			
East	3.1	5.8	53
Central	5.8	5.7	102
West	4.9	6.3	77
South	4.6	4.6	99
Yorkshire	5.8	9.9	58
Lancashire/Cheshire	5.2	12.9	40
North-east	1.2	3.6	33
North-west	1.5	1.4	104
North Wales	0.6	3.6	17
South Wales	0.4	2.9	14
Off-shore islands	0.7	0.8	91
	100.0	100.0	
Not stated	25		
N	698		

Sources: Death registers, Census of England and Wales, 1841, *Abstract return pursuant to act for taking account of population of Great Britain*, BPP 1843.xxii.1.

1 Persons born; 2 persons enumerated.

Table 8 provides the regional origins as indicated by place of birth of the English and Welsh immigrants to New Zealand, and this is compared with the distribution of the population in 1841. The marked over-representation of London-Middlesex, the south-east, and the south-west, and the marked under-representation of the north and of Wales is apparent with the Midlands slightly under-represented. This pattern was true not only of New Zealand's migrants relative to the home population; but even with respect to those who leaving Britain at that time.

**Graph 6: Regional Origins of English/Welsh Migrants to New Zealand, 1840-52 and all emigrants 1841**



Graph 6 draws on a special enumeration which was included in the census of 1841 and gave the last county of residence (not of birth) of the 9 501 English and Welsh emigrants who departed for all destinations overseas in the first six months of 1841. This showed that a large proportion of all emigrants came from the south-east and the south-west, counties in which agriculture was depressed. Large numbers came from Sussex and Kent in the home counties and from Cornwall, Somerset, Devon and Dorset in the south-west. In that sense New Zealand's pattern of migration was not atypical. On the other hand, the largest numbers of all the emigrants came from Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, areas at the centre of economic change, and also from Monmouth in Wales.<sup>20</sup> These were significantly not areas of strong migration to New Zealand. Further the numbers coming from London-Middlesex were hugely higher in the New Zealand case. In these respects the flow to New Zealand in the 1840s was distinctive.

When we examine who these people from London were, it is not surprising that under 10 per cent of them had fathers who were farmers or farm labourers. These were not recent

<sup>20</sup> Dudley Baines, *Migration in a mature economy: emigration and internal migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900*. Cambridge, 1985, p.73.

migrants from rural areas. Those in the building trade were very well represented (20 per cent of the total) and so were people with a craft background (another 20 per cent). But the largest group were merchants or those with a white collar background (37.5 per cent).

**Table 9: County of birth of English and Welsh immigrants to New Zealand, 1840-52**

<b>Regions and Counties</b>	<b>1840-1852</b>	<b>Representation Indices, (1841 Census)</b>
<b>England &amp; Wales</b>		
<b>London-Middlesex</b>		
London	14.2	151 (inc Middlesex)
Middlesex	0.6	-
<b>South East</b>		
Hampshire	5.2	235
Kent	10.7	313
Surrey	2.5	69
Sussex	3.1	166
<b>East</b>		
Cambridgeshire	0.4	39
Essex	2.1	98
Lincolnshire	0.7	31
Norfolk	2.8	109
Suffolk	1.0	51
<b>South West</b>		
Cornwall	6.7	315
Devonshire	6.8	204
Dorsetshire	1.6	147
Somersetshire	4.9	180
Wiltshire	2.8	173
<b>Midlands East</b>		
Derbyshire	1.5	88
Leicestershire	0.4	30
Northamptonshire	0.3	24
Nottinghamshire	0.9	58
<b>Midlands Central</b>		
Staffordshire	1.6	50
Warwickshire	4.1	164

<b>Midlands West</b>		
Gloucestershire	3.3	123
Herefordshire	0.3	42
Shropshire	0.4	27
Worcestershire	0.9	62
<b>Midlands South</b>		
Bedfordshire	0.9	134
Berkshire	1.2	120
Buckinghamshire	0.6	62
Hertfordshire	0.7	71
Oxfordshire	1.2	119
<b>Yorkshire</b>	5.8	58
<b>Lancashire/Cheshire</b>		
Cheshire	1.3	53
Lancashire	3.9	37
<b>North East</b>		
Durham	0.3	15
Northumberland	0.9	58
<b>North West</b>		
Cumberland	1.2	108
Westmorland	0.3	86
<b>North Wales</b>		
Montgomeryshire	0.1	23
Pembrokeshire	0.3	55
Radnorshire	0.1	64
<b>South Wales</b>		
Glamorganshire	0.1	9
Monmouthshire	0.1	18
<b>Offshore islands</b>		
Channel Islands	0.6	128
Isle of Man	0.1	33

Source: Death registers

In terms of counties New Zealand drew 59 per cent of its English and Welsh immigrants from just eight counties – Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset in the south-west; Hampshire and Kent in the south-east; London (including Middlesex); Warwick in the central Midlands; and Yorkshire. Those eight counties each supplied a large proportion, that is over four per cent, and all except Yorkshire were over-represented. The representation indices emphasise the extent to which Kent and Hampshire, Cornwall and Devon were

over-represented. Several other counties made smaller (less than four per cent) contributions, among them Dorset and Wiltshire in the south-west; Sussex in the South-east; Bedford in the south Midlands; and Gloucester in the west Midlands. As might be expected from the regional figures, the counties of eastern, northern, western and central England and all of Wales were significantly under-represented as contributors. Clearly, those immigrants of English and Welsh origin who arrived in New Zealand during the period 1840-1852 were not representative in a geographical or regional sense of the home population.

When we examine those counties which sent large numbers to New Zealand, some interesting patterns reveal themselves. We have already noted the predominance of white collar people from London. But this was far from the case in the neighbouring county of Kent, where people whose fathers were from the white collar class were under-represented. By far the largest group from Kent had fathers who were either farmers or agricultural labourers – 56% of the total or twice as much as the national average. People from a craft background were not well represented (12 per cent). Of those coming from Cornwall, people whose fathers were miners were way over-represented (18 per cent), while children of builders and other pre-industrial craftsmen who were also numerous (39 per cent combined). People from a farming background were in fact slightly under-represented (24 per cent). However in the neighbouring counties of Devon and Somerset those from the farm were very well represented – about 50 per cent in both cases. The fact that over a third of the Cornish were Methodists is also of some interest.

### **Regional origins: Scots**

**Table 10: Regional origins of New Zealand's Scottish immigrants, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

<b>Regions</b>	<b>Share of New Zealand's total<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Share of Scottish population, 1841<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Representation indices</b>
Far North	6.1	3.7	165
Highlands	10.3	12.0	86
North-east	7.0	12.2	57
Eastern Lowlands	37.1	34.0	109
Western Lowlands	36.2	28.5	127

Borders	3.3	9.6	34
	100.0	100.0	
Not stated (number)	6		
n=	213		

Sources: Registers of deaths, and Census of Scotland, 1841. <sup>1</sup> Persons born; <sup>2</sup> persons enumerated.

**Graph 7: Region of origin of Immigrants from Scotland, 1840-52**  
(Sources: Registers of deaths, UK census 1841)

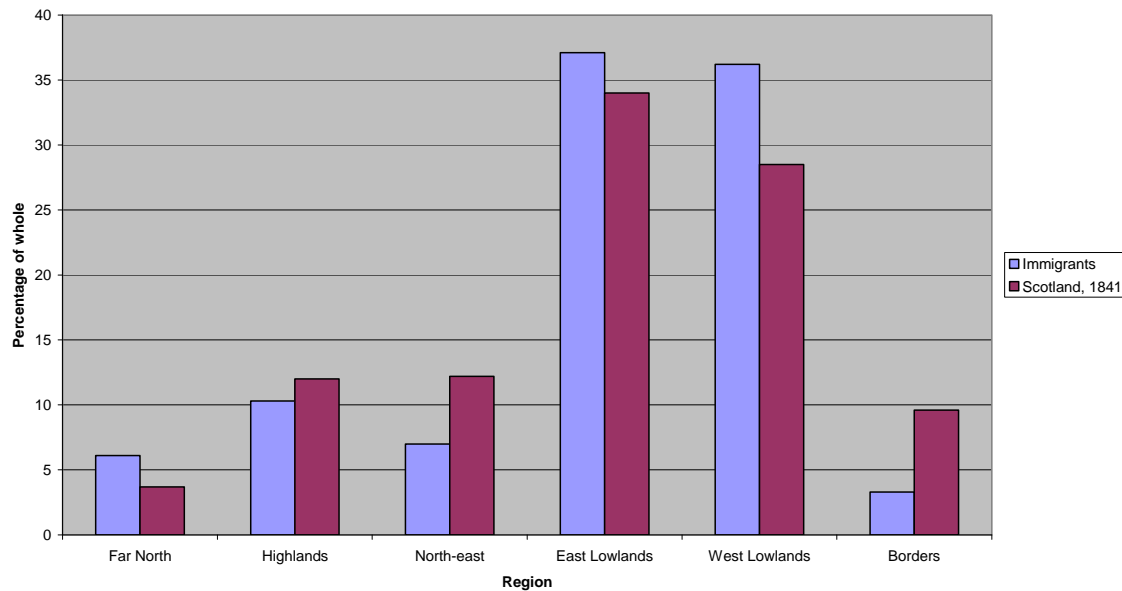


Table 10 sets out the regional origins of New Zealand's Scottish immigrants for the period 1840-1852, and Graph 7 presents this in graphical form. Those born in two regions, the Far North and the Western Lowlands, were over-represented, while those born in the Highlands, the North-east, and the Borders were under-represented.

**Table 11: County of Origin of New Zealand's Scottish Immigrants**

Regions and Counties	1840-1852	Representation Indices, (1841 Census)
<b>Far North</b>		
Caithness	4.2	307
Orkney	0.5	83
Shetland	1.4	(Orkney & Shetland)
<b>Highlands</b>		
Argyll	1.9	51
Bute	1.9	318
Inverness	2.8	76

Ross	1.9	64
Sutherland	1.9	203
<b>North-east</b>		
Aberdeen	5.6	77
Moray	1.4	105
<b>East Lowlands</b>		
Angus (Forfarshire)	5.2	80
Clackmannan	0.5	69
Dunbarton	1.9	114
Eastlothian (Haddington)	0.9	66
Fife	3.8	71
Midlothian (Edinburgh)	16.9	197
Perth	2.8	53
Stirling	3.8	122
Westlothian (Linlithgow)	1.4	137
<b>West Lowlands</b>		
Ayr	8.9	142
Lanark	18.8	116
Renfrew	8.5	144
<b>Borders</b>		
Berwick	1.4	107
Dumfries	0.5	18
Roxburgh	0.9	51
Wigtown	0.5	30
Not stated	6	
N	213	
	100.0	

Seven counties in Scotland supplied 68.1 per cent of all the Scots immigrants who arrived in New Zealand over the period 1840-1852 – Caithness in the Far North; Aberdeen in the North-east; Angus and Midlothian in the Eastern Lowlands; and Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark in the Western Lowlands. Of those seven counties, the native-born of all but Aberdeen and Angus were also over-represented. When we look at the characteristics of people from the leading counties, it is clear that those from Caithness came overwhelmingly from a farming background, while in the more urban areas of Midlothian and Lanark children of farmers were strongly under-represented (only 14 per cent from

Lanark). In other words those who came from Glasgow and Edinburgh to New Zealand in the 1840s do not appear to have been recent immigrants off the farm.

### Regional origins: Irish

**Table 12: Provincial origins of New Zealand's Irish immigrants, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

Provinces	Share of New Zealand's total <sup>1</sup>	Share of Irish population, 1841 <sup>2</sup>	Representation indices
Connacht	6.3	17.4	37
Leinster	34.1	24.1	141
Munster	27.8	29.3	95
Ulster	31.7	29.2	109
	100.0	100.0	
Not stated (number)	18		
n=	144		

Source: Death registers and Census of Ireland, 1841. <sup>1</sup> Persons born; <sup>2</sup> persons enumerated

**Graph 8: Regional Origin of Immigrants to NZ from Ireland, 1840-52**  
(Sources: Registers of Deaths, UK census, 1841)

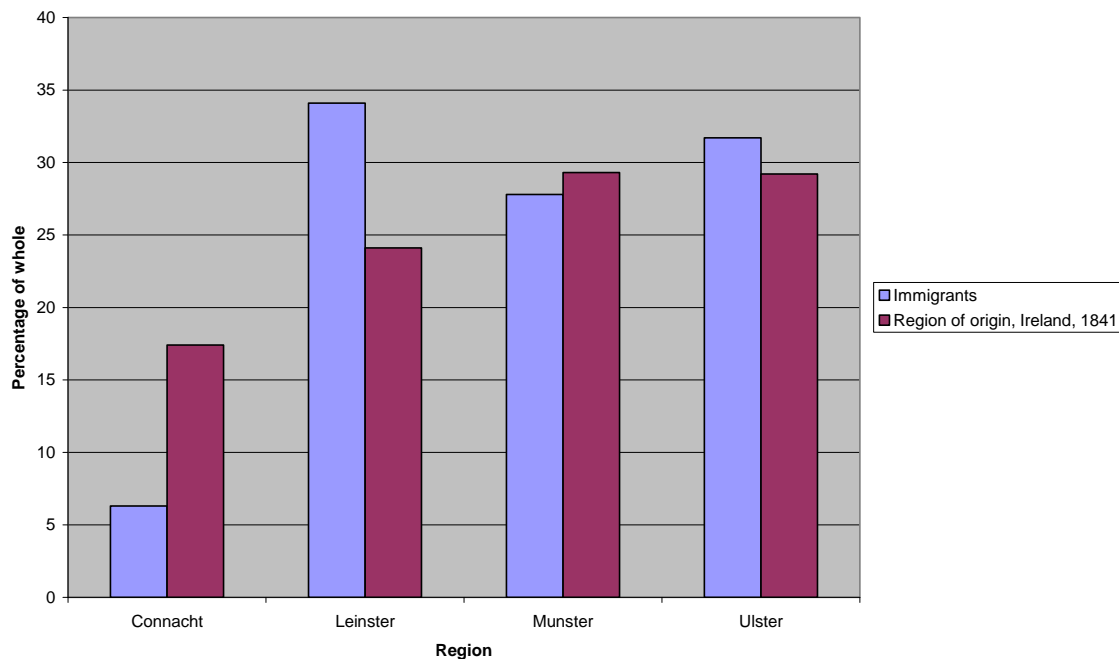


Table 12 sets out the provincial origins of New Zealand's Irish-born immigrants and graph 8 presents this in graphical form. It will be seen that those born in Leinster as a



whole were over-represented in the inflow, those in Connacht significantly under-represented, and those in both Munster and Ulster more or less evenly represented.

**Table 13: County of birth of New Zealand's Irish Immigrants, 1840-52**

<b>Regions and Counties</b>	<b>1840-1852</b>	<b>Representation Indices, (1841 Census)</b>
<b>Connacht</b>		
Galway	4.0	74
Leitrim	0.8	42
Mayo	1.6	34
<b>Leinster</b>		
Dublin	19.8	434
Kildare	0.8	57
Kilkenny	2.4	97
King's Country	2.4	134
Longford	0.8	57
Louth	0.8	58
Queen's Country	1.6	85
Westmeath	0.8	46
Wexford	2.4	97
Wicklowl	1.6	103
<b>Munster</b>		
Clare	1.6	46
Cork	10.3	109
Limerick	8.7	255
Tipperary	4.8	91
Waterford	2.4	100
<b>Ulster</b>		
Antrim	5.6	157
Armagh	4.8	168
Cavan	1.6	54
Donegal	2.4	66
Down	5.6	127
Fermanagh	3.2	168
Londonderry	4.8	176
Monaghan	0.8	33
Tyrone	3.2	84
Not stated	18	
N	144	

As table 13 shows, New Zealand drew almost two-thirds (64.4 per cent) of its Irish immigrants over the period 1840-1852 from just eight counties – County Dublin in Leinster; Counties Cork, Limerick and Tipperary in Munster; and Counties Antrim, Armagh, Down, and Londonderry in Ulster. With the sole exception of County Tipperary, the native-born of those counties were also over-represented. That was especially true of County Dublin and (to a lesser extent) of Counties Armagh, Limerick and Londonderry. A representation index of 430.4 for County Dublin reflected the fact that while the county contained 4.6 per cent of Ireland’s population in 1841, it contributed 19.8 per cent of New Zealand’s Irish immigrants. Those from Dublin were very much members of the elite Anglo-Irish community, for of those from Dublin whose father’s occupations were recorded exactly half (8 of 16) were either from white collar professions or were gentlemen, and all but 2 of these were buried as members of the Church of England. There were also 2 children of soldiers which suggests that a number came out with the British army. In Ulster the over-representation of those born in the predominantly Protestant counties was off-set by the under-representation of those born in the more Catholic counties of Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan.

### Place of death

**Table 14: Place of death of immigrants 1840-52 (percentages of country of birth)**

<b>Region</b>	<b>England/Wales</b>	<b>Scotland</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>All</b>
<b>Northland</b>	0.9	1.4	0.0	0.9
<b>Auckland</b>	16.0	18.3	56.3	22.3
<b>Waikato/Coro.</b>	2.3	4.1	5.6	3.1
<b>Bay of Plenty</b>	0.9	0.0	1.4	0.8
<b>Gisborne</b>	0.4	0.9	0.0	0.5
<b>Taranaki</b>	11.4	2.1	1.8	8.2
<b>Hawkes Bay</b>	1.4	2.3	3.5	1.9
<b>Manawatu/Wang</b>	5.6	5.5	4.9	5.5
<b>Wairarapa</b>	2.9	2.3	2.1	2.6
<b>Wellington</b>	9.7	4.1	7.7	8.3
<b>Nelson</b>	14.1	9.1	1.4	11.4
<b>Marlborough</b>	5.3	4.1	2.8	4.7
<b>Canterbury</b>	20.1	7.3	8.5	15.8
<b>West Coast</b>	1.0	1.8	0.7	1.1
<b>Otago</b>	4.3	33.8	2.8	10.2

<b>Southland</b>	3.6	3.2	0.7	3.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>unknown</b>	3	0	1	4
<b>Number</b>	696	219	143	1058

Source: Death registers

**Table 15: Place of death of immigrants 1840-52 (percentages of UK immigrants in region of death)**

<b>Region</b>	<b>England/Wales</b>	<b>Scotland</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>Northland</b>	66.7	33.3	0.0	9
<b>Auckland</b>	47.2	17.0	34.0	235
<b>Waikato/Coro.</b>	48.5	27.3	24.2	33
<b>Bay of Plenty</b>	75.0	0.0	25.0	8
<b>Gisborne</b>	60.0	40.0	0.0	5
<b>Taranaki</b>	91.9	4.7	3.5	86
<b>Hawkes Bay</b>	50.0	25.0	25.0	20
<b>Manawatu/Wang</b>	67.2	20.7	12.1	58
<b>Wairarapa</b>	74.1	18.5	17.4	27
<b>Wellington</b>	77.0	10.3	12.6	87
<b>Nelson</b>	81.7	16.7	1.7	120
<b>Marlborough</b>	74.0	18.0	8.0	50
<b>Canterbury</b>	83.2	9.6	7.2	167
<b>West Coast</b>	58.3	33.3	8.3	12
<b>Otago</b>	27.8	68.5	3.7	108
<b>Southland</b>	75.8	21.2	3.0	33
<b>ALL</b>	65.8	20.7	13.5	
<b>unknown</b>	3	0	1	4
<b>Number</b>	696	219	143	1058

Source: Death registers

The death registers record the place of death and so provide some indication of where immigrants of each nationality clustered. Clearly given the high geographical mobility of 19<sup>th</sup> century New Zealand's population, it is not all certain that the numbers from a particular national group who arrived in one region are accurately represented by the distribution at death. Nevertheless the figures are suggestive. Table 14 provides the distribution of the total sample from each national group broken down by their percentage of region of death. The regions are derived from modern regional boundaries. Table 15 provides the percentage of the sample who died in each region broken down by nationality of birth. There are some suggestive findings. In both tables Canterbury, Taranaki and Nelson attracted large numbers of English immigrants, which is clearly a

reflection of their Wakefield settlement origins. As Table 15 shows the whole of the central part of the country from Taranaki to Canterbury (but excluding Hawkes Bay) attracted the English. As regards the Scots the importance of Otago is not unexpected, but the fact that a comparatively low number of the 1840s migrants settled in Southland is more striking. Auckland presents its own pattern – with under half our sample deriving from England and over a third from Ireland. Further 56 per cent of the Irish in the sample died in Auckland, and the Waikato area was also well represented. This was probably in part a consequence of the presence of Irish soldiers in the Auckland area. Because of the distinctiveness of Auckland, we also conducted a sample of that population. To this ample we now turn.

## **Auckland's British immigrants, 1840-1852**

### **Immigrant Flows**

'The haphazard fashion of the young capital's growth,' observed J.C.Cowan, 'presented the strongest of contrasts to the systematic establishment and development of the Canterbury colony. Settlers and storekeepers, speculators and labourers, a medley of humanity, all trades and all grades of society came in by every barque and brig and schooner from Sydney or more remote parts, attracted by the reports of cheap land and quick profits.'<sup>21</sup> Later historians have agreed, McCaskill, for example, observing that unlike New Zealand's other five original provinces, the settlement of Auckland, founded in September 1840, 'did not originate in planned colonisation by a relatively homogenous group. The population has always been more varied in race and origin than that of the other New Zealand provinces.'<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> J.C.Cowan, 'The story of Auckland,' *Auckland Star* 24 July 1928 – 8 January 1929, p.13. William Fox, in *The six colonies of New Zealand*. London, 1851, pp.40-42, offered a more jaundiced assessment, suggesting that Auckland 'was a mere section of the town of Sydney transplanted to the shores of New Zealand ... As an instance of colonisation, it was altogether rotten, delusive, and Algerine.'

<sup>22</sup> Murray McCaskill, 'Auckland Province,' in A.H.McLintock, editor, *An encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1966, Volume 1, p.124. See also Violet Ward, *Immigrants and immigration in the Auckland Province 1792-1876*, MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1943; J.R.Phillips, *A social history of Auckland, 1840-1853*. MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1966; and John Horsman, *The coming of the pakeha to Auckland Province*. Wellington, 1971, p.51.

Despite this generalisation there were a number of significant efforts to organise and assist immigration into Auckland before 1853. Some were unsuccessful, others were short-lived, most were small in scale, and those undertaken made a distinctive contribution to the province's demographic character. They included the following:

*Waitemata and Manukau Company*: Also known as the New Zealand and Manukau Land Company, the venture was sponsored in Edinburgh in 1838 by a group of Scottish landed gentry as an offshoot of the New Zealand Company.<sup>23</sup> The company was incorporated in 1840. It appears to have 'purchased,' in 1838, some 30 000 to 40 000 acres around the Manukau and Waitemata Harbours and endeavoured to negotiate, unsuccessfully, an arrangement with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners by which it would conduct the Commissioners' emigration projects. The company proceeded with its own plans, selling sections of land, and in 1841 despatched, from the Clyde, the *Brilliant* with its first 27 settlers, most of whom had been recruited in Scotland.<sup>24</sup> Two further ships followed, the *Osprey* and the *Louisa Campbell*, the latter with some 80 settlers.<sup>25</sup> A settlement was established at Cornwallis Point, but difficulties over establishing its land claims put an end to the company's plans for immigration, while most of the settlers moved into Onehunga and Auckland.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> R.C.J.Stone, *From Tamaki-makau-rau to Auckland*. Auckland, 2001, pp.194-205. See also R.A.A. Sherrin, *Early history of New Zealand : from earliest times to 1840* by R.A.A.Sherrin; *from 1840 to 1845*, by J.H.Wallace. Auckland, 1890, p.597; and J.C.Cowan, 'The story of Auckland,' *Auckland Star* 24 July 1828 – 8 January 1929.

<sup>24</sup> See PRO CO 209/36 in John Horsman, *The coming of the pakeha to Auckland province*. Wellington, 1971, p.77. See also R.C.J.Stone, *From Tamaki-makau-rau to Auckland*. Auckland, 2001, pp.301-306.

<sup>25</sup> See Joanne Robinson, *Robinsons of Rotherhithe*. Auckland, 1992.

<sup>26</sup> One other attempt to establish a settlement in the province – and which ended in tragedy and failure - was that proposed for Kaipara. In 1841 a Dr Day and Rev N. Turner purchased 1 000 acres of land in the Kaihu Valley, Wairoa, on behalf of some Wesleyan friends in County Cork. The party consisting of four married couples, 16 children, and one servant arrived in Auckland in 1841, but on the voyage to the settlement, all but three drowned when the *Sophia Pate* foundered at the entrance to Kaipara Harbour. R.A.A.Sherrin, *Early history of New Zealand: from earliest times to 1840* by R.A.A.Sherrin; *from 1840 to 1845* by J.H.Wallace. Auckland, 1890. p.597; and T.M.I.Williment, *John Hobbs, 1800-1883: Wesleyan missionary to the Ngapuhi tribe of northern New Zealand*. Wellington, 1985, pp.160-161. See also A.B.Chappell, *Across a hundred years 1841-1941: a brief story of the beginning and early progress of Methodism in Auckland, NZ.*[Auckland], 1941, pp..3-10.

*The Paisley Immigrants:* The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners dispatched one sizeable group of settlers to New Zealand, largely drawn from Paisley in Scotland, but also including some of Irish birth who had moved into western Scotland in considerable numbers from the north-west and north-central counties (and especially Counties Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Londonderry) from the 1820s onwards.<sup>27</sup> It also included some English emigrants who had originally embarked at Liverpool for the United States, but, upon their ship having been ‘compelled to put into Greenock,’ re-embarked for New Zealand.<sup>28</sup> The stimulus to this movement is to be found in the difficulties which the textile industry and its workforce experienced in the years after 1815 which culminated in the severe recession of 1839-1842. Unemployment in Paisley, a highly specialised textile town, surged so that by March 1842, the worst month of Paisley’s, almost 15 000 people were dependent on voluntarily subscribed relief funds. Scottish Poor Law did not admit of any clear right of the unemployed to relief.

Local efforts were soon exhausted.<sup>29</sup> So a meeting of ‘unemployed operatives who are desirous of emigrating’ resolved to petition the Imperial Government to raise an emigration fund to assist those who were desirous of doing so to emigrate to Canada, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, or New Zealand.<sup>30</sup> In April the *Paisley Advertiser* indicated that the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners had decided to send two ships to the ‘prosperous Colony’ of New Zealand, specifically to Auckland.<sup>31</sup> Within

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<sup>27</sup> Brenda Collins, ‘The origins of Irish immigration to Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,’ and Graham Walker, ‘The Protestant Irish in Scotland,’ in T.M.Devine, editor, *Irish immigrants and Scottish society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Edinburgh, 1991, pp.1-18 and 44-66 respectively. Cowan claimed that those who arrived in Auckland ‘were mostly Lowlanders from Ayrshire and Galloway.’ See J.C.Cowan, *Settlers and pioneers*. Wellington, 1940, p.30.

<sup>28</sup> See *General report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, BPP 1842.xxv.55, and *General report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners*, BPP 1843.xxix.15. See also J.S.Marais, *The colonisation of New Zealand*. London, 1968, p.63. In fact, the ship concerned, the *Mersey*, was forced to abandon several attempts to reach the United States. Among those who finally embarked on the Duchess of Argyll were John Bell and his wife and child, of Penrith in Cumberland. See Jean Bartlett, *The emigrants: the story of John and Sarah Bell of Cumberland, Auckland, and Ardmore, Auckland*. 1974, 1992.

<sup>29</sup> H.J.M.Johnston, *British emigration policy 1815-1830: ‘Shovelling out paupers.’* Oxford, 1972, pp.101-103; Norman Murray, *The Scottish handloom weavers 1790-1850: a social history*. Edinburgh, 1978, p.1; and See T.C.Smout, ‘The strange intervention of Edward Twistleton: Paisley in depression, 1841-3,’ in T.C.Smout, editor, *The search for wealth and stability: essays in economic and social history presented to M.W.Flinn*. London, 1979, pp.218-242. See also, *Second report from select committee on emigration from the United Kingdom*, BPP 1826-1827.v.3.

<sup>30</sup> *Paisley Advertiser* 19 March 1842.

<sup>31</sup> *Paisley Advertiser* 9 April 1842.

two weeks some 350 applications had been lodged. Two ships, the *Duchess of Argyll* and the *Jane Gifford*, were eventually dispatched carrying migrants described by Wily as ‘nearly all farmers of a good type...,’ by Tonson as ‘farmers of a fine and sturdy type,’ but by Stone as mostly labouring people in poor circumstances.’<sup>32</sup> Criticism that these people - weavers and millwrights and those accustomed to living in towns – were ‘very ill-adapted for this colony,’ meant that no further groups were sent.<sup>33</sup> A higher death rate in transit than on ships sent to Van Dieman’s Land was attributed to ‘the circumstance that the people were drawn from parts of Scotland where distress had been prevalent.’<sup>34</sup> The passenger lists for both ships contain details of 514 persons. Of that number 33 were single women ranging in age from 13 to 38 years with an average age of 20 years; 33 were single men ranging in age from 14 to 30 years with an average age of 19.7 years; three were married women travelling without their spouses but each with four children of mostly older ages; and 108 married couples, childless or with young families.<sup>35</sup> The Paisley emigrants made up a distinctive component of Auckland’s early population, although numbers from the town and district also settled in Wellington.

*Parkhurst Boys:* In November 1842, amid claims that the Imperial Government had breached an undertaking not to dispatch convicts to New Zealand, inmates of Parkhurst on the Isle of Wight arrived in Auckland, ostensibly to relieve a shortage of workmen. Buckley indicates that 98 were embarked upon the *St George* which arrived in October 1842 and 31 upon the *Mandarin* a year later, in October 1843.<sup>36</sup> Aged between 11 and

<sup>32</sup> H.E.R.L. Wily, *South Auckland*. Pukekohe, 1939, p.87; A.E.Tonson, *Old Manukau*. Auckland, 1966, p.57; and R.C.J.Stone *Makers of fortune. A colonial business community and its fall*. Auckland, 1973, p.6. See also M.W.Clarke and J.P.Webster, ‘Auckland – 150 years ago: the story of the *Jane Gifford* & the *Duchess of Argyle*,’ *New Zealand genealogist* 23, 217, 1992, pp.310-312.

<sup>33</sup> J.Marais, *The colonisation of New Zealand*. London, 1968, p.161. The quotation is from Fitzroy to Stanley, 18 April 1844.

<sup>34</sup> *Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, BPP 1843.xxix.15.

<sup>35</sup> For an accounts of Paisley families, see Alison Ryan, *The descendants of William Lang Thorburn and Mary Robertson Spiers in New Zealand 1842-1992*. Auckland, 1992 - two of Thorburn’s brothers followed him to New Zealand, arriving during the 1850s); Mary Ross Sinclair, *Cousins & double cousins*. [Auckland], 1997; and A.Kay Carter, *Fishers of Pukerimu: sons and daughters of the land, 1866-1896*. Paraparumu, 1998 - Archibald and Janet Wallace (nee Muir), of Moscow near Kilmarnock in Ayr, arrived on the *Duchess of Argyle* and were followed in 1856 by Margaret Muir and her husband Dugald Fisher. See also ‘Immigrants to the Auckland Province 1840-1880: a symposium,’ *Historical journal, Auckland-Waikato*, No.21, October 1972, pp.21-40.

<sup>36</sup> G.C.Buckley, *Of toffs and tailors: from Cornwall to New Zealand. Fragments of the past*. Auckland, 1983, p.102. See also Darry McCarthy, *The first fleet of Auckland*. Balmoral, 1978. McCarthy gives the

20 years, most of these boys possessed trades taught in the reformatory, among them tailoring, shoemaking, and building. Such was the criticism that the experiment was not repeated.<sup>37</sup> Angas reported that some of these boys had ‘contrived to get back again to England,’ that others had ‘gone into the bush to live with the natives,’ while others were picking up ‘a precarious subsistence in the streets and about the town of Auckland.’<sup>38</sup>

*Cornish Miners:* The discovery of copper on Kawau Island in 1844 resulted in the arrival of a good number of immigrants, especially Cornish miners from South Australia. That colony had conducted a vigorous recruitment campaign in Cornwall during the late 1830s, its efforts being boosted by the distress which emerged during the 1840s in the overcrowded Cornish mining towns,<sup>39</sup> and by the first major discovery of copper in South Australia in 1841. It was from these migrants that Auckland’s copper miners were originally drawn.<sup>40</sup> Wiley records that in 1845 a large number of Cornish miners arrived, ‘three hundred in all, with the women and children.’ After the attempt to mine the Kawau deposits was abandoned, many of these people found their way to Manukau and Franklin, and some to the Raglan district where they took up farms.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, immigrants from Cornwall arrived directly in Auckland from the United Kingdom.<sup>42</sup>

*Royal New Zealand Fencibles:* One of the single largest inflows of immigrants into Auckland during the period 1840-1852, again funded by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, consisted of the Royal New Zealand Fencibles the first of whom, together with their wives and families, arrived in 1847. The Fencibles were intended, in the wake of the Northern War, to augment Auckland’s defences and its

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name of the second ship variously as *Mandrid* and *Mandarin*. See also *New Zealand Gazette* 2 November 1842.

<sup>37</sup> *Copies of extracts of any correspondence relative to emigration which has taken place between the Colonial Office and the authorities in the colonies*, BPP 1842.xxxi.49; and *First report from the select committee of the House of Lords on colonisation from Ireland*, BPP 1847-1848.xxii.1.

<sup>38</sup> G.F.Angas, *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand: being an artist’s impressions of countries and peoples at the Antipodes*. London, 1847, Volume 1, pp.285-286.

<sup>39</sup> See P.Payton, *The Cornish miner in Australia: Cousin Jack down under*. Trewolsta, Cornwall, 1984.

<sup>40</sup> Violet Ward, *Immigrants and immigration in the Auckland Province, 1792-1876*. MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1943, p.57.

<sup>41</sup> H.E.R.L.Wiley, *South Auckland*. Pukekohe, 1939, p.87.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Joanne Robinson, *Werrington to Waiuku: a history of the Barriballs of Waiuku*. [Auckland, 1997].



labour force,<sup>43</sup> although William Fox described them as ‘considerably beyond the middle period of life, many of them with constitutions shattered by climate and hard living, and a large proportion of them of very intemperate habits ... broken-down old soldiers.’<sup>44</sup>

In her account, Ruth Alexander includes biographies of all members, and, although the amount of detail varies considerably from individual to individual, it is possible to construct a profile of these men.<sup>45</sup> In all 721 men arrived, together with 632 women and 1 228 children, a total of 2 581 persons. Given that Auckland’s population in the year prior to the arrival of the first pensioner companies numbered fewer than 5 000, this group had a major influence on the province’s demographic character. The pensioners and their families were settled in four garrison towns on the southern periphery of the Tamaki Isthmus, namely, Otahuhu, Onehunga, Howick, and Panmure.

Information relating to country of birth was available for 430 men: most - 62.8 per cent - had been born in Ireland, 28.6 per cent in England, 7.4 per cent in Scotland, and just 0.2 per cent in Wales, the balance having been born in Australia, Gibraltar, Sicily, and the West Indies. The Irish pensioners were drawn from throughout the country, 30.6 per cent from Leinster – particularly Counties Queens (6.2 per cent) and Dublin (5.8 per cent); 24.0 per cent from Munster, particularly Counties Cork (7.4 per cent), Tipperary (7.0 per cent), and Limerick (4.7 per cent); 27.1 per cent from Ulster, notably Counties Armagh (5.4 per cent), Tyrone (4.7 per cent), and Cavan and Fermanagh (each 3.9 per cent); and 18.2 per cent from Connacht, particularly Counties Galway (5.8 per cent) and Counties Mayo (4.3 per cent). The English pensioners were drawn widely from throughout England: Lancashire contributed 11.0 per cent, Kent 7.6 per cent, Sussex 6.8 per cent,

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<sup>43</sup> See E.D.Macfarlan, *Military pensioners in Auckland: a reappraisal of the Royal New Zealand Fencibles*. MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1981.

<sup>44</sup> William Fox, *The six colonies of New Zealand*. London, 1851, pp. 43-44.

<sup>45</sup> Ruth Alexander, *The royal New Zealand Fencibles 1847-1852*. Waiuku, [1997]. For accounts of some of these men and their families, see Rex.D.Evans, *The descendants of Michael Lord, Fencible, and Ann Darby*. Auckland, 1993 - Lord had been born in Todmorden in Lancashire, married in Dublin, and served in India and Afghanistan before settling in Howick with his wife and five children in 1847. Dawn Bridgman & Bruce Biggs, *The descendants of Thomas Herbert Biggs I and Margaret Dennison Moran*. [Auckland, 1986] – Margaret Moran was born in Paisley, of Irish parents, her father also being a Fencible.

and four counties - Gloucester, Nottingham, Somerset and Yorkshire - 5.1 per cent each. The Fencibles thus added a strong Irish element to Auckland's population.<sup>46</sup>

The Fencibles were also a relatively old group and were very much family groups. Of 519 men for whom details were available, 16 per cent were aged up to 39 years, 80.9 per cent were aged from 40 to 49 years, and the balance 50 years and over. Of 658 men for whom marital status could be established, just 10.6 per cent were single, 86.5 per cent were married, and 2.9 per cent were widowed, the wives of several men in fact dying on the voyage out to New Zealand. For 154 men for whom place of marriage was identified, most had been married in the United Kingdom, many after their discharge, 28.6 per cent in England, 6.5 per cent in Scotland, and 52.6 per cent in Ireland. Just over 6.5 per cent had married in India and 2.6 per cent in Canada, a reflection of the varied service careers these men had experienced. Of 450 men who were accompanied by children, 27.8 per cent had one child, 25.3 per cent had two, and 22.2 per cent had three, with the balance of 24.7 per cent per cent having four or more. Many families left children behind. Details relating to pre-service occupations are few, but, of 262 men, 55.7 per cent were described as labourers and 9.5 per cent as shoemakers.

*Female Emigrants:* One final group of assisted migrants worthy of note consisted of 30 young needlewomen (together with a matron and sub-matron) sent out to Auckland in 1851, in part in response to a serious shortage of females of marriageable years. Upon their arrival in Auckland *via* the *Stately*, these women, in serried ranks, were marched through the settlement. The *Southern Cross* was quick to describe them as 'the sweepings of her [Great Britain's] streets.'<sup>47</sup> The organisation behind the initiative was probably the British Ladies Female Emigration Society, established in 1849 and sometimes known as the Matrons' Society as it specialised in providing matrons for emigrant ships carrying single women. One of the first to use the Matrons' Society's services was Sidney Herbert's Fund for Promoting Female Emigration, also established in 1849, an organisation which arose originally out of the plight of many of London's thousands of

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<sup>46</sup> For accounts of two Irish Fencibles, see Peter Harman, *Meredith: the story of a New Zealand pioneer family*. Auckland, 1983; and Sonia Edwards, *A time to build: a biographical account of Thomas & Susan Gamble*. Whakatane, 1990.

needlewomen and slopworkers during the depression years of the late 1840s. The needlewomen were not, according to Herbert, 'a separate class who can do that and nothing else, but rather they are young women of all classes who have been driven to live on that occupation exclusively as a last resource.'<sup>48</sup> The Fund despatched its first group of 38 needlewomen to Australia in 1850, followed in 1851 by the 32-strong group which arrived in Auckland on board the *Stately*. Most appear to have entered domestic service.<sup>49</sup> In the face of serious criticism over its emigrant selection practices, Sidney's organisation was disbanded in 1852 and merged with Caroline Chisholm's Family Colonisation Loan Society (founded in 1849).<sup>50</sup> Chisholm had concentrated on assisting emigrants to the Australian Colonies, although she did assist the Canterbury Association by encouraging some families otherwise destined for Australia to emigrate instead to the new settlement, in all an estimated 195 souls of the 575 steerage passengers in the first four ships.<sup>51</sup>

## Numbers

Auckland Province's civil population increased from 2 895 in 1842 to 9 774 in 1852 despite the fact that some settlers were drawn away by the Californian gold rushes in 1849 and 1850. While a good many, disillusioned, returned, some were lured away again by the Australian discoveries. The 1851 census indicated that just over half (50.2 per cent) of Auckland's total civil population (including the Fencibles) were of English origin, Scots made up 15.1 per cent, and the Irish 31.3 per cent. The earlier pronounced

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<sup>47</sup> *Southern Cross* 4 July 1851.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in Christine Walkley, *The ghost in the looking glass: the Victorian seamstress*. London, 1981, p.110. Herbert, a Conservative, was Secretary of War in 1845-46 and 1852-1855, and Colonial Secretary in 1855.

<sup>49</sup> See Christina Walkley, *The ghost in the looking glass: the Victorian seamstress*. London, 1981, pp.117-119.

<sup>50</sup> Sidney's Fund turned its attention to the emigration of the lower middle class and educated women of some gentility. See A. James Hammerton, *Emigrant gentlewomen: genteel poverty and female emigration 1830-1914*. London, 1979, p.103. Chisholm's efforts focussed on the Australian Colonies, while Sidney was a member of her society's central committee. See Eneas Mackenzie, *Memoirs of Mrs Caroline Chisholm with an account of her philanthropic labours in India, Australia and England to which is added a history of the Family Colonization Loan Society*. London, 1852; Margaret Kiddle, *Caroline Chisholm*. Melbourne 1957, 1990, 1996; Mary Hoban, *Fifty-one pieces of wedding cake: a biography of Caroline Chisholm*. Kilmore, Victoria, 1973; and Patrick Connole, 'Caroline Chisholm: the Irish chapter,' in Colm Kiernan, editor, *Australia and Ireland: bicentenary essays, 1788-1988*. Dublin, 1986, pp.241-251.

<sup>51</sup> R.A.Chapman, 'Problems associated with the recruitment of steerage passengers for the first four emigrants ships to Canterbury in 1850,' *Records of the Canterbury Museum* 10, 4, May 1990, pp.39-53. Chapman suggested that the number may have been as high as 374, but that, in any case, Caroline Chisholm 'may have prevented the collapse of the Canterbury Association settlement.'

preponderance of males had declined, males now forming 55.7 per cent of the total population. Of the civil population, almost 45 per cent belonged to the Church of England, almost 26 per cent were Roman Catholic, almost 15 per cent were Presbyterians, some nine per cent were Wesleyan Methodists, with the balance belonging to various churches or to no church at all. These figures tend to confirm, as Stone suggested, ‘the great weight of qualitative evidence that Auckland in the 1850s had sizeable bodies of both Scots and Irish.’<sup>52</sup>

### **National Origins**

Our Auckland sample is based on those who were recorded in the death register as dying in Auckland. Obviously some may have moved there in the course of their lives from other points of arrival. However it is comforting that when we examine place of marriage of those in our sample a very high proportion of those marrying in New Zealand had done so in Auckland, suggesting that the rate of movement between provinces was not great.

**Table 16: National composition of the Auckland and New Zealand Immigrant inflows, 1840-1852 (percentages)**

Country of birth	Auckland	New Zealand	UK census 1841	New Ulster census 1851
<b>England</b>	45.3	64.3	55.4	50.2
<b>Wales</b>	0.8	1.1	3.9	3.4
<b>Scotland</b>	17.6	20.6	9.8	15.1
<b>Ireland</b>	35.9	13.5	30.6	31.3
<b>Isles in UK seas</b>	0.4	0.5	0.4	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>N</b>	1182	1061		

Sources: Death registers, UK census, 1841, New Ulster census 1851

Table 16 gives us the national composition of our sample of immigrants in Auckland and compares the figures with the New Zealand flows, the Composition of the United Kingdom population and the census of New Ulster in 1851. It is comforting to note how closely our figures match those of the 1851 census and also the different sample

<sup>52</sup> Russell Stone, ‘Auckland party politics in the early years of the provincial system, 1853-1858,’ *New Zealand journal of history* 14, 2, October 1980, p.173.

represented in Table 15. Table 16 reinforces the fact that there was a marked contrast between the national composition of the total New Zealand inflow, on the one hand, and the inflow into Auckland, on the other. That contrast lay not so much in the proportions of the Welsh, the Scots, or those born on Isles in British Seas as in the proportions born in England and Ireland. Auckland's Irish-born component was, proportionately, over two and a half times as large as that for the colony as a whole.

In terms of the sequence of these national flows, our sample suggests that the inflow of the English-born remained, with the exception of larger inflows in 1842 and 1852, relatively steady through the period. However 29.3 per cent of the Scots arrived in 1842, a clear reflection of the arrival of the Paisley immigrants, while 34.9 per cent of those born in Ireland arrived in 1847 and 1848, which marks the arrival of the first of the Fencibles.

### **Gender**

In the Auckland inflow as a whole, the gender ratio was 119.9 men for every 100 women, compared with 143.9 for the immigrants to New Zealand as a whole. Given the fact that the Wakefield settlements may have been expected to have made special efforts to attract families, this is an interesting finding. Even when we take into account just those aged 20 or over, the ratio was still a comparatively balanced 122.9 (as compared with 162.9 for the country as a whole). As the Scots and Irish inflows were almost perfectly balanced (the Scots 106.9, and the Irish showing more women than men at 96.6), the imbalance in the flow as a whole reflected the presence of a considerably larger inflow of English males than females. The ratio for the English as a whole was 144.3 and for those 20 or over 156.8. Calculation of age-specific sex ratios reveals that the imbalance amongst the English was most marked in the age range 20-29 years. Among the Scots, a preponderance of females in the age group 25-29 was offset by a preponderance of males in the age group 30-34. Among the Irish a preponderance of females in the age group 30-34 was offset by a preponderance of males in the age group 40-44. The contrast between the English, on the one hand, and the Scots and the Irish on the other, reflected the family-dominated inflow of the Paisley settlers and the Fencibles, while the age-specific

imbalances noted in the case of the Scots and Irish may have had their origins in marriage patterns.

### Age

**Table 17: Ages of Auckland Immigrants 1840-52 (percentages)**

<b>Ages</b>	<b>English males</b>	<i>English females</i>	<b>Scots males</b>	<i>Scots females</i>	<b>Irish males</b>	<i>Irish females</i>
<b>0-4</b>	2.6	4.9	3.3	1.1	5.3	2.3
<b>5-9</b>	2.2	2.2	2.2	6.9	1.8	4.0
<b>10-14</b>	6.0	8.1	8.7	6.9	5.3	5.1
<b>15-19</b>	11.6	13.5	7.6	10.3	12.3	12.4
<b>20-24</b>	25.1	20.5	27.2	21.8	14.0	18.6
<b>25-29</b>	21.7	13.5	9.8	19.5	16.4	14.1
<b>30-34</b>	12.0	13.5	18.5	14.9	7.0	22.0
<b>35-39</b>	8.2	11.4	8.7	10.3	9.9	9.0
<b>40-44</b>	6.4	8.1	8.7	5.7	18.7	5.1
<b>45-49</b>	3.7	2.7	3.3	1.1	7.6	4.5
<b>50+</b>	0.4	1.6	2.2	1.1	1.8	2.8
<b>n</b>	267	185	92	87	171	177

<b>Ages</b>	<b>English males</b>	<i>English females</i>	<b>Scots males</b>	<i>Scots females</i>	<b>Irish males</b>	<i>Irish females</i>
<b>0-14</b>	10.8	15.2	14.2	14.9	12.4	11.4
<b>15-24</b>	36.7	34.0	34.8	32.1	26.3	31.0
<b>25-34</b>	33.7	27.0	28.3	34.4	23.4	36.1
<b>35-44</b>	14.6	19.5	17.4	16.0	28.6	14.1
<b>45+</b>	4.1	4.3	5.5	2.2	9.4	7.3
<b>Ave. age</b>	25.9	25.6	27.0	25.6	28.7	27.0



	males				females				
<b>All</b>	32.3	41.9	38.3	35.9	49.5	51.1	60.1	53.9	44.0
<b>Aged 20+</b>	42.3	55.1	50.3	47.1	70.0	68.2	76.8	72.5	58.0

Registers of death

The marital status of Auckland's immigrants again makes an interesting contrast with the New Zealand-wide figures. At first sight they appear to be more highly married – 44 per cent overall as compared with 36.2 for the New Zealand migrants. But this difference is largely explained by the far fewer number of children among Auckland's incomers.

When we look at those arriving aged 20 or over, we discover that the proportion arriving married was more than 4 per cent lower than among New Zealand's immigrants. Of our Auckland immigrants, 54.8 per cent were single and 42.9 per cent were married on arrival in New Zealand.<sup>53</sup> This was significantly lower than among the New Zealand immigrants as a whole. There were, however, contrasts both between the genders and among the three national groups. As expected there were more married women than men, and Irish women were especially likely at this stage to be married. The relatively high number of Scots and Irish males who were married probably reflects the impact of the Paisley and Fencible flows. The high proportion of English males who were single was reflected in the gender imbalance in the age range 20 to 34 years.

Some interesting contrasts emerge among the three groups when places of marriages contracted prior to arrival in New Zealand are considered. Thus, whereas 79.8 per cent of the English-born had married in England and 80.6 per cent of the Scots-born had married in Scotland, a smaller 76.4 per cent of the Irish-born had married in Ireland. While Australia was for all three national groups an important country of pre-arrival marriage, the pattern was a bit different for the Irish. 6.2 per cent of the Irish-born had married in Scotland and 8.7 per cent in England, a reflection of at least two factors, that some Irish soldiers chose not to return to Ireland after their discharge, and the movement of many Irish to England and Scotland after 1845. That a small proportion of all pre-arrival marriages had been contracted in India, Gibraltar, Mauritius, and the West Indies also



reflects the presence of soldiers among Auckland's arrivals. A small proportion of both the Scots and Irish arrivals had married in Canada.<sup>54</sup>

## Religion

**Table 19: Religious Denomination at Death of Auckland Immigrants 1840-52**  
(percentages, with figures for New Zealand immigrants in brackets)

	All	England/Wales	Scotland	Ireland	1858 NZ census
Church of England/Ireland	43.4 (51.8)	64.5 (66.3)	17.1 (19.0)	29.0 (28.8)	45.8
Presbyterian	16.2 (21.2)	5.7 (7.8)	62.9 (71.7)	5.2 (9.0)	15.5
Methodist	9.9 (13.6)	14.6 (17.9)	9.7 (4.9)	3.7 (5.4)	8.5
Other Protestant	4.2 (2.8)	5.7 (3.2)	6.3 (3.3)	0.9 (0.0)	5.7
Catholic	25.7 (10.2)	8.2 (4.4)	4.0 (1.1)	61.1 (56.8)	22.0
Jewish	0.6 (0.3)	1.4 (0.5)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.6
Not stated	244	111	41	92	2.5
n	1182	550	216	416	

Source: Registers of death

The most significant finding from this table is the much higher proportion of Catholics among Auckland's immigrants and the correspondingly smaller numbers of the main Protestant sects. This is very largely a consequence of the Irish representation among the immigrants, although it is interesting that even among the English and Scots the Catholics were comparatively well represented.

The Irish figures have particular interest especially since the larger number of Irish in the Auckland than the total New Zealand sample (416 compared with 162), makes generalisations based upon the former more reliable. Further, the fact that a very large proportion of New Zealand's Irish-born resided in Auckland Province during this period of New Zealand's history means that generalisations based upon the Auckland sample

<sup>53</sup> The balance of 2.3 per cent represented those for whom marital status on arrival could not be established with certainty.

<sup>54</sup> It should be noted that of those in the three national groups who married after arrival, in each case a very high proportion did so in Auckland Province. The data suggest that the population created for the purposes of this analysis consisted largely of people who arrived and remained in the province, rather than people who moved to Auckland from other parts of New Zealand.

almost certainly apply to the colony's Irish as a whole.<sup>55</sup> We note first that although a clear majority of the Irish were Roman Catholic, the proportion of just over 61 per cent was considerably below the proportion in Ireland itself in 1841 of 80.9 per cent. Almost two in five of Auckland's Irish were Protestant. Further within that Protestant community the distribution was markedly different from that at home. In the Irish census of 1841 only 10.7 per cent belonged to the Church of Ireland. In Auckland, indeed in New Zealand as a whole, the figure was about 29 per cent. On the other hand Presbyterians were not well represented. In Ireland in 1841 they constituted 8.1 per cent. Even allowing for the fact that our figures are derived from the religion at death, the relative weakness of the Presbyterian community and the strength of the Church of Ireland are striking. This suggests that in Auckland as further south the Scots-Irish community was slow to respond to the call from New Zealand. It was members of the established church, the Anglo-Irish community, who came south.

## Occupations

**Table 20: Occupational backgrounds of Auckland's UK immigrants aged 20 and over, and New Zealand's immigrants aged 20 and over 1840-1852 (per cent)**

Occupations	Eng/ Welsh	Scots	Irish	Total	NZ
<i>Agriculture</i>					
Farmers	20.6	23.6	45.0	33.1	28.4
Agricultural labourers	2.1	1.6	1.5	1.7	4.6
Total agriculture	22.6	25.2	46.5	34.8	33.0
<i>Labourers (N.O.S)</i>	8.0	0	6.5	6.0	7.5
<i>Servants</i>	1.0	0	0.7	0.7	0.9
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>					
Building	8.7	13.0	6.0	8.0	6.8
Mining	2.1	1.6	0	1.0	1.5
Transport (traditional)	1.7	0	0.5	0.9	1.8
Other pre-industrial	21.3	22.0	12.9	17.2	16.9
Total	33.8	36.6	19.4	27.1	27.0

<sup>55</sup> Again it should be noted that the allegiance recorded is that of the person officiating at the funeral service, so that only the proportions recorded for allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church, on the one hand, and all Protestant Churches on the other can be treated with some confidence. The proportions are based on the number for whom details were available: in the case of the English 439 out of a total sample of 550; for the Scots, 175 out of 216; and for the Irish 324 out of 416.

<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>					
Industrial	5.2	12.2	5.5	6.4	6.8
<i>White collar</i>	19.5	17.1	12.4	15.6	19.6
<i>Other occupations</i>					
Soldiers	2.8	0.8	4.5	3.3	2.0
Sailors	4.5	4.9	2.0	3.3	2.2
Others	2.4	3.3	2.5	2.6	1.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	120	39	159	318	149
n=	407	162	561	1130	604

Source: Death Registers

The occupational background of the Auckland immigrants was remarkably similar to that of New Zealand immigrants as a whole with strong representation of people whose fathers had been involved in agricultural and pre-industrial activities. The major differences were a slightly greater number from a farming background, largely explained by the high proportion of Aucklanders of an Irish origin, and the smaller number with a white collar background. The latter is not unexpected given the rather more elite character of the Wakefield settlements further south. We also note the number of Scots from an industrial background which largely reflected the immigration of the Paisley weavers, and the presence of Irish people whose fathers had been soldiers.

### Regional origins: English and Welsh

**Table 21: Regional origins of Auckland's English and Welsh immigrants, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

Regions	Share of Auckland's total, 1840-52 <sup>1</sup>	Share of English/Welsh total, 1841 <sup>2</sup>	Representation indices for Auckland	Share of NZ's total, 1840-1852
London-Middlesex	20.1	9.8	204.3	14.8
South-east	17.2	11.1	154.6	21.5
East	7.4	10.5	70.8	7.1
South-west	21.8	10.9	200.1	22.8
Midlands				
East	2.1	5.8	36.8	3.1
Central	3.6	5.7	63.1	5.8
West	4.3	6.3	67.8	4.9
South	4.5	4.6	98.0	4.6

Yorkshire	6.7	9.9	67.5	5.8
Lancashire-Cheshire	8.6	12.9	66.9	5.2
North-east	1.7	3.6	46.7	1.2
North-west	0.5	1.5	32.7	1.5
North Wales	0	3.6	0	0.6
South Wales	0.2	2.9	8.2	0.4
Off-shore islands	1.2	0.8	154.6	0.7
	100.0	100.0		100.0
Not stated (number)	133			25
n=	550			698

Sources: Death registers, and Census of Great Britain, 1841. <sup>1</sup> Persons born. <sup>2</sup> Persons enumerated.

Table 21 shows the regional origins of Auckland's English and Welsh immigrants and compares them with the distribution of those coming to New Zealand as a whole. The distributions are remarkably similar. In each case the bulk of the immigrants had been born in the same three regions, namely, London-Middlesex, the south-east, and the south-west, and indeed those three regions of birth constituted exactly the same proportion of the English-born, that is, 59.1 per cent. The south-west ranked first in both cases, although there were rather more from London and Middlesex among the Aucklanders. In terms of counties the names will again be familiar. Two-thirds of Auckland's English and Welsh came from just eight counties, the same dominant counties in the New Zealand-wide distribution – Cornwall, Devon and Somerset in the South-west, Hampshire and Kent in the South-east, London-Middlesex, and Yorkshire and Lancashire in the north. The first six were significantly over-represented relative to their numbers of the English population.

### Regional origins: Scots

**Table 22: Regional origins of Auckland's Scots immigrants, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

Regions	Share of Auckland's total 1840-1852 <sup>1</sup>	Share of Scotland's total, 1841 <sup>2</sup>	of Representation indices for Auckland	Share of NZ's total, 1840-1852
Far North	4.0	3.7	106.9	6.1
Highlands	9.3	12.0	77.3	10.3
North-east	6.0	12.2	48.9	7.0
Eastern Lowlands	22.5	34.0	66.2	37.1
Western Lowlands	55.6	28.5	195.3	36.2
Borders	2.6	9.6	27.5	3.3

	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	57		6
n=	208		213

Source: Death Registers, and Census of Great Britain, 1841. <sup>1</sup> Persons born. <sup>2</sup> Persons enumerated

Table 22 shows that the regional distribution of Auckland's Scots immigrants had some interesting differences from those coming to New Zealand as a whole. The strongest finding is the much larger number who had been born in the Western Lowlands. This area included Glasgow and Paisley and the distribution therefore is a consequence of the Paisley migration of 1842. Not surprisingly therefore the two major counties of origin were Renfrew (which included Paisley) and Lanark (which included Glasgow).

### Regional origins: Irish

**Table 23: Provincial origins of Auckland's Irish immigrants, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

Provinces	Share of Auckland's total <sup>1</sup>	Share of Irish population, 1841 <sup>2</sup>	Representation indices	Share of New Zealand's total, 1840-1852
Connacht	7.5	17.4	42.9	6.3
Leinster	37.6	24.1	155.9	34.1
Munster	29.0	29.3	99.0	27.8
Ulster	25.9	29.2	88.7	31.7
	100.0	100.0		100.0
Not stated (number)	169			18
n=	424			144

Source: Death Registers, and Census of Ireland, 1841. <sup>1</sup> Persons born. <sup>2</sup> Persons enumerated.

Table 23 sets out the provincial origins of Auckland's Irish immigrants. The distribution is not greatly dissimilar from the inflow into New Zealand as a whole, a not unexpected result given that a large proportion of New Zealand's Irish-born during the period 1840-1852 resided in Auckland. Still, Auckland appears to have drawn slightly more heavily on Leinster and somewhat less on Ulster than New Zealand as a whole.

In terms of counties of origin, again there are striking similarities with the New Zealand-wide distribution. As in the New Zealand-wide sample, a large part of Leinster's contribution came from County Dublin (20.4 per cent of the Irish total, as compared with

20 per cent in the New Zealand figures), with much smaller contributions from Queens (4.0 per cent) and Kings (2.8 per cent). While the contribution of all three was in excess of their share of Ireland's total population in 1841, Dublin's contribution was markedly so. It is probable that this very strong representation from the Irish capital followed the large numbers of Irish from this area among the military settlers. The native-born of two of Munster's six counties, namely, Limerick (8.8 per cent) and Waterford (3.2 per cent), were over-represented, while County Cork's large contribution of 8.8 per cent was nevertheless slightly less than its 10.4 per cent share of Ireland's 1841 population. Of Ulster's nine counties only County Londonderry made a contribution (3.6 per cent) to Auckland's Irish immigrants significantly in excess of its share (2.7 per cent) of Ireland's population, although Counties Antrim and Armagh made a contribution consistent with their total population shares, but still less than their contribution to the New Zealand-wide figures. All counties within Connacht made a contribution significantly below their shares of Ireland's total population. Just seven counties, therefore, contributed 55.6 per cent of Auckland's Irish immigrants.

### **The New Zealand Company settlements, 1840-1852**

#### **Context**

The period 1840-1852 encompassed the efforts of the New Zealand Company and its affiliates to colonise New Zealand in accordance with Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation,' a theory intended to effect the transfer of a vertical slice of pre-industrial English rural society to the colony.<sup>56</sup> In broad terms, systematic colonisation involved obtaining land in New Zealand from the Maori, and later from the British Crown, and its sale in Britain to investors and speculators. A proportion of the sale price was then earmarked for the emigration of British labourers. Whatever problems there were in the theory and practice of systematic colonisation in New Zealand – and they were many – its

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<sup>56</sup> For the general background, see P.Adams, *Fatal necessity: British intervention in New Zealand, 1830-1847*. Auckland, 1977, pp.87-89; F.Broeze, 'Private enterprise and the peopling of Australasia, 1831-1850,' *Economic history review* 25, 2, 1982, pp.235-236; and James Belich, *Making peoples; a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*. Auckland, 1996, pp.170-171 and 186.

essentials were adhered to during most of the Company period of British settlement.<sup>57</sup> ‘Systematic colonisation’ thus involved two major groups, the ‘colonists’ or ‘capitalists,’ that is, those who purchased land in the new settlements, and the ‘emigrants,’ those assisted to reach New Zealand. A third and much smaller group consisted of deserting or discharged sailors.

Somewhat surprisingly, no attempt has been made to establish a profile of the ‘colonists’ or ‘capitalists,’ that is, those who purchased land in the various settlements. It was unfortunately the case that a large number of the original land purchasers proved to be absentee speculators, the New Zealand Company selling sections to all who would buy irrespective of whether they intended to settle in New Zealand or not. Thus for Nelson, for example, the company sold, in England, 442 properties to 315 purchasers of whom just 80 arrived in Nelson at various times.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, Hursthouse claimed that systematic colonisation ‘drew to New Zealand a much higher class of emigrants than had ever left the Mother Country since the Cavalier settlements of Delaware and Virginia.’<sup>59</sup> More recently, Belich suggested that between four and 22 per cent of migrants in each company ship travelled in cabins, and that they had been drawn largely from well-established genteel professions, including the higher ranks of the church, army, navy, and government, and from the old professions, among them, doctors, lawyers, bankers.<sup>60</sup> In fact, in the 25 ships chartered by the Canterbury Association during 1850-1852, 31.7 per cent of all passengers travelled in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> cabin, the proportion on the *Fatima* reaching 60 per cent.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> P.Hudson, *English emigration to New Zealand, 1839-1850: an analysis of the work of the New Zealand Company*, PhD Thesis, University of Lancaster, 1996, pp.86-87; and E.Olssen, ‘Mr Wakefield and New Zealand as an experiment in post-enlightenment experimental practice,’ *New Zealand journal of history* 31, 2, 1997, pp.197- 218. The New Zealand Company is hereafter termed the Company.

<sup>58</sup> J.S.Marais, *The colonisation of New Zealand*. Oxford, 1927, p.137. Ruth Allan noted that in the whole company period not more than 85 land-holders actually visited Nelson of whom ten died in the early years and over 30 returned to Europe. See Ruth Allan, *Nelson: a history of early settlement*. Wellington, 1965, p.108.

<sup>59</sup> Charles Hursthouse, *New Zealand or Zealandia, the Britain of the South*. London, 1857, Volume 2, p.640. Quoted in James Belich, *Making peoples: a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*. Auckland, 1996, p.323.

<sup>60</sup> Belich, *Making peoples*, pp.322-323.

The land purchasers who arrived in Nelson certainly included three groups drawn from the professions, the ranks of retired military officers, and gentry and county families: an English group which included Alfred Domett, George Duppa, and John Greenwood, a Scots group which included Edward Stafford and David Monro, and an Irish group which included the Anglo-Irish Tytlers.<sup>62</sup> For Canterbury, Straubel noted that a majority of its original land purchasers resided in England, and that the list of addresses of the first 144 land purchasers indicated that all but ten ‘came from places fairly evenly scattered over the southern half of England – say, south of a line drawn from the Wash across to Liverpool.’ Fifty of that number gave London addresses and appear to have been *bona fide* London residents. The Canterbury Association sought to attract country gentlemen, clergymen, yeomen, small capitalists, and traders, but their lists offer no details relating to the occupations of cabin passengers. On the other hand, McAloon indicated that some 400 land purchasers emigrated and of those for whom an occupation had been traced, slightly over half were farmers.<sup>63</sup>

By way of contrast, a great deal is now known about the Company’s assisted emigrants. The analysis which follows is based largely upon the *Register of emigrant labourers applying for free passage to New Zealand, 1839-1850*,<sup>64</sup> supported by letters from emigrants. The registers provide details of names, addresses, occupations, marital status and kin relationships.<sup>65</sup> The register does not include those who were brought out by the Company’s off-shoots, the Otago and Canterbury Associations. For comparative purposes, where appropriate, we have also drawn upon Rosalind McClean’s thesis concerning Scots migrants to Otago for the period 1839-1851. McClean created what she termed a ‘total list’ of emigrants based on a one in five ‘sample’ of families and

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<sup>61</sup> See Appendix VII in James Hight and C.R.Straubel, general editors, *A history of Canterbury, Volume 1: to 1854*. Christchurch, 1957, p.249.

<sup>62</sup> Ruth Allan, *Nelson: a history of early settlement*. Nelson, 1965, p.106.

<sup>63</sup> Jim McAloon, ‘Starting late,’ in Garth Cant and Russell Fitzpatrick, editors, *Rural Canterbury: celebrating its history*. Wellington 2001, pp.21-39. See p.33.

<sup>64</sup> Public Record Office (Kew), Colonial Office (CO) 208/273 and 273. See also J.E.Neale, *Pioneer passengers: to Nelson by sailing ship – March 1842 – June 1843*. Nelson, 1982.

<sup>65</sup> While those seeking assistance may have been tempted to falsify or exaggerate their details, the data in fact do not disclose any large-scale attempt to defraud, or some may have exaggerated their occupational skills.



unattached adults from the New Zealand Company's ships' lists, applications for assisted passage, and the Otago shipping record for 1847-1850.<sup>66</sup>

## Numbers

**Table 24: Immigrants assisted by the New Zealand Company, 1839-1850**

Year	Numbers
1839	893
1840	1 447
1841	3 284
1842	1 144
1843	-
1844	-
1845	-
1846	-
1847	5
1848	153
1849	260
1850	215
Total	7 401

Source: CO 208/272 and 273.

In all, 7 401 assisted immigrants, selected from a total of 18 101 applications, were brought to New Zealand by the company (Table 20). The company's ability to sustain emigration depended upon its ability to sell New Zealand land in Britain, so that fluctuations in the numbers selected reflected in large part the course of land sales. The sharp decline in numbers assisted in 1842 reflected growing difficulties the company encountered in selling land in economically depressed Britain. Thus of 1 100 properties in Nelson offered in 1841, 458 remained unsold as late as 1847.<sup>67</sup> Reports of Maori hostility, doubts over the legality of its land titles, and a House of Commons select committee investigation in 1844, also adversely affected the company's ability to sell

<sup>66</sup> It is worthwhile noting that the sample was not random, McClean noting that a random sample would have meant the loss of 'rich data.' The effect of a non-random sample on her results is not known. See R. McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand, 1840-1880: motives, means, and background*. PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1991, p.24.

land, and hence it suspended its emigration activities from 1843 to 1846. The withdrawal, in 1844, of the promise of ‘permanent employment’ in the new settlements meant that the company failed to attract the same level of applications once assisted emigration was resumed after 1847.

### Country of Origin

**Table 25: National composition, New Zealand Company assisted emigrants 1839-1850, Auckland immigrants 1840-1852, and total New Zealand immigrants 1840-1852 (per cent)**

Country	Share of Company immigrants	Share UK total, 1841	UK Representation indices	Share of Auckland	Share of New Zealand
England	80.3	55.4	144.9	45.3	64.3
Wales	1.1	3.9	28.2	0.8	1.1
Scotland	15.0	9.8	153.1	17.6	20.6
Ireland	1.7	30.4	5.6	35.9	13.5
Others	0.8	0.5	160	0.4	0.5
	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
n=	7 401			1 182	1 061

Sources: CO 208/272 and 273, Death registers, and Censuses of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, 1841.

Table 25 sets out the national composition of the company’s assisted emigrants. Overall, the English dominated the New Zealand Company emigration, and were over-represented compared to their share of the United Kingdom’s population in 1841. The dominance of the English reflected, at least in part, the fact that the New Zealand Company was based in England and run by Englishmen, while its head office (including the emigration department) was located in London. Further, the company did not subsidise travel to the port of embarkation and the fact that 50 of 65 ships its chartered departed from London and Gravesend tended to discourage applications from beyond the south-west and south-east of England.

<sup>67</sup> See J.S.Marais, *The colonisation of New Zealand*. London, 1927, pp.55 and 58.

The Scots were over-represented, although less than to New Zealand as a whole. Their figure of 15 per cent is consistent with the 1848 census of New Munster which indicated that Wellington had a population of 546 Scots (or 16.8 per cent of those who had been born in the United Kingdom), Wanganui 34 (or 31.8 per cent), and Nelson 187 (or 9.8 per cent). Even Akaroa could boast 43 Scots, or 35.8 per cent of all of those who had been born in the United Kingdom. Among the agencies established throughout Great Britain by the New Zealand Company was the West of Scotland Committee which, based in Glasgow, ‘superintended’ emigration from the Clyde.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, the committee held a dinner in the Glasgow Trades Hall to farewell those sailing on the *Bengal Merchant*. The *Bengal Merchant*, which arrived in Port Nicholson in February 1840, sailed with 160 passengers, mostly Scots drawn from Glasgow. Among them was the Reverend John Macfarlane, who, as pastor of the Scottish Kirk in Wellington, was the first in New Zealand to proclaim the gospel in Gaelic, evidently ‘to the delight of the Highlanders.’<sup>69</sup> The *Blenheim* (known as the ‘Scots’ ship’) which arrived in December, 1840, brought, under the leadership of laird Donald McDonald, 197 passengers most of whom ‘were composed of his own and neighbouring clans, near Fort William, Inverness-shire.’ The party, recruited to build the road between Thorndon and the Hutt Valley, landed at Kaiwharawhara where some continued to reside in what was also known as the ‘Scotch settlement.’<sup>70</sup>

A number of factors account for the very low representation of the Irish. First, while over the period 1839 -1850 the company employed a total of 125 agents to sell land in the settlements and to recruit emigrants, only six of those were based in Ireland, in Coleraine, Cork, Dublin, Limerick, Strabane, and Tralee. Second, distance and expense, including the cost of getting to Plymouth or London probably deterred many; third, crisis emigration does not, generally, forge new emigration routes, so that Famine emigration

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<sup>68</sup> See Pearl Watt, *The Cullen saga, 1840-1990: 150 years in New Zealand*. Alexandra, 1990. The committee was dominated by Glasgow shipping and commercial interests. It is worthwhile noting that it declined to continue promoting the company in Scotland without complete independence from London, a demand which was not met.

<sup>69</sup> Louis E.Ward, *Early Wellington*. Auckland [1928], p.350.

<sup>70</sup> Henry Brett, *White wings, Volume 1: fifty years of sail in the New Zealand trade, 1850 to 1900*. Auckland, 1924, pp.21 and 25. See also Alan Mulgan, *The city of the strait: Wellington and its province, a*

generally followed well established routes, to England, Scotland, and the United States of America; and, fourth, even if the Irish had been prepared to emigrate to New Zealand, the company did not necessarily want them. H.F. Alston, the company's Superintendent of Emigration, wrote to an agent in Dundee explaining that a number of his proposed emigrants had been turned down because 'Irishmen are not considered desirable emigrants.'<sup>71</sup> For all that, at one stage Wakefield contemplated establishing an Irish Catholic settlement in New Zealand and approached Daniel O'Connell and Smith O'Brien.<sup>72</sup>

Graph 9: Country of origin of Immigrants to NZ, 1840-52  
(Sources: Registers of deaths, UK census 1841)

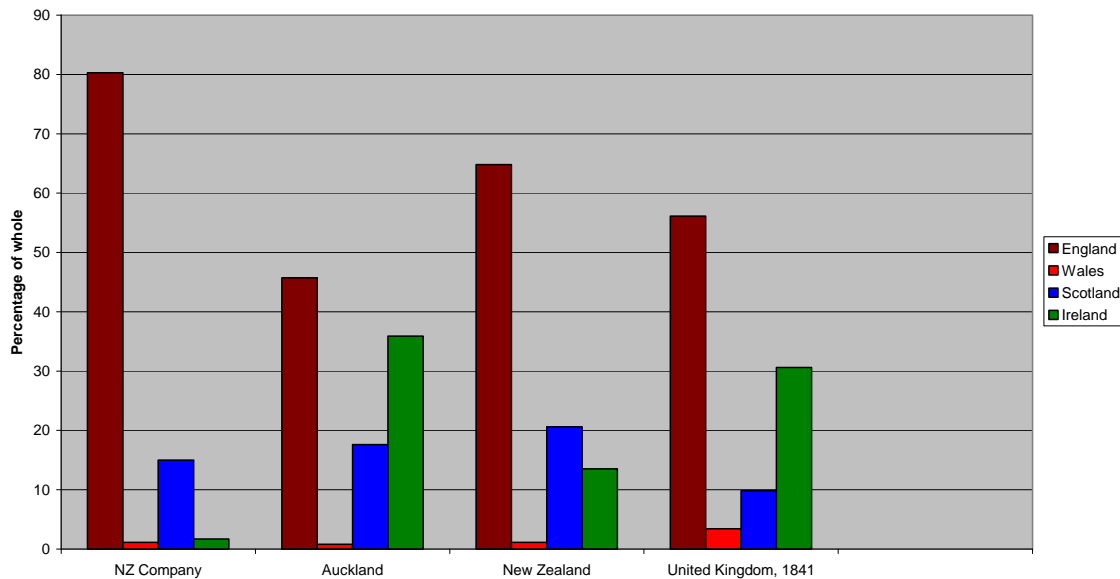


Table 25 and graph 9 also point up the contrast between the company migrants and those coming into Auckland. In particular there was a striking difference between the numbers of Irish in the two flows, even bearing in mind the fact that the Auckland sample includes all immigrants whereas the New Zealand Company only includes the assisted and the full New Zealand Company flow definitely included a few self-paying immigrants from the Anglo-Irish community. Nevertheless the cultural contrast between Irish Auckland and

*centennial history*. Wellington, 1939, p.90; and G.L.Pearce, *The Scots of New Zealand*. Auckland, 1976, p.48.

<sup>71</sup> Alston to McEwan and Millar, 17 August 1840, CO 208/171/229.

<sup>72</sup> C.E.Carrington, *John Robert Godley of Canterbury*. Christchurch, 1950, p.58. O'Connell was the Irish Catholic barrister, politician, and leader of the movement for Catholic emancipation. William Smith

the English Company settlements was obviously of some significance. This is borne out by the 1848 census of New Munster (which included all the company settlements) when the numbers of Irish-born were very small, just 275 or 4.7 per cent of the province's British-born civil population.<sup>73</sup> At the same time, New Munster had 537 Catholics, residing mostly in Wellington, Nelson, and Akaroa. The Irish-born were thus substantially fewer in number, a reminder that at this stage of New Zealand's history at least, Catholic cannot be equated with Irish-born, and also included some French, a few Nelson Germans,<sup>74</sup> and a few members of the old English Catholic gentry who were prominent among Wellington's founders.<sup>75</sup> It seems probable that the small numbers of Irish-born in the New Zealand Company's settlements included a good many Protestants.<sup>76</sup> Indeed the very limited evidence available suggests that the few self-paying Irish were mostly drawn from Ireland's Anglo-Irish community and that the even fewer assisted Irish were largely drawn from Ulster's protestant community.

### **New Zealand Company Immigrants – gender and age**

A marked feature of the company's English migrants was the relatively equal distribution of males (52.4 per cent) and females (47.5 per cent).<sup>77</sup> This contrasts with the Scots

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O'Brien, the son of a protestant baronet in County Clare, participated in the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848, earning him transportation.

<sup>73</sup> Details of the countries of birth were not given for the 1 265 males and 315 females who made up the military and their families in New Munster in 1848, all of whom were located in Wellington.

<sup>74</sup> I.H.Burnley, 'German immigration and settlement in New Zealand 1842-1914,' *New Zealand geographer* 29, 1, April 1973, pp.45-63; and Anthony Harris, *The beauty of your house: the Nelson Catholic parish 1844-1994*. Nelson, 1994.

<sup>75</sup> F.W.Petre the 'very strong Catholic infusion in the early settlement of Wellington' to his 'father's intimate connection with Mr.Gibbon Wakefield, when with him of the staff of Lord Durham in 1838, during his term-of-office as Governor-General of Canada.' Petre also noted that his grandfather, Lord Petre, 'was offered the Canterbury province for a Catholic colony. This he offered to the Archbishop of Dublin at a time when many thousands of Irish Catholics were going to the America, but the Archbishop considered that the means could not be collected for so great an undertaking ...' See J.J.Wilson, *The Church in New Zealand*. Dunedin, 1910, pp.144-145. See also C.E.Carrington, *John Robert Godley of Canterbury*. Christchurch, 1950, pp.58-59.

<sup>76</sup> See, for example, the biography of Martha King in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One, 1769-1869*. Wellington, 1990, pp.227-228; and Anna Rogers, *A lucky landing: the story of the Irish in New Zealand*. Auckland, 1996, p.27.

<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, age-specific rates appear to have varied considerably. In her analysis of Canterbury's female emigrants, Schwarz found, on the basis of the passenger lists for 22 of the 25 ships which departed for Canterbury during the period September 1850-March 1853, that the Canterbury Association managed to restrict the number of single and unattached (that is, without an accompanying male 'protector') adult females. In all, 85.2 per cent of all adult females were wives, daughters, and sisters, while most of the remainder travelled with a fiancée or an employer. The result was that single males significantly

migrants to Otago. McClean's analysis suggested that nearly 60 per cent were male and just over 40 per cent female.<sup>78</sup>

On the other hand, both groups of emigrants were not equally distributed with regard to age. Those between 15 and 39, the so-called 'productive' age group, accounted for over 52 per cent of the New Zealand Company assisted emigrants, and children under the age of 15 made up 46 per cent of the immigrant body as a whole. Thus all but two per cent were under the age of 40, and the mean age of 18 years was very low. In general, younger, more active English males and females took up the offer of a free passage to New Zealand.<sup>79</sup> Among McClean's Scots the concentration on the young adult age group was even stronger. Those between 15 and 34 comprised nearly 55 per cent of emigrants compared with only 36 per cent of the Scots population in 1851.

### Marital status

**Table 26: English emigrants to New Zealand, 1830 to 1850, by family grouping**

Group	Per cent
Alone/non-nuclear	12.1
Married couples	10.4
Married couples with children	61.4
Males with children	0.6
Females with children	0.8
Siblings	11.4
Extended families	2.5
Other	0.8
	100.0
n=	6 004

Source: CO 208/272 and 273

outnumbered single females (by 733 to 264), defeating the Association's primary goal of a gender balance. See Carolyn Schwarz, *The female emigrants of the Canterbury Association and their role in Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation.'* MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1993, pp.83-85. For Otago, the Lay Association also attempted to exclude unmarried women and to maintain a balance between single males and females. See Erik Olssen, *A history of Otago.* Dunedin, 1984, p.34.

<sup>78</sup> R.McClearn, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand, 1840-1880: motives, means, and background.* PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1991.

<sup>79</sup> Schwarz found that the mean age of adult females at embarkation for Canterbury was 28.4 years, but that the information with respect to age was not entirely reliable. See Carolyn Schwarz, *The female emigrants of the Canterbury Association and their role in Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation.'* MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1993, p.90.

Table 22 highlights the family and kin relationships of the English emigrants. ‘Other’ families include those for which no relationship could be assumed. The striking fact is the number of New Zealand Company emigrants who travelled as part of a family was high, with over 74 per cent emigrating as couples, couples with children, or in extended families. If siblings travelling together are included, then over 85 per cent of the English came within families or with close family members. Indeed, siblings were an important part of the emigration to New Zealand with proportionately more brothers and sisters than married couples without children. Overwhelmingly the migration to New Zealand was a family and kin migration, but the types of families that most interested the company, couples without children, did not go to New Zealand in large numbers. Young childless couples were supposed to form the basis of the new colony, and natural increase was to provide the expansion in population.<sup>80</sup> In fact, they made up just 10.4 per cent of all assisted English families, and married couples with one infant a further 14.8 per cent, while couples with children all under 15 years made up 57.6 per cent.<sup>81</sup> Among the Scots going to Otago, again the number in families was high (nearly 70 per cent), but there were twice as many childless couples (20 per cent) which in part reflected the younger age of the Scots migrants.

The small numbers of migrants travelling alone is further qualified if one examines neighbourhood links. When these are included then only 8.7 per cent of New Zealand Company emigrants had no observable relationship on board ship. It is clear from such figures that the support and encouragement of kin and neighbours were crucial for

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<sup>80</sup> Schwarz reached the same conclusion. See Carolyn Schwarz, *The female emigrants of the Canterbury Association and their role in Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation.'* MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1993, pp.93-94. It is worthwhile noting that the majority of emigrants from the British Isles to the United States of America in 1841 – as in 1831 – travelled in what Erickson termed ‘clearly identifiable family groups.’ The proportion varied from 71.9 per cent in the case of the English/Welsh, to 71.3 per cent in the case of the Scots, and to 59.2 per cent for the Irish. The Irish flow included a higher proportion of young, single females who were also more likely to be travelling alone or in the company of persons who were not relatives. What distinguished the New Zealand flow was the low proportion classified as ‘alone/nuclear’ and the high proportion classified as ‘married couples with children.’ See Charlotte Erickson, ‘Emigration from the British Isles to the USA in 1841: Part 1. Emigration from the British Isles,’ *Population studies* 43, 1989, pp.347-367.

<sup>81</sup> The corresponding proportions for those proceeding to the United States in 1841 were 26.5, 6.5, and 49.9 per cent. See Charlotte Erickson, ‘Emigration from the British Isles to the USA in 1841: Part 1. Emigration from the British Isles,’ *Population studies* 43, 1989, pp.347-367.

English emigrants going to New Zealand in the 1840s. In letters to the Company, emigrants highlighted the importance of friends and neighbours and especially of families in supporting the emigration decision. Indeed, families were prepared to refuse to emigrate unless members of the family who had been denied an assisted passage could join them in the colony. The Thomas family from South Rauceby refused their embarkation orders unless their brother was accepted.<sup>82</sup> The Daltons refused to leave without other relatives, stating that they ‘have plenty of work here and always had it and only wished to go out as we think we can better ourselves’.<sup>83</sup> Neighbours were also an important part of the emigration decision. In May 1841, for instance, the Hall family from Bath, Somerset, applied to the Company from 4 Lyncombe Terrace, while in the same month the Mason family applied from 8 Lyncombe Terrace. Two months later the Vaughan family applied to the Company from 25 St James Parade, also in Bath, and at the same time the Waters family applied from 27 St James Parade.<sup>84</sup> In general terms, then, the New Zealand Company promoted a young, family, and kin orientated migration.

As in the case of the New Zealand Company’s English emigrants, the support and encouragement of family and kin were also important for Scots contemplating emigration to New Zealand. In some 30 per cent of identified family units, the family was accompanied by a close relative who became a member of the household in New Zealand.<sup>85</sup> The strong kin and community links between emigrants and families back home continued. Of emigrants arriving at Dunedin from Scotland after the demise of the New Zealand Company, nearly one third had connections with settlers who had already settled there. ‘Kin and community’ links persisted well into the 1850s, and most likely much later.<sup>86</sup>

## Male Occupations

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<sup>82</sup> Hunt to Ward, 10 February 1840, CO 208/5/288.

<sup>83</sup> Jermingham to Secretary, 9 April 1842, CO 208/27/622.

<sup>84</sup> Family histories of those who arrived during the New Zealand Company period often refer to accompanying relations. See, for example, John Marris and Lyn Collins, *Cole families of the West Country, England and Nelson, New Zealand*. Devon and Nelson, 1998.

<sup>85</sup> McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand*, pp.378-91.



**Table 27: Occupations of the New Zealand Company's English assisted male migrants (per cent)**

Occupations	Migrants	Census 1851 <sup>1</sup>
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Farmers	-	6.5
Agricultural labourers	-	20.4
Total	36.1	27.3 <sup>2</sup>
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	13.1	6.9
<i>Servants</i>	3.0	9.3
<i>Occupations with relatively little occupational change</i>		
Building	18.9	7.4
Mining	3.3	5.2
Other pre-industrial trades	20.8	17.6
Total	43.0	30.2
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>		
Total	3.5	16.0
<i>White collar</i>	1.1	10.5
	100.0	100.0
n=	1 761	

Source: CO 208/272 and 273. N.O.S. – not otherwise specified. <sup>1</sup>Census of Great Britain, 1851.

<sup>2</sup>Includes other miscellaneous agricultural workers. See Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: essays on British emigration in the nineteenth century*. Ithaca, 1994, pp.106-107.

Table 27 sets out the occupations of the New Zealand Company's English assisted male emigrants and compares them with the 1851 census of Great Britain. It should be noted that both sets of data relate to occupied rather than total population; and we should also remember that the Company figures are based on applications and since the Company had a stated preference for builders and agricultural workers we cannot be sure that the applicants' claims as regards occupation were accurate. Nevertheless, the findings are interesting. Of the males, just over a third were engaged in agriculture, mostly as farm labourers, other agriculturalists being either bailiffs, farm managers, or yeomen. None was described as a farmer or a farmer's son, members of these two groups travelling to New Zealand as 'capitalist' settlers or as cabin passengers. Although our New Zealand-wide sample concerns father's occupation rather than the immigrant's own occupation, it is worth making the comparison with Table 7. Obviously because the New Zealand Company material concerns assisted migrants, there was a striking absence of people with white collar occupations. However the number drawn from the agricultural sector is

<sup>86</sup> McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand*, pp.136-137.

consistent with our New Zealand-wide figures for father's occupation. This is hardly surprising given the company's preferences and the low wages and loss of employment among rural labourers in the 1830s.

Similarly the higher representation of craft workers and builders in particular as compared with the New Zealand-wide figures on father's occupation followed from Company preferences. So was the small number of people with industrial jobs. Those few female emigrants whose occupations were listed were concentrated in the domestic service sector and in clothing, but the vast majority came out, as we have already noted, as wives, rather than as paid workers.<sup>87</sup>

The occupational data for Scottish male emigrants illustrate strong similarities with the English emigrants.<sup>88</sup> Thus 20.1 per cent described themselves as agricultural labourers. Moreover, workers from the agricultural sector and craft workers with 'pre-industrial' skills were over-represented. Emigrants with craft skills were often of a mixed occupational background, describing themselves as 'cooper and sawyer' for instance, indicating a low level of specialisation. When this evidence is taken in conjunction with the young age and family characteristics of the emigrants, the decision to emigrate can be seen as a lifecycle decision corresponding with the end of apprenticeship, leaving home, or marriage. Workers in the industrial sectors and tertiary sectors were under-represented, as in the case of the English emigrating to New Zealand, although among the Scots textile workers (mainly linen and woollen hand-loom weavers and their families) accounted for over two-thirds of emigrants from the industrial sector.<sup>89</sup> Finally, an unusual feature of Scottish emigration during the Company period was the very high proportion of 'middle' or 'middling' class people. Almost 23 per cent of emigrants from Scotland travelled in cabin berths and many were described as 'gentlemen', 'settlers', or of 'independent'

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<sup>87</sup> Schwarz found that of the 157 women who departed on the Canterbury Association's ships between September 1850 and March 1853 and who were listed as having an occupation, all but two were single or widowed, and 140 were described as domestic servants (including nurses, laundresses, cooks, and housekeepers) and six as seamstresses or dressmakers. See Carolyn Schwarz, *The female emigrants of the Canterbury Association and their role in Wakefield's theory of 'systematic colonisation.'* MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1993, p.87.

<sup>88</sup> Note that McClean's data include cabin passengers or 'capitalists', hence accounting for a larger proportion of white collar workers.

status. Most of these settlers were young and inexperienced, with over 70 per cent under 35 years of age, and most likely can be regarded as ‘surplus relatives’ sent to New Zealand to make their fortunes.<sup>90</sup>

### Regional Origins: English and Welsh

**Table 28: Regional Origins of English and Welsh NZ Company Assisted Immigrants, 1840-52**

Regions	NZ Co. <sup>2</sup>	Census 1841	Represent ation Indices	N.Z. <sup>1</sup>	Auckland <sup>1</sup>
London-Middlesex	25.9	9.8	264.3	14.8	20.1
South-east	20.8	11.1	187.4	21.5	17.2
East	3.3	10.5	31.4	7.1	7.4
South-west	16.4	10.9	150.5	22.8	21.8
Midlands					
East	4.8	5.8	82.8	3.1	2.1
Central	8.9	5.7	156.1	5.8	3.6
West	4.7	6.3	74.6	4.9	4.3
South	4.0	4.6	87.0	4.6	4.5
Yorkshire	5.6	9.9	56.6	5.8	6.7
Lancashire-Cheshire	3.4	12.9	26.4	5.2	8.6
North-east	1.5	3.6	41.7	1.2	1.7
North-west	0.8	1.5	53.3	1.5	0.5
North Wales	0	3.6	0	0.6	0
South Wales	0	2.9	0	0.4	0.2
Off-shore Islands	0	0.8	0	0.7	1.2
	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)				25	133
n=	5,912			698	550

Sources: Death registers; CO 208/272 and 273.

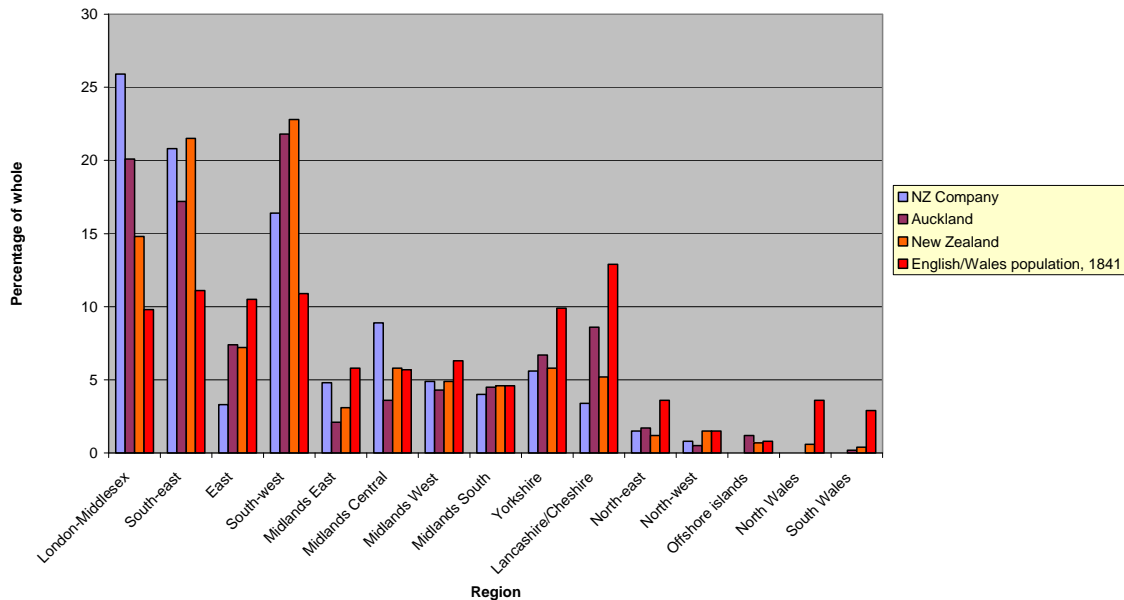
<sup>1</sup> Place of birth. <sup>2</sup> Place of last residence

Table 28 compares the place of last residence of the New Zealand Company applicants for assistance with the residence of the inhabitants of England and Wales in 1841 and the place of birth of the Auckland and New Zealand immigrants 1840-52.

<sup>89</sup> McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand*, p.321.

<sup>90</sup> McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand*, pp.322-4.

Graph 10: Region of origin, English Immigrants, 1840-52  
(Sources: Registers of deaths, UK Census 1841)



Graph 10 presents this in graphical form. The fact that the figures for the New Zealand Company refer to last place of residence probably explains the disproportionately high number from London-Middlesex compared with the other New Zealand figures. However, apart from this, there is a close correspondence between the regional origins of New Zealand Company assisted migrants with those who came to New Zealand as a whole. The same three areas, the south-east, south-west and London loom large with the only major variation being the slightly smaller numbers from the south-west (which is still over-represented by comparison with the English population).

In terms of county of origin London, Kent, Somerset, Warwick and, to a lesser extent, the West Riding of Yorkshire were important sources of New Zealand Company assisted migrants with the first two being disproportionately represented. The applications to the New Zealand Company also allow us to go beneath the county to discover particular places of origin. Maps 3 and 4 depict the distribution of those who wanted to go to New Zealand from registration districts in two English census regions, namely, south-east and south-west England. The distribution is based on applications received by the New Zealand Company per 10 000 of the population in 1841. Only applications are represented as the data illustrate geographical origins more clearly and because

emigration patterns were very similar to application patterns. Rates under five per 10 000 have been excluded. The first important impression is that applications came from concentrated areas within counties. For example, the high rate of applications identified for Kent (Map 3) came from four particular districts, namely, Maidstone, Hollingbourne, Cranbrook and West Ashford. Similarly, Somerset's applicants (Map 4) were concentrated in the three districts of Yeovil, Bath and Langport.

Of the 1 102 persons who left Plymouth in 1840-1842 for New Plymouth, many were also drawn from particular districts within counties. Of 896 steerage passengers, most came from Cornwall and Devon, with smaller numbers from Dorset and Somerset. Within Cornwall, Devon and Dorset, four areas emerged as major sources: the first, the farming region straddling the northern borders of Cornwall and Devon and dominated by the market towns of Holsworthy and Launceston; the second, the south of Cornwall, with its large tin and copper mining towns surrounded by farming villages, especially Helston, Redruth, and Illogan; the third, the area surrounding the port of Plymouth and from agricultural villages around the port, in particular from the area known as South Hams;<sup>91</sup> and the fourth, in the west of Dorset, from Bridport north to Stoke Abbot and across to Sydling St Nicholas in the east. Two-thirds of the steerage families whose origins are known came from these four areas. Of the remainder there were other smaller concentrations, so that a third of the Somerset families came from the village of Martock.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, an analysis of New Zealand Company emigrants from Yorkshire

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<sup>91</sup> Emigration to New Zealand from the south-west of England was a part of a much larger exodus from Cornwall and the border areas of Devon which gained momentum from 1815. Most left for the Province of Canada, although departures slowed in the mid 1830s with the unrest and finally the rebellions of 1837-1838 in Upper and Lower Canada, almost certainly aiding the efforts of the Plymouth Company to recruit migrants. The numbers departing surged again during the 1840s, with increasing numbers from west Cornwall joining the exodus from north and east Cornwall. See Margaret James-Korany, "'Blue Books'" as sources for Cornish emigration history,' *Cornish studies* Series One, 1993, pp.31-45.

<sup>92</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, 'Emigration and kinship: migrants to New Plymouth 1840-1843,' *New Zealand journal of history* 25, 2, 1991, pp.112-128. For accounts of some of New Plymouth's Cornish immigrants, see Grace Pearn, *Pearn pioneers: Cornwall, Taranaki*. Auckland, 1986. Jonathon Pearn, of Boscastle, was a carpenter/cabinet-maker; Norman Wills, *A good west country name: James and Betsy Will's family in New Zealand*. Hamilton, 1992. James Wills was born in Bere Ferrers, Devon and Betsy Rickard in Calstock, Cornwall; Wendy Bovey, *Bovey family: 150 years in New Zealand, 1843-1993*. Wellington [1993]. John Bovey was a copper miner of Polmear Par Tywardreath; and Joanne Robinson, *Werrington to Waiuku: a history of the Barriballs of Waiuku*. [Auckland, 1997]. Charles Barriball was a farm labourer of North Tamerton.

who arrived in New Zealand in 1842, revealed that of 136 emigrants, the West Riding supplied 106 or 77.9 per cent, in particular from a small group of towns in a triangle formed by Bradford, Leeds, and Barnsley.<sup>93</sup>

The uneven spread of New Zealand Company applicants both between and within counties followed in part from the activities of directors and shareholders of the company in encouraging potential emigrants, and the encouragement and support of landed proprietors, especially those who had purchased land in the new settlements. Above all, the pattern was strongly influenced by the network of local emigrant recruitment agents the company established, largely, it seems on the model developed by the South Australian Commissioners. Of 74 agents who operated in England, 52 worked in southern England, that is, south of a line from the Wash to the Bristol Channel. Further, the number and rate of applications for assisted passages of agents reflected both the number of agents in each county and the number of agents per 10 000 of the county population. Thus Dorset had two but Kent eight agents. Hampshire had eight agents who recruited from a total population of 355 000 – and an application rate of almost 20 per 10 000 of the county's population - while in the West Riding of Yorkshire four agents recruited from a population of 1.154 million – and an application rate of just 9.6 per 10 000. The evidence strongly suggests that the company appointed agents in those counties and districts where in its estimation it stood a high chance of securing emigrants.

Applications also varied widely *within* counties, districts with higher number of applications reflecting the activities of local agents.<sup>94</sup> Thus, in Hampshire, 64 per cent of the applications which were lodged in the Alton district emanated from the three towns of Lasham, Chawton, and Alton. Alton (where the agent was based) itself supplied 35 per cent of Hampshire's applications, adjacent districts such as Basingstoke and Alresford supplying very few. In Somerset, in which the company had an agent in Langport and another in Chard, applications were largely drawn from the adjacent towns of Chard, Kingsbury Episcopi, East Chinnock, Yeovil, Kingsdon, and Montacute. At the same time,

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<sup>93</sup> Paul Hudson, 'From white rose to long white cloud: Yorkshire emigration to New Zealand, 1842,' *Journal of regional and local studies* 15, 2, 1995, pp.31-48.

<sup>94</sup> The term 'district' refers to 1841 census registration districts.

it should be noted that agents in some counties were unsuccessful, notably those in Suffolk and Norfolk, while applications were also received from counties in which no agent operated, among them, Cumberland and Berkshire. In general, however, applications emanated not only from particular counties in England but also from particular areas within those counties, with emigration agents playing a crucial role in the pattern of regional and county origins which emerged.

### Regional Origins – Scots

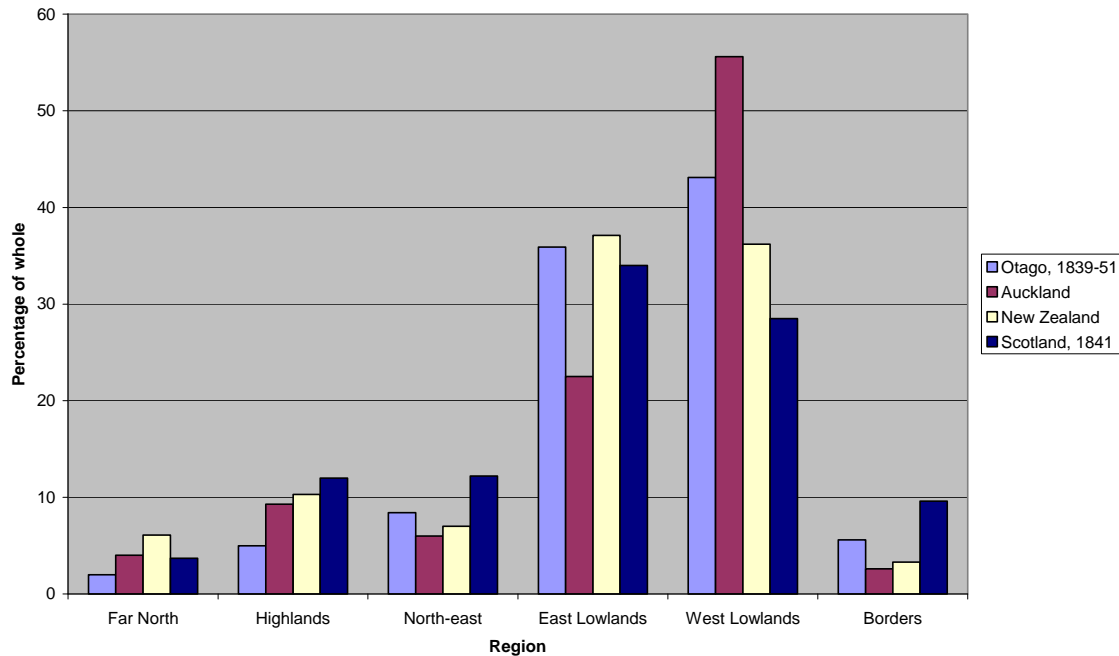
**Table 29: Place of last residence of Scottish migrants to Otago 1839-1851, and regions of birth of Scottish migrants to Auckland and New Zealand, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

Region	Otago 1839-1851	Share of Scots- born 1851	Auckland 1840- 1852	New Zealand 1840-1852
Far North	2.0	4.1	4.0	6.1
Highlands	5.0	13.3	9.3	10.3
North-east	8.4	13.1	6.0	7.0
Eastern Lowlands	35.9	34.1	22.5	37.1
Western Lowlands	43.1	25.1	55.6	36.2
Borders	5.6	10.3	2.6	3.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	1,675		148	207

Sources: R.McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand, 1840-1880: motives, means, and background*. PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1990, Table 4.2, p.120; and Census of Scotland, 1851.

Table 26 gives the place of last residence of McClean's Scots emigrants by comparison with the distribution in Scotland. Graph 11 presents this in graphical form.

**Graph 11: Scottish immigrants to NZ, 1840-52**  
 (Sources: McClean, Registers of deaths, UK census 1841)



The evidence suggests that the characteristics of the flow into New Zealand as a whole – the low numbers from the Highlands and the dominance of the Lowlands as a source for New Zealand migrants – were even more true of the Otago settlers. Slightly surprising given the Edinburgh base of the Otago (formerly the New Edinburgh) Association, was the slightly stronger representation of the West Lowlands. However of those who did come from the Eastern Lowlands, over 30 per cent came from one part of the region, namely inner Angus, coastal Angus, east Perthshire, south Perthshire, and east Fife. Furthermore, Scottish emigrants, who in the main departed from London, originated from counties close to the English border such as Berwick, Roxburgh and Dumfries. The prohibitive cost of travel to London prior to departure for New Zealand may have dissuaded emigrants from the Far North to consider New Zealand as a destination during this period. The regional distribution of assisted emigrants was remarkably similar to emigrants who paid their own fares.<sup>95</sup>

A clear majority of Scottish emigrants going to New Zealand during the 1840s departed

<sup>95</sup> McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand*, pp.128-9 and 168; and M.N.Galt, 'Who came to New Zealand? New light on the origins of British settlers, 1840-1889,' *New Zealand population review* 21, 1 and



from counties which were predominantly urban. Nearly one third originated from one of Scotland's large or principal towns, and half of these came from Glasgow or Edinburgh. This is remarkably similar to the English data outlined above. Only about one third of emigrants came from areas which could be described as non-urban at the county level. What is interesting, however, is that as with the English, considerably more emigrants came from rural districts within these urban counties. Nearly two-fifths of Scottish emigrants came from predominantly rural areas close to urban and industrial centres such as Glasgow or Edinburgh. Indeed, many of the agricultural labourers who departed Scotland for New Zealand left areas which were affected by industry and where wages were relatively high.<sup>96</sup>

Emigrant clusters suggest that kin and community traditions, and idiosyncratic emigration promotional factors, may have created some sustaining links between Scotland and New Zealand. A small minority of parishes, however, perhaps three percent, provided these sizeable clusters of emigrants, but in the main they were located outside of the Lowland industrial belt which provided the bulk of New Zealand's Scots migrants. In summary, McClean's data indicate that emigration from Scotland to New Zealand during the 1840s was generally more widespread rather than clustered, and from the Lowlands rather than Highlands.<sup>97</sup>

### **Soldiers discharged from the imperial regiments of the foot**

One other major immigrant inflow which merits consideration included the almost 2,100 military personnel (excluding the Fencibles) who arrived in New Zealand between 1845 and 1852. Belich correctly suggested that those who took their discharges in New Zealand, together with the Fencibles and the Waikato military settlers of the 1860s, made up 'an underestimated ... stream' of settlers, a stream moreover 'prone to be Irish ...'<sup>98</sup>

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2, May/November 1995, pp.50-71.

<sup>96</sup> McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand*, pp.193-6 and 437.

<sup>97</sup> McClean, *Scottish emigration to New Zealand*, pp. 90,149, 151, 175, and 205.

<sup>98</sup> Belich, *Making peoples*, p.314.

The Irish made up a significant proportion of the imperial army's rank and file, 37.2 per cent in 1840 and 28.4 per cent in 1861, the proportion declining as mortality in and emigration from Ireland from the middle of the 1840s took their toll of Ireland's population. Moreover, in 1861 Catholics made up 28.5 per cent of the British Army. The Irish made up an even larger proportion of the European armies of the East India Company.<sup>99</sup> Imperial foot regiment soldiers (and their families) discharged in New Zealand formed a sizeable group of immigrants, although it is possible that some did not long remain in the colony.<sup>100</sup> The following analysis is based on the work of Hugh and Lyn Hughes. The information available for the discharged soldiers varied somewhat from regiment to regiment. Those for whom information was not available were excluded, notably most of those who served in the 40<sup>th</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> Somersetshire) Regiment. Further, for a sizeable number of those discharged, it proved difficult to identify with confidence the county of birth.<sup>101</sup>

Of 723 men discharged during the period 1841-1852, country of birth was identified for 537 and of that number 42.8 per cent had been born in England, 0.2 per cent in Wales, 2.6 per cent in Scotland, and 54.4 per cent in Ireland. A large proportion (61.6 per cent of the English, and 71.6 per cent of the Irish), had been labourers on enlistment, with the remainder being drawn from a wide range of pre-industrial crafts. Most of these men were discharged in 1849 and 1850, following the end of the Northern War and the settlement of the conflicts in Wellington and Wanganui, and secured their discharges in Wellington and Wanganui as well as in Auckland and the Bay of Islands.

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<sup>99</sup> See H.J.Hanham, 'Religion and nationality in the mid-Victorian army,' in M.R.D.Foot, editor, *War and society: historical essays in honour and memory of J.R.Western 1928-1971*. London, 1973, pp. 159-181. See also Keith Jeffery, 'The Irish military tradition and the British Empire,' in Keith Jeffery, editor, *An Irish empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British empire*. Manchester, 1996, pp.94-122; and E.M.Spiers, 'Army organisation and society in the nineteenth century,' in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery, editors, *A military history of Ireland*. Cambridge, 1996, pp.335- 357.

<sup>100</sup> Vaggioli noted that of those who were discharged following the end of the Northern War, 500 remained in New Zealand. See Dom Felice Vaggioli, *History of New Zealand and its inhabitants*. First published 1896, English translation by John Crockett, Dunedin, 2000, p.134. See also 'Immigrants to the Auckland Province 1840-1880: a symposium,' *Historical journal, Auckland-Waikato*, No.21, October 1972, p.21 where it is indicated that about half of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment 'became permanent settlers,' and that under the *Naval and Military Settlers Act, 1851*, Crown grants were issued to 4 272 persons.

<sup>101</sup> See Hugh and Lyn Hughes, *Discharged in New Zealand: soldiers of the imperial foot regiments who took their discharge in New Zealand, 1840-1870*. Auckland, 1988.

**Table 30: Regions of birth of English and Welsh soldiers discharged in New Zealand, and New Zealand male arrivals 20 years and over, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

Regions of birth	Discharged soldiers	New Zealand male arrivals 20 years and over
London-Middlesex	6.1	12.8
South-east	18.3	18.3
East	17.0	10.6
South-west	20.0	25.1
Midlands		
East	3.5	3.8
Central	4.3	3.0
West	7.8	3.8
South	5.7	5.5
Yorkshire	9.1	6.4
Lancashire-Cheshire	7.0	6.0
North-east	0.9	0.9
North-west	-	1.7
North Wales	-	1.3
South Wales	0.4	-
Off-shore islands	-	0.8
	100.0	100.0
n	230	235

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

Table 30 gives the regions of birth of 229 English and Welsh soldiers whose origins could be identified. Three regions - the south-east, the east, and the south-west - together contributed 55.4 per cent. Table 30 also includes the regions of birth for New Zealand's total male arrivals aged 20 years and over, and although the size of the sub-sample is small, the table suggests that proportionately more English/Welsh soldiers were drawn from the East, Yorkshire, and Midlands West, and proportionately fewer from London-Middlesex and the south-west. Scots soldiers made up a very small proportion of all those discharged in the period 1840-1852, but most were drawn from the western Lowlands, that is, Ayr, Lanark, and Renfrew.

**Table 31: Provinces of birth of Irish soldiers discharged**

**in New Zealand, and Auckland and New Zealand's male arrivals aged 20 years and over, 1840-1852 (per cent)**

<b>Provinces</b>	<b>Discharged soldiers</b>	<b>New Zealand male arrivals 20 years and over</b>
Connacht	5.9	8.5
Leinster	35.4	36.2
Munster	19.5	25.5
Ulster	39.1	29.8
	100.0	100.0
n=	289	47

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

Provinces of birth were identified for 289 discharged Irish soldiers (Table 31). The two principal sources were clearly Leinster (with Counties Dublin, Kildare, and Queens featuring prominently), and Ulster (with Counties Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, and Down all being major contributors). On the other hand, Munster and especially Connacht were relatively minor contributors. That almost half (47.3 per cent) of those born in Ireland took their discharge in Wellington, and a further 20.5 per cent in Wanganui, almost certainly accounts for the growth of Wellington's Catholic community during the 1840s. Table 31 also includes the provinces of birth of New Zealand's total Irish male arrivals aged 20 years and over, and although the size of the sub-sample is very small, it suggests that the colony drew proportionately more of its discharged soldiers from Ulster and proportionately fewer from Munster than was true for all Irish males.

## **Summary and conclusions**

A comparison between the inflows into Auckland and the New Zealand Company settlements reveals some marked contrasts. Whereas Auckland drew largely on England and Ireland for its settlers, the New Zealand Company recruited very largely in England. The national origins of the New Zealand Company settlers approximated those of South Australia's assisted immigrants who arrived in that colony over the period 1836-1840. On the other hand, Auckland, if for different reasons, tended to follow New South Wales

which, during the great emigration of 1841, recruited two-thirds of its assisted immigrants in Ireland.<sup>102</sup>

There were also contrasts with respect to the age and family character of the Auckland and New Zealand Company settlers. The almost even gender balance in the latter (although not in the Otago Association) clearly reflected the importance of families among the immigrants and in turn the objectives of the settlements' founders. Families were also important in Auckland's Scottish and Irish inflows (significantly both containing many who had been assisted to reach New Zealand), but much less so among Auckland's English settlers where single males were present in larger numbers. The importance of families in the New Zealand Company immigrant body also largely accounted for quite marked differences between the age structures of the New Zealand Company and Auckland immigrants. The former was dominated by young children and had few adults aged over 50 years, the latter by young adults, while also having a larger proportion aged over 50 years. These various differences with respect to gender balance, marital status, and age are fully consistent with the fact that most of Auckland's immigration was unassisted, that it contained the colony's capital with a more diverse economy, and with the fact that most of the New Zealand Company inflow was selected and assisted in accordance with their founders' intention of creating demographically balanced and socially distinctive agricultural colonies.

One other feature which made the New Zealand Company settlements distinctive was the fact that many of its settlers emigrated in groups and families from a small number of areas, rather than small groups from many areas. Few English or Scottish emigrants, at least among the New Zealand Company settlers, wished to start their new lives in New Zealand without the support networks available from kin or people they knew and, it seems, the support of kin and neighbours was a prerequisite to emigrate to New Zealand. Whether that was true or not for those who emigrated to Auckland cannot at the moment be demonstrated.

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<sup>102</sup> John McDonald and Eric Richards, 'The great emigration of 1841: recruitment for New South Wales in British emigration fields,' *Population studies* 51, 1997, p.347.

On the other hand there were marked similarities between the Auckland and New Zealand Company flows. A comparison between the *occupational backgrounds* of all of those who arrived in Auckland with the *recorded occupations* of those who were *assisted* by the New Zealand Company suggests a very similar pattern with large proportions of immigrants drawn from agricultural, pre-industrial, and white collar backgrounds, and only small proportions from labouring and industrial backgrounds. And the regional origins of both Scots and English are remarkably consistent between the different flows.