

5. Economic growth and renewed immigration, 1891-1915

Context

By 1891 New Zealand was emerging from the depression of the 1880s, and, indeed, the period 1895-1907 was one of strong and continuous economic growth marked by full employment and rising real wages. A sharp recession in 1908-1910 was followed by a resumption of growth which continued until the equally sharp recession of 1921-1922. The relative prosperity of the period was based on continuing land settlement, the advent of refrigerated marine transport, the remarkable growth of dairying and other small-scale intensive farming, the expansion of secondary industry, (especially in food processing), a revival of gold mining (both gold dredging and hard-rock mining), and the rapid growth of coal mining. Further, the Liberals resumed borrowing and initiated a new public works programme, expanded primary and secondary schooling and technical training, and improved and expanded health services.¹

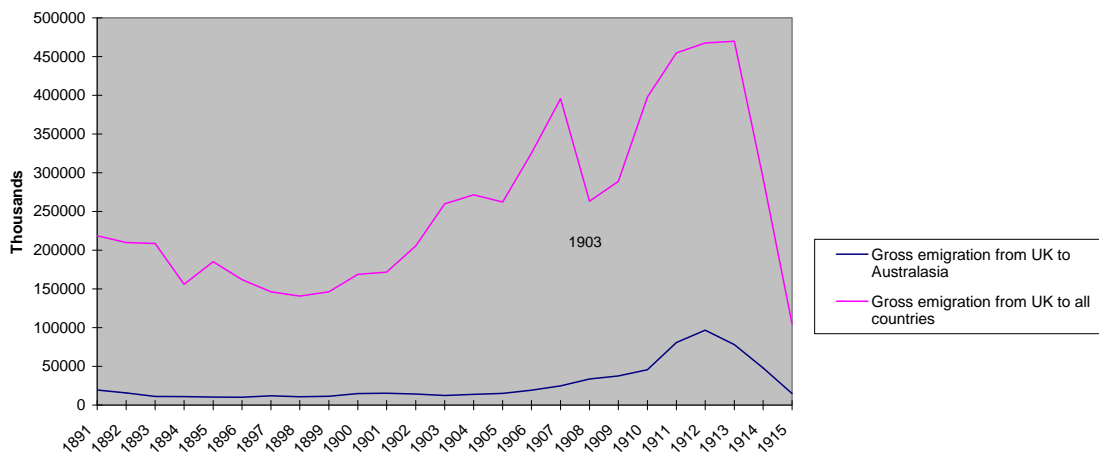
New Zealand's non-Maori population almost doubled during the period 1891-1915, rising from some 625 000 in 1891 to almost 1.1 million in 1916. Immigration, which had fallen to low levels during the 1890s, began to rise from about 1900, and quickened following the re-introduction of assistance in 1904, although considerable resistance to large-scale immigration remained.²

Emigration from the United Kingdom slowed during the 1890s, a decade which included serious depressions in the United States, Argentina, and Australia, but surged after the turn of the century in response to economic recovery in the major destinations and to low real trans-oceanic passage costs (Graph 1).

¹ For accounts of the period, see Erik Olssen, 'Towards a new society,' in W.H.Oliver and B.R.Williams, editors, *The Oxford history of New Zealand*. Wellington, 1981, pp.250-278; D.A.Hamer, 'Centralisation and nationalism (1891-1912),' in Keith Sinclair, editor, *The Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*. Auckland, 1990, pp.125-152; Tom Brooking, "'Bursting-up" the greatest estate of all,' *New Zealand journal of history* 26, 1, 1992, pp.78-98; T.W.H. Brooking, *Lands for the people? The Highland Clearances and the colonisation of New Zealand: a biography of John McKenzie*, Dunedin, 1996, pp.131-134; and Raewyn Dalziel, 'Southern Islands: New Zealand and Polynesia,' in Andrew Porter, editor, *The Oxford history of the British Empire, Volume III, The nineteenth century*. Oxford, 1999, pp. 573-596.

² D.A.Hamer, 'Centralisation and nationalism (1891-1912),' in Keith Sinclair, editor, *The Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*. Auckland, 1990, pp.125-152. See p.144.

Graph 1: Emigration of persons of British and Irish origins from the United Kingdom, 1891-1915



The annual rate of emigration from England and Scotland in the 1900s reached the level of the 1880s, with the numbers leaving Scotland in particular reaching a very high level in the years from 1906 to 1913, coinciding with a serious industrial depression and mounting unemployment. Scotland in fact experienced a rate of emigration from 1880 until the eve of World War 1 which exceeded that for England and, during the 1900s, that for Ireland, the outflow removing a higher proportion of its natural increase than in any other country in Europe with the exception of Norway and Ireland.³ The direction of the outflow from England/Wales and Scotland changed, away from the United States and towards the countries of the empire -- Canada during the first decade of the 20th century, Australia and New Zealand in the five years immediately preceding the Great War.⁴

³ For account of emigration from England and Wales, see Charlotte J. Erickson, 'English,' in Stephen Thernstrom, editor, *Harvard encyclopaedia of American ethnic groups*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980, p.335; Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930*. Houndmills, 1991; Dudley Baines, 'European labour markets, emigration and internal migration, 1850-1913,' in T.J.Hatten and J.G.Williamson, editors, *Migration and the international labour market 1850-1939*. London, 1994, pp. 35-55; and Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England. Essays on British emigration in the nineteenth century*. Ithaca, 1994. On emigration from Scotland, see M.W.Flinn, editor, *Scottish population history from the 17th century to the 1930s*. Cambridge, 1977; Colin Holmes, *John Bull's island: immigration and British society, 1871-1971*. Basingstoke, 1988; W.H.Fraser and D.J.Morse, editors, *People and society in Scotland, II, 1830-1914*. Edinburgh, 1990; M.Anderson and D.J.Morse. 'High fertility, high emigration, low nuptiality: adjustment processes in Scotland's demographic experience, 1861-1914, Part II,' *Population studies* 47, 1993, pp.319-343; Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the wars: opportunity or exile?* Manchester, 1998; and Jeanette M.Brock, *The mobile Scot: a study of emigration and migration 1861-1911*. Edinburgh, 1999.

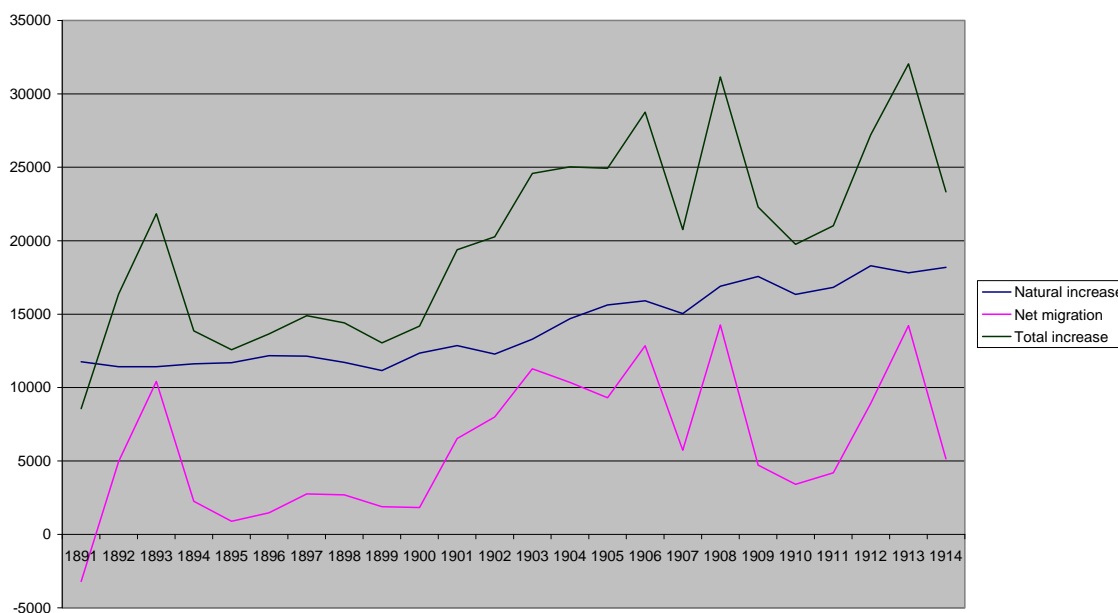
⁴ See W.Nugent, *Crossings: the great trans-Atlantic migrations, 1870-1914*. Bloomington, 1992.

While emigration from England and Scotland rose steeply after 1900, emigration from Ireland declined sharply.⁵ Most Irish emigrants continued to make the United States their destination, although after the turn of the century the proportion did decline, reaching 73.0 per cent in 1913, as a larger proportion made Canada its destination. New Zealand's share of the total outflow from Ireland never exceeded one per cent in any year in the entire period 1891-1915, although it did increase marginally from 1904 onwards.

Numbers

Net immigration during the period 1891-1915 reached almost 148 000 and this made up 29.3 per cent of New Zealand's non-Maori population growth during the period 1891-1915 (Graph 2), considerably lower than the 40 per cent contributed during the period 1871-1890.

Graph 2: Sources of increase in non-Maori population, 1891-1915



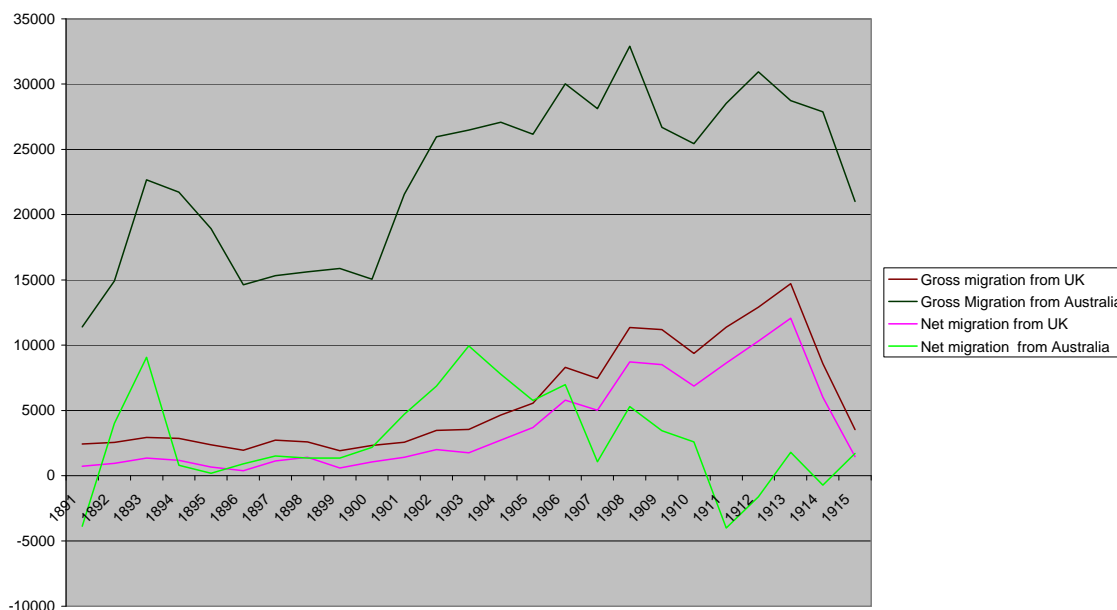
Apart from a short-lived increase in arrivals in the early 1890s, the comparatively low levels of gross immigration of the later 1880s continued until 1900. The year 1900 marked a turning point as the gross number of arrivals rose sharply to reach almost 45

⁵ See David Fitzpatrick, 'Irish emigration in the later nineteenth century,' *Irish historical studies* 22, September 1980, pp.126-143, and David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration,' in W.E.Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland, Volume VI. Ireland under the union, II (1870-1921)*. Oxford, 1996, pp.606-647.

000 in 1908, fell slightly, and then surged anew to reach over 44 000 in both 1912 and 1913 before contracting upon the advent of the Great War.

Australia and the United Kingdom

Graph 3: Migration from United Kingdom and Australia 1891-1915



Graph 3 sets out the gross numbers of immigrants arriving from the United Kingdom and Australia for the period 1891-1915 and also the net migration. The proportion of New Zealand's total gross immigration originating in the United Kingdom remained at a low level until 1906 when it reached just over a fifth (21.1 per cent) and eventually increased to a third (33.0 per cent) in 1913 before falling back as the number of arrivals from the United Kingdom fell and the number of returning New Zealanders rose. Arrivals from the Australian colonies followed a rather different pattern, rising sharply during the early 1890s which coincided with a marked deterioration in the economies of both New South Wales and Victoria and a very sharp rise in the levels of unemployment and again from the turn of the century when Australia struggled to recover from a severe economic depression and drought. From 1901 the numbers arriving in each year fluctuated but did

not fall below 20 000. There was a net outflow in 1911 and 1912 as New Zealand experienced a sharp recession.⁶

Such data as are available indicate that the two inflows differed. Thus while both streams exhibited, among adults, a high gender imbalance, that imbalance was more marked in the inflow from Australia. Further, the inflow from the United Kingdom had a higher number of children per adult female, an appreciable rise in the ratio between 1904 and 1908 coinciding with the re-introduction of assisted passages and suggesting that from 1904 the inflow included proportionately more families or more families in the middle and later stages of the family life cycle.

Table 1: New Zealand - immigrants born in the United Kingdom and as a proportion of all immigrants, 1897-1915

Year	All arrivals born in United Kingdom	Total arrivals	UK-born as a proportion of total arrivals
1897	8 922	18 592	48.0
1898	9 872	18 855	52.4
1899	10 706	18 506	57.9
1900	12 944	18 074	71.6
1901	19 381	25 086	77.3
1902	18 903	30 293	62.4
1903	21 105	30 883	68.3
1904	21 853	32 632	67.0
1905	18 704	32 685	57.2
1906	20 948	39 233	53.4
1907	21 161	36 108	58.6
1908	22 990	44 970	51.1
1909	20 318	38 650	52.6
1910	16 003	35 769	44.7
1911	16 374	41 389	39.6
1912	17 843	44 660	40.0
1913	20 685	44 588	46.4
1914	14 728	37 646	39.1

⁶ For an analysis of the trans-Tasman flows, see Rollo Arnold, 'Dynamics of the invisible: on the trail of New Zealand's trans-Tasman influx 1900-1908,' in A.J.Jones, editor, *Under the Southern Cross*, Hamilton, 1983, pp.70-78; and 'The dynamics and quality of trans-Tasman migration, 1885-1910,' *Australian economic history review* 26, 1, March 1986, pp.1-20.

1915	7 441	25 551	29.1
Totals	320 881	614 170	52.2

Source: *Statistics of New Zealand 1897-1915*.

Table 1 sets out for the period 1897-1915 the numbers of immigrants born in the United Kingdom and total gross arrivals, and it is apparent that the UK-born formed just over half. A comparison between the number of arrivals *born* in the United Kingdom and those who *arrived* from the United Kingdom indicates that until 1905 New Zealand drew most of its UK-born from sources other than the United Kingdom itself, namely from Australia. Thereafter the proportion of UK-born arriving directly from the United Kingdom rose. The composition of the inflow from Australia, the single most important source of immigrants over the period 1891-1915, thus assumes considerable importance. Again, such data as are available indicate that until 1905 the trans-Tasman flow was dominated by persons not born in either Australia or New Zealand, but by persons of 'European descent' most of whom had been born in the United Kingdom. After 1905 the proportion of the UK-born in the inflow from Australia generally declined and reached low levels at the end of the period.

Assisted Immigrants, 1904-1915

The inflow of immigrants during the period 1891-1915 included a renewed stream of assisted immigrants. Following the arrival of the last government-assisted immigrants in 1891, attention turned to limiting rather than stimulating the inflow of arrivals.⁷ Parsons and Siegfried, writing in 1904 and 1914 respectively, rightly detected in New Zealand a 'new spirit of exclusivism and self-protection against the outsider.'⁸ The only exception was a scheme in which the New Zealand Shipping Company offered reduced rates to

⁷ See C.B.K.Smithyman, *Attitudes to immigration in New Zealand 1870-1900*. MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1971; Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves: New Zealand Fabian*. Oxford, 1965, p.225; and Robert A.Huttenback, *Racism and empire: white settlers and coloured immigrants in the British self-governing colonies, 1830-1910*. Ithaca, 1976. See also W.P. Reeves, 'Why I proposed the "Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Bill,"' *Review of reviews* January 20 1895. Substantially the same arguments were repeated in W.P.Reeves, 'The exclusion of aliens and undesirables from Australia and New Zealand,' *National review* 38, December 1901, pp. 596-615.

⁸ F.Parsons, *The story of New Zealand*. Philadelphia, 1904; and A.Siegfried, *Democracy in New Zealand*. London, 1914. During the period 1891-1915, Australia, Canada, and South Africa, employing the 'Natal formula,' legislated to restrict and, in Australia's case, to remove 'prohibited' immigrants.

New Zealand, the concession being limited to heads of families possessing capital to the extent of £100 cash plus £50 cash for each family member over the age of 12 years. Over the period 1893-1904, 3 091 persons secured reduced rate passages to New Zealand.

Then in 1903 Richard Seddon (who was both Colonial Treasurer and Minister for Immigration) revealed that the Agent-General had been asked to take up with the shipping companies a proposal for a new reduced fare scheme.⁹ The new scheme required both the shipping companies and the government to contribute to the reduced fares and to the bonuses paid to shipping and passenger agents in the United Kingdom. Under this new scheme, assistance was limited to farmers, farm labourers, and single female domestic servants. In 1912-1913, in what was to become a first step towards the system of 'open nomination' adopted after the Great War, the regulations were amended so that any resident in New Zealand could nominate any 'near relative by blood or marriage' residing in the United Kingdom for an assisted passage. In addition, residents in New Zealand could nominate domestic servants, farmers, or farm labourers irrespective of relationship.

Table 2 : Assisted immigrants as a proportion of all arrivals from the United Kingdom, 1904-1915

Year	Assisted	Self-paying	Assisted as a proportion of all arrivals
1904	1 058	3 596	22.7
1905	2 191	3 362	39.4
1906	3 880	4 413	45.8
1907	2 510	4 939	33.6
1908	4 466	6 882	39.3
1909	3 990	7 194	35.6
1910	2 179	7 188	23.2
1911	2 839	8 540	24.9
1912	3 772	9 140	29.2
1913	5 148	9 559	35.0
1914	3 716	4 863	43.3
1915	1 300	2 231	36.8
Total	37 049	71 907	34.0

⁹ IM 1911-1924 (4) A, cited in J.S.McBean, *Immigration into New Zealand 1900-1915*. MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1946, p.22.

Source: *Statistics of New Zealand, 1915*.

Almost 37 000 assisted immigrants arrived over the period 1904–1915, the peak inflow occurring in 1913, numbers then contracting sharply with just 1 300 arriving in 1915. Table 2 sets out assisted arrivals as a proportion of all arrivals from the United Kingdom, and it will be seen that the former made up a third (34.0 per cent) of all arrivals, although on an annual basis the proportion fell during the recession years. Immigrants could be nominated in New Zealand or could apply independently in London: of 25 527 arrivals over the period 1909–1915, 11 968 or 46.9 per cent applied independently.¹⁰ A good proportion of those nominated from New Zealand were the wives and children of male household heads who had earlier arrived in New Zealand.¹¹ It should also be noted that some arrivals from the United Kingdom were assisted by private agencies and employers in New Zealand, domestic servants by ‘domestic syndicates’ in Otago, Hawke’s Bay, and Canterbury, and operatives by footwear and woollen manufacturers.¹²

In the United Kingdom, where the imperial government declined to respond to pressure exerted by proponents of state-aided and empire-directed emigration,¹³ assisting emigrants remained largely in private hands.¹⁴ The many agencies involved included the British Women’s Emigration Association (established in 1884) which assisted a number of women, including domestic servants and nurses, to reach New Zealand.¹⁵ The New Zealand Government largely declined to deal with private emigration agencies, although it did deal with Thomas Sedgwick and did accept 25 ‘town-bred’ boys aged 15 to 19

¹⁰ See AJHR, D9, in each year.

¹¹ AJHR, 1912, H28, p.4.

¹² See *Dominions Royal Commission: evidence taken in New Zealand in 1913*, BPP 1914, Cd.7170.xvii.101.

¹³ See, for example, G.F.Plant, *Overseas settlement: migration from the United Kingdom to the dominions*. London, 1951.

¹⁴ See, for example, W.A.Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles*. London, 1929; Charlotte Ericksen, ‘The encouragement of emigration by British trade unions, 1850–1900,’ *Population studies* 1949–50, pp.248–273; Marjory Harper, ‘Emigration and the Salvation Army, 1890–1930,’ *Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies*, n.s. 3–4 [1985–87], pp.22–29; and Stephen Constantine, ‘Empire migration and social reform 1880–1950,’ in Colin G.Pooley and Ian D.Whyte, editors, *Migrants, emigrants and immigrants: a social history of migration*. London, 1991, p. 68.

¹⁵ Una Monk, *New horizons: a hundred years of women’s emigration*. London, 1963, p.96. See also A.James Hammerton, *Emigrant gentlewomen. Genteel poverty and female emigration, 1830–1914*. London, 1979; and Cecillie Swaisland, *Servants and gentlewomen to the golden land. The emigration of single women from Britain to Southern Africa, 1820–1939*. Berg and University of Natal Press, 1993.

years from Poplar in London and 25 from Liverpool, the boys being apprenticed to farmers.¹⁶ Such was the criticism, not least from the farm labourers' union, that the experiment was not repeated.¹⁷ The imperial government and local government authorities thus assisted only a small trickle of persons to emigrate and some of these emigrants reached New Zealand. Over the period 1890-1910, guardians of poor law unions assisted 51 persons to emigrate to New Zealand, compared with 8 917 to Canada, 188 to Australia, 55 to South Africa, and 89 to the United States and elsewhere. Most were orphaned or deserted children.¹⁸ A further trickle was encouraged by the *Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905*. During the four years ended 31 March 1910, 4 365 heads of households and 9 052 dependents were assisted to emigrate, among them, 626 household heads to Australia and New Zealand. Most of those assisted came from London.¹⁹

Sources

Two profiles of the arrivals of the period 1891-1915 were derived, the first of arrivals from the United Kingdom based on the so-called 'social security' shipping lists, and the second of all arrivals born in the United Kingdom based on the registers of deaths. According to the social security passenger lists for those ships which arrived at Auckland and Wellington from the United Kingdom for the period 1891-1915, 10 684 single

¹⁶ See Thomas Sedgwick, *Town lads on imperial farms*. London, 1913. Sedgwick (p.5) claimed that 'Imperial migration weakens the vicious home circle of Poverty, Unemployment and Drink, and paves the way for Wages Reform, Social Reform and the improvement of the British race.' See also C. Lemon, 'The search for the Sedgwick boys,' *New Zealand genealogist* March-April 1994, 90-96. For details relating to the progress of the scheme, see AJHR H11, 1912, 1913, and 1914. Scholes described Sedgwick as 'The pioneer of organised juvenile emigration to New Zealand ...' See A.G. Scholes, *Education for empire settlement*. London, 1932, pp.65-66. The background to the scheme, notably the problem of juvenile unemployment in England, is outlined in the *New Zealand stock and station journal*, March 1910, pp.275-276, and April, 1910, pp.364-365.

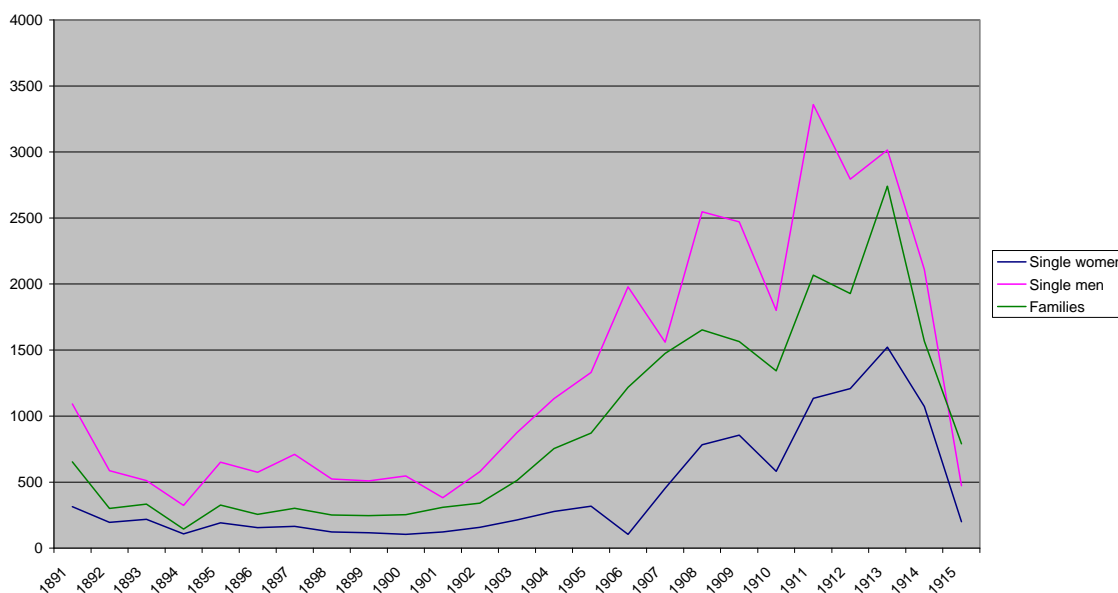
¹⁷ IM 1911-24 (4) B, IM 1912-96 (1); and *Maoriland Worker* 16 June 1911, cited in J.S. McBean, *Immigration into New Zealand 1900-1915*. MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1946, pp.56-58.

¹⁸ See *Annual Reports of the Local Government Board*, BPP *passim*.

¹⁹ See extracts from the *Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905* and the regulations made thereunder concerning emigration, in *Report of the Departmental Committee appointed to consider Mr Rider Haggard's Report on Agricultural Settlements in British Colonies*, BPP Cd.2978.190. See also Stephen Constantine, 'Empire migration and social reform 1880-1950,' in Colin G. Pooley and Ian D. Whyte, editors, *Migrants, emigrants and immigrants: a social history of migration*. London, 1991, pp.62-83.

women, 32 427 single men, and 22 193 families arrived in New Zealand.²⁰

Graph 4: Immigration from the United Kingdom by family status, 1891-1915
Source: social security passenger lists



Graph 4 sets out the year of arrival, the pattern corresponding closely with that of total gross immigration from the United Kingdom. The death register sample includes those who were assisted and those who met their own emigration costs, those who emigrated directly and those who arrived through third countries. It also includes an additional small group, namely, deserting seamen, an under-rated source of New Zealand's immigrants from the very earliest days of European settlement.²¹ The pattern of arrivals revealed by the sample generally followed that of total net immigrants arriving in New Zealand, with just a fifth of both the sample and total net immigrants arriving during the 1890s and the balance in the new century. Thus a small increase in arrivals in the early 1890s coincided with an increase in net arrivals from the Australian colonies, while a further increase from 1901 also coincided with a sharp increase in net arrivals from Australia. The sample indicates that arrivals rose sharply in 1904 and continued to rise through to 1912, the year 1904 marking the reintroduction of assistance.

²⁰ The social security passenger lists were those against which immigrants' applications for age-old pensions were checked.

²¹ See Neil Atkinson, *Crew culture: New Zealand seafarers under sail and steam*. Wellington, 2001, pp.109-112.

National Origins

Table 3: Countries of origin, single women, single men, families, total family members, and total persons, 1891-1915 drawn from social security passenger lists (per cent)

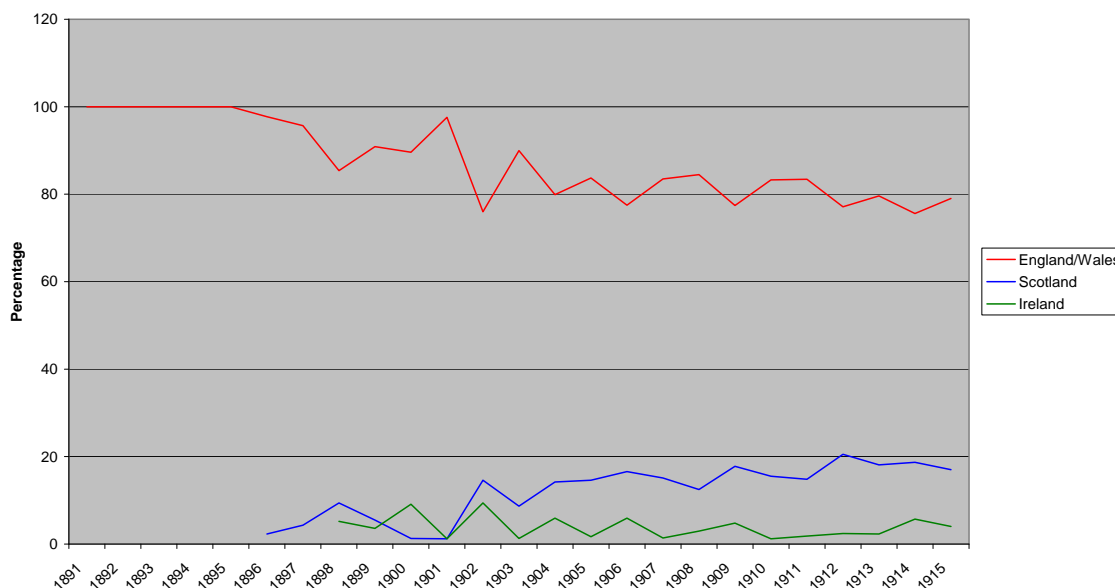
Category	England/ Wales	Scotland	Ireland
Single women	80.3	14.8	4.9
Single men	85.5	11.6	2.9
Families	83.4	14.3	2.3
All family members	82.7	14.7	2.7
Total persons	83.2	13.8	3.0
Share of UK total population, 1901	77.1	10.8	12.1
Representation indices	107.9	127.8	24.8

Sources: SS passenger lists, 1891-1915, and Censuses of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, 1901. Single women, n=568; single men, n=1 665; families, n=1 093; total family members, n= 3 877; total persons, n=6 110.

Table 3 sets out the countries of origin of the passengers sailing direct from the United Kingdom distinguishing between the three groups of single women, single men, and family arrivals.²² The most important finding is the dominance by the English/Welsh, although they were only modestly over-represented compared with their share of the United Kingdom's total native-born resident population in 1901.

²² It is assumed that country of origin as given in the passenger lists meant country of birth.

Graph 5: Country of Origin of Immigrants from the United Kingdom, 1891-1915
(Social security passdenmger lists)



The national composition of the inflow changed during the period. Graph 5 indicates that during the 1890s, when the net inflow from the United Kingdom reached very low levels, the English dominated. It was only towards the end of the decade that a trickle of immigrants from Scotland and Ireland began to arrive, the numbers accelerating after the reintroduction of assistance in 1904. In 1903 the Scots made up just 8.7 per cent of the inflow, but 20.5 per cent in 1912; the corresponding proportions for those from Ireland were 1.3 and 2.4 per cent, although that share rose further in the final three years of the period. Such changes in countries of origin parallel those indicated by the British data for 1912-1915.²³ The figures differ, however, markedly from the national distribution derived from the death registers sample which is revealed in Table 4.

Table 4: National shares of the immigrant inflow from the United Kingdom, 1840-1852, 1853-1870, 1871-1890, and 1891-1915

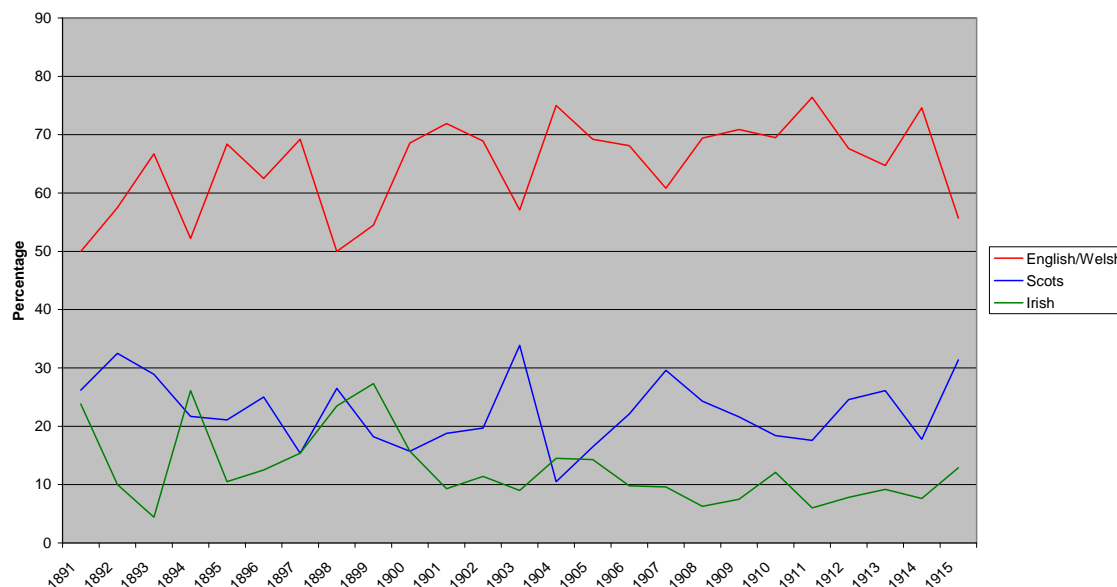
Born in	1840-1852	1853-1870	1871-1890	1891-1915	Representation indices, 1891-1915
England	64.3	46.6	54.6	65.0	90.0

²³ See *Return showing the numbers and nationalities of the passengers that left or arrived in the United Kingdom for, or from places out of Europe*, BPP 1907.Cd.3335.lxviii.497; 1908 Cd.3972.lxxxvii.1041; 1909 Cd.4515.lxx.559; 1910 Cd.5056.lxxiii.843; 1911 Cd.5526.lx.593; 1912-1913 Cd.6070.lx.677, Cd.6615.lx.743, and Cd.6701.lv.825; 1914 Cd.7285.lxix.893; and 1914-1916 Cd.7808.liv.733.

Wales	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.1	22.9
Scotland	20.6	30.2	21.5	22.2	205.6
Ireland	13.5	21.4	21.7	10.9	90.1
Off-shore islands ¹	0.5	0.7	1.3	0.9	900.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
n=	1 061	2 464	3 446	2 109	

Source: Death registers; and Censuses of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, 1901. ¹ Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.

Graph 6: Country of origin of UK immigrants, 1891-1915
(Death registers)



The figures and Graph 6 certainly show an increase in the representation from England and Wales during the 1891-1915 period, but nothing like as extreme as among the passenger sample. The death register figures, of course, included all those who had been born in the United Kingdom, and who arrived in New Zealand both directly and indirectly from the United Kingdom, while the social security lists included all those who proceeded directly from the United Kingdom to New Zealand. A comparison between the two samples suggests that the trans-Tasman immigrant stream must have included proportionately more persons of Scots and Irish birth, sufficient to influence the national composition of the inflow of all those born in the United Kingdom.

A third way into this issue is through the census figures which are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Countries of birth, British-born in New Zealand, 1891-1916 (per cent)

Census year	England	Wales	Scotland	Ireland
1891	53.5	1.0	23.7	21.8
1896	53.7	1.0	23.2	22.1
1901	55.1	0.9	22.6	21.4
1906	55.8	1.0	22.9	20.3
1911	58.5	1.0	22.6	17.9
1916	60.6	0.9	22.3	16.1

Source: *Censuses of New Zealand*

Table 5 confirms that there was indeed an increase over the period in those born in England and a marked decline in those from Ireland; but not to the extent revealed by the social security passenger sample, confirming that the migration from Australia was partly responsible for the representation of those born in Scotland and Ireland.

The 1916 census also included data relating to years of residence in New Zealand and they have been used to create Table 6. A higher proportion of the English/Welsh-born had been resident in New Zealand for fewer than five years, that is, they had arrived after 1911. Conversely, a much higher proportion of the Irish males had resided in New Zealand for over 20 years, that is, had arrived prior to 1896. For all groups the low levels of immigration over the period 1896 to 1901 are apparent.

Table 6: Period of arrival of British-born residents according to the Census, 1916 (per cent)

	Arrived before 1896	Arrived 1896-1901	Arrived 1901-1906	Arrived 1906-1911	Arrived 1911-1916
Males					
English	50.9	4.2	10.8	18.4	15.6
Welsh	43.8	5.7	12.9	18.6	19.0
Scots	56.0	4.3	9.2	17.0	13.6
Irish	68.5	4.5	8.1	10.2	8.7

Females					
English	51.1	2.7	7.9	18.3	20.3
Welsh	51.3	2.0	9.7	16.6	20.3
Scots	55.5	2.7	7.0	16.8	18.0
Irish	73.4	3.6	5.0	7.5	8.6

Source: *Census of New Zealand, 1916*.

Gender

In the death register sample, males made up 59.6 per cent of the inflow of the period 1891-1915 and females 40.4 per cent, giving a general sex ratio for the total inflow of 147.8 males per 100 females. Compared with the period 1871-1890 when the general sex ratio was 110.6 males per 100 females, the inflow during the years from 1891 to 1915 was distinguished by a marked gender imbalance. However the greatest imbalances were recorded during the years from 1891 to 1904 when the ratio was 172.7 males per 100 females, after which they declined to considerably lower levels. The general sex ratio for the years 1905-1915 was a lower 137.9. This was a natural and intended consequence of the introduction of assistance.

The overall gender ratio among those born in England and Wales was 146.2, compared to a much lower 115.7 for the period 1871-1890, and for those born in Scotland 138.1 compared to 119.5 males per 100 females in the earlier period. The most marked change involved those born in Ireland: whereas in 1871-1890, females had outnumbered males, the overall gender ratio being 91.3, in 1891-1915 the position was reversed so that the overall gender ratio was 182.7 males per 100 females. The inflow of the Irish in the latter period was a very much smaller one, but the change was striking. It is interesting to note that Fitzpatrick estimated that over the period 1896-1907 females made up less than two-fifths of the Irish flow to Canada, Australia and New Zealand: the proportion in the case of the flow to New Zealand, based on the sample, was 35.4 per cent.²⁴

Table 7: Men and Women by nationality, 1891-1915 (percentages)

Born in	Women	Men
England	65.2	64.8

²⁴ David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1871-1921,' in W.E. Vaughan, editor, *A new history of Ireland. Volume VI, Ireland under the union, II (1870-1921)*. Oxford, 1996, p.612.

Wales	1.3	1.0
Scotland	23.2	21.6
Ireland	9.5	11.8
Off-shore Isles	0.8	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Death registers

The change in the character of the Irish inflow is also represented in Table 7 where we see the Irish comprising a significantly higher proportion of the males compared with the females.

Interestingly when we look at the sex ratios for those aged 20 and over the predominance of males is actually slightly less marked than in the whole flow – 143.2 for the English and Welsh, 125.1 for the Scots and 181.8 for the Irish. The ratio for all UK immigrants aged 20 and over is 142.5.

Ages

Table 8: Ages of UK Immigrants 1891-1915 (1871-90 in brackets)

Ages	Eng/Welsh males	<i>Eng/Welsh females</i>	Scots males	<i>Scots females</i>	Irish males	<i>Irish females</i>
0-4	3.8 (8.3)	4.2 (10.8)	2.6 (9.2)	1.5 (9.8)	1.4 (3.1)	1.2 (4.9)
5-9	2.9 (8.2)	4.4 (10.0)	4.4 (7.7)	2.5 (8.9)	1.4 (4.2)	2.5 (3.8)
10-14	4.9 (8.7)	4.5 (10.0)	4.4 (7.2)	3.0 (9.8)	3.4 (8.1)	6.2 (7.2)
15-19	9.3 (11.1)	6.6 (10.6)	7.7 (8.7)	4.5 (12.7)	12.2 (15.1)	8.6 (22.8)
20-24	21.2 (17.0)	13.1 (13.1)	20.7 (19.3)	14.6 (12.4)	21.1 (19.9)	18.5 (22.3)
25-29	18.6 (14.1)	18.6 (14.0)	17.0 (15.1)	23.7 (14.2)	13.6 (16.5)	24.7 (14.1)
30-34	12.2 (12.7)	17.6 (10.1)	12.9 (12.1)	18.7 (9.2)	20.4 (10.1)	14.8 (9.5)
35-39	13.1 (6.5)	11.1 (8.6)	9.6 (6.4)	9.1 (5.3)	11.6 (9.2)	2.5 (5.6)
40-44	4.9 (6.1)	8.2 (5.1)	6.6 (5.4)	6.6 (6.8)	6.8 (5.0)	6.2 (5.1)
45-49	3.1 (2.9)	5.1 (3.3)	5.2 (2.2)	6.1 (3.3)	3.4 (3.1)	4.9 (1.0)
50+	6.0 (4.2)	6.6 (4.3)	8.9 (6.7)	9.6 (7.7)	4.8 (5.6)	9.9 (3.8)
n	836	575	271	198	148	81

Ages	Eng/Welsh males	<i>Eng/Welsh females</i>	Scots males	<i>Scots females</i>	Irish males	<i>Irish females</i>
0-14	11.6 (25.2)	<i>13.1 (30.8)</i>	11.4 (24.0)	<i>7.1 (28.4)</i>	6.1 (15.4)	<i>9.9 (15.9)</i>
15-24	30.5 (28.0)	<i>19.7 (23.7)</i>	28.4 (28.0)	<i>19.2 (25.1)</i>	33.3 (35.0)	<i>27.2 (45.0)</i>
25-34	30.8 (26.8)	<i>36.2 (24.1)</i>	29.9 (27.2)	<i>42.4 (23.4)</i>	34.0 (26.6)	<i>39.5 (23.5)</i>
35-44	18.0 (12.7)	<i>19.3 (13.7)</i>	16.2 (11.9)	<i>15.7 (12.1)</i>	18.4 (14.3)	<i>8.6 (10.7)</i>
45+	9.1 (7.1)	<i>11.7 (7.6)</i>	14.0 (8.9)	<i>15.7 (10.9)</i>	8.2 (8.7)	<i>14.8 (4.9)</i>
Ave. age	27.9	<i>29.4</i>	29.2	<i>31.5</i>	29.0	<i>29.7</i>
n	836	<i>575</i>	271	<i>198</i>	148	<i>81</i>

Ages	All males	All females	All
0-14	10.9 (23.0)	11.4 (26.8)	11.1 (24.8)
15-24	30.4 (29.4)	20.3 (29.1)	26.3 (29.3)
25-34	31.0 (26.9)	38.0 (23.8)	33.8 (25.4)
35-44	17.6 (12.8)	17.5 (12.7)	17.6 (12.7)
45+	10.1 (8.0)	12.9 (7.6)	11.2 (7.8)
average	28.3	30.0	29.0
n	1255	854	2109

Source: Death registers

Table 9: Ages of immigrants on arrival in New Zealand, 1840-1852, 1853-1870, 1871-1890, 1891-1915

Ages	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1915
0-14	32.2	18.8	24.8	11.1
15-24	25.3	34.0	29.3	26.3
25-34	26.3	28.7	25.4	33.8
35-44	12.7	12.5	12.7	17.6
45+	3.5	6.1	7.8	11.2
average	21.6	24.6	24.1	29.0
n	1057	2461	3446	2109

Source: Death registers

Tables 8 and 9 suggest that the age breakdown of those who arrived in this period was quite different from the migrants of the earlier migrations. The average age was almost five years older than among those who came in the 1870s. There are two explanations for this. The first is the much smaller number of children who came to New Zealand.

Across the whole group the proportion under the age of 15 is under half that of the previous period, and this is true across all national groups and both genders. The Irish and Scots tended to come with even fewer children than the English. This might reflect the higher numbers of English in the group of assisted immigrants. It is also interesting that especially among the women there were far fewer in their late teens. At the other end there were significantly more immigrants aged 35 or over and a considerable number in their forties and fifties. Among the national groups the Scots, both men and women, were noted for the large numbers of older people. Another most interesting finding is that on average the women were older than the men. This is largely explained by the greater number of women aged 45 or over who came to New Zealand.

These patterns are also apparent if we examine the ages of single people and family heads in the Social Security passenger lists.

Table 10: Ages of single female and male arrivals, 1855-1870, 1871-1888, and 1891-1915 (per cent)

Age groups	Canterbury females 1855-1870	'Vogel' females 1871-1888	All female arrivals 1891-1915	Canterbury males 1855-1870	'Vogel' males 1871-1888	All male arrivals 1891-1915
0 -14	1.5	1.0	-	0.8	1.0	-
15-19	30.0	32.1	9.0	16.6	19.4	4.1
20-24	39.1	40.4	32.0	54.6	54.5	34.0
25-29	20.4	14.2	29.4	18.6	17.1	27.4
30-34	5.0	6.5	16.2	5.3	4.8	16.2
35-39	1.7	2.4	7.4	2.5	1.9	8.5
40-44	0.9	1.5	3.5	0.8	0.6	4.2
45-49	0.8	0.4	1.9	0.3	0.1	2.3
50-54	0.2	0.5	0.2	-	0.1	1.4
55-59	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.8
50-64	0.2	0.4	-	-	-	0.5
65+	0.1	0.1	-	0.1	-	0.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	981	1 615	568	970	2 067	1 585

Sources: Canterbury assisted passenger lists 1855-1870, New Zealand assisted passenger lists 1871-1888, and Social Security passenger lists, 1891-1915.

Table 11: Ages of males and female family heads, 1855-1870, 1871-1888, and 1891-1915 (per cent)

	Wales males	males	males	males	Wales females	females	females	females	
All	36.3 (34.1)	38.0 (29.2)	30.6 (25.2)	36.0 (31.3)	52.4 (44.5)	54.5 (40.8)	45.7 (31.5)	52.4 (40.6)	42.6 (35.7)
Aged 20+	45.5 (53.1)	47.0 (42.6)	37.8 (35.5)	44.9 (47.0)	64.9 (74.6)	61.1 (66.8)	56.1 (50.8)	63.1 (67.1)	52.4 (56.0)

Death registers

Table 12 gives the marital status of all immigrants from the United Kingdom and also those aged 20 years or over. There are several interesting findings. One is that compared with the 1870s and 80s the total migration flow contained more people who were married, which is a little surprising given the ‘family’ orientation of the Great Migration. However when we isolate those aged 20 or over the proportion of married drops below the previous period, although by under five per cent for both men and women. The explanation is the considerably lower number of children among the immigrants of this period. Nevertheless it is worth noting that the proportion who were married adults remains quite high. As in the previous period the Irish were the most likely to be single, but significantly they were less likely to be unmarried than in the 1870s and 80s. When we look at the trends over time single persons made up in excess of two-thirds of all immigrants in most years of the 1890s, but that proportion began to fall from about the turn of the century, and indeed fell below 50 per cent in some years of the period 1900-1915. Again this trend was consistent with the introduction of assistance and the preference for families.

Table 13: Country of marriage, immigrants married prior to arrival in New Zealand, 1871-1890 and 1891-1915 (per cent)

Country of marriage	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish	Total
<i>1871-1890</i>				
Australia	3.7	5.2	8.1	4.7
England	92.0	10.8	10.0	60.9
Wales	1.7	-	-	1.1
Scotland	1.3	82.1	3.8	18.5

Ireland	0.1	0.4	74.3	13.0
Others	1.2	1.5	3.8	1.8
n=	750	251	210	1211
<i>1891-1915</i>				
Australia	11.5	8.9	16.0	11.3
England	85.4	8.0	18.5	60.9
Wales	-	-	-	-
Scotland	1.2	79.8	6.2	20.3
Ireland	0.3	0.5	59.3	5.7
Others	1.7	2.8	-	1.8
n=	602	213	81	896

Source: Death registers

Table 13 suggests that some interesting changes took place in the place of marriage of those who migrated to New Zealand. In general all three national groups were obviously a more travelled lot than in earlier periods. More of the English appear to have spent time in Australia before coming on to New Zealand, while the numbers of Irish who were married in England had increased. Indeed about a quarter of the Irish had been married in either England or Scotland reflecting the substantial migration of the Irish to other parts of Britain before they moved on.

When country of marriage prior to arrival in New Zealand is analysed in terms of year of arrival a clear pattern emerges. First, those who had married in Australia arrived in two main groups, the first in the early years of the 1890s and the second in the first half of the 1900s, both coinciding with substantial net immigration gains from the Australian Colonies. Those two periods of net gain thus included substantial numbers who had been born in the United Kingdom, emigrated to Australia, married there, and continued on to New Zealand where they settled. Second, most of those who married in England/Wales, Scotland, and Ireland prior to emigration arrived in New Zealand from 1904 onwards, a clear reflection of the influence of the assistance programme introduced in that year.

The Social Security figures provide more information on the family status of those travelling direct from the United Kingdom. These are provided in table 14.

Table 14: Stages in the family life cycle, families from the United Kingdom, 1855-1870, 1871-1888, and 1891-1915 (per cent)

Family stages	Canterbury assisted 1855-1870	'Vogel' assisted 1871-1888	All arrivals 1891-1915
Wife under 45 years, childless	28.1	20.3	24.7
One child, under 1 year	10.1	7.0	6.5
All children under 10 years	32.7	37.1	37.7
Some children under 10, some children over 10	19.7	27.7	15.5
All children over 10, some under 20	7.8	6.9	10.7
All children 20 and over	1.3	0.6	1.8
Wife over 45, no accompanying children	0.3	0.3	3.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	1 014	1 532	1 093

Source: Canterbury assisted passenger lists 1855-1870, New Zealand assisted passenger lists 1871-1888, and Social Security passenger lists 1891-1915.

This table suggests that the family stage of those who migrated to New Zealand at the turn of the century was very comparable to earlier assisted family flows, with only a very slight tendency for the family to be a little more advanced in its formation.

The same sources tell us something about the single people migrating to New Zealand. The most significant findings are that fewer than one in ten arrived with other extended family members, and that the gender ratio among the single (excluding unmarried children) was heavily skewed towards males with an overall gender ration of 279 males per 100 females.

Religion

Table 15: Religious Denomination at Death of Immigrants 1891-1915 (with 1871-90 in brackets) (percentages)

	All	English/Welsh	Scots	Irish
Church of England/Ireland	43.0 (40.0)	59.1 (59.5)	8.5 (13.5)	20.5 (19.7)
Presbyterian	27.4 (23.0)	11.3 (5.9)	76.4 (70.2)	19.9 (18.8)
Methodist	12.3 (15.2)	15.4 (21.8)	7.3 (4.2)	4.8 (4.2)
Jewish	0.1	0.2 (0.1)	0.0	0.0

Other Protestant	7.9 (6.7)	9.0 (9.6)	5.8 (5.1)	5.4 (1.4)
Roman Catholic	9.3 (15.1)	5.1 (3.2)	2.0 (0.8)	49.4 (55.9)
Not stated	632	443	126	63
n	2109	1411	469	229

Source: Death registers

Table 15 suggests there were no dramatic changes in the religious affiliations of the immigrants during this period. A point to note is the decline in the overall number of Catholics despite the fact that they were better represented among both English and Scots. The explanation lay rather in the generally smaller number of Irish and within that group under half were now Catholic which in part was a reflection of the continued growth of migration from the more Protestant north. We note also the overall decline in the numbers of Methodists despite their slightly better representation among the Scots and Irish. In this case the explanation lies in the fall in recruitment from those parts of England, especially the south-west which included large numbers of Methodists. On the other hand Presbyterians, and to a lesser extent Anglicans, were better represented during this period, although the numbers were not huge. It should also be noted that now over 30 per cent of the immigrants did not have a funeral attended by a person of any religious denomination compared with only 12 per cent in the 1870s and 80s. In other words the most important finding with respect to religious affiliation is the steady decline in its importance for New Zealand's United Kingdom immigrants (if not when they arrived, certainly by the time of their deaths).

Occupational backgrounds

Table 16: Occupational backgrounds of immigrants aged 20 and over, 1891-1915 (per cent)

Occupations	English/ Welsh	Scots	Irish	Total
<i>Agriculture</i>				
Farmers	12.7	18.9	57.1	19.0
Agricultural labourers	5.0	7.3	3.1	5.3
Total agriculture	17.7	26.3	60.1	24.4
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	5.9	5.6	4.9	5.7
<i>Servants</i>	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.4
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>				

Building	11.5	9.6	3.1	10.1
Miners	4.0	8.8	1.2	4.8
Transport (traditional)	2.3	0.8	1.8	1.9
Other pre-industrial occupations	25.7	17.5	8.0	21.8
Total pre-industrial	43.5	36.7	14.1	38.6
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>				
Total industrial	11.5	12.7	4.3	11.0
White collar	15.8	12.4	9.8	14.3
<i>Other</i>				
Soldiers	0.9	0.3	1.8	0.9
Seaman	3.0	4.5	4.3	3.5
Others	1.3	1.4	0.0	1.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	152	40	24	216
n=	1 121	394	187	1 702

Source: Death registers

Table 16 setting out the fathers' occupations of the immigrants aged 20 and over for the period points up the continuing importance of migrants with a pre-industrial background and the ongoing contrast between the Irish who still retained a pronounced rural background and those who came from Scotland and England. However the most important finding is the relatively low numbers whose fathers worked in agriculture. This is especially evident in Table 17.

Table 17: Occupational backgrounds of all arrivals aged 20 and over, 1840-1852, 1853-1870, 1871-1890, and 1891-1915 (per cent)

Occupations	1840-1852	1853-1870	1871-1890	1891-1915
<i>Agriculture</i>				
Farmers	28.4	34.1	29.2	19.0
Agricultural labourers	4.6	5.0	5.4	5.3
Total agriculture	33.0	39.1	34.7	24.4
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	7.5	5.9	10.2	5.7
<i>Servants</i>	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.4
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>				
Building	6.8	7.4	8.3	10.1
Mining	1.5	2.6	3.4	4.8
Transport (traditional)	1.8	1.1	1.6	1.9
Other pre-industrial	16.9	19.2	17.3	21.8
Total pre-industrial	27.0	30.4	30.5	38.6

<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>				
Total industrial	6.8	5.1	6.6	11.0
<i>White collar</i>	19.6	13.0	11.2	14.3
<i>Other occupations</i>				
Soldiers	2.0	1.4	1.4	0.9
Seamen	2.2	3.8	4.0	3.5
Other occupations	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	149	360	427	216
n=	604	1 691	2 157	1 702

Source: Death registers

Those with a farming background declined from over a third in the previous periods to under a quarter, while there were good increases in those from a pre-industrial and industrial background. In part, at least, this reflected changes in the distribution of occupations in both England/Wales and Scotland: thus the proportion of Great Britain's work-force employed in the primary sector (including mining) had declined to just 15.1 per cent by 1910, while the proportion of the male labour force employed in agriculture had declined to just 11.5 per cent compared with 54.3 per cent employed in industry.²⁵

Table 18: Occupational backgrounds of all UK arrivals aged 20 and above, 1891-1904 and 1905-1915 (per cent)

Occupations	1891-1904	1905-1915	1891-1915
<i>Agriculture</i>			
Farmers	23.5	17.2	19.0
Agricultural labourers	4.9	5.5	5.3
Total agriculture	28.5	22.7	24.4
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	6.1	5.3	5.7
<i>Servants</i>	0.2	0.5	0.4
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>			
Building	7.8	11.0	10.1
Mining	3.1	5.6	4.8
Transport (traditional)	0.5	2.5	1.9
Other pre-industrial	20.5	22.3	21.8
Total pre-industrial	31.8	41.4	38.6
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>			

²⁵ See N.F.R.Crafts, *British economic growth during the industrial revolution*. Oxford, 1985, pp.62-63.

Total industrial	10.4	11.2	11.0
<i>White collar</i>	17.2	13.2	14.3
<i>Other</i>			
Soldiers	1.4	0.7	0.9
Seamen	4.2	3.2	3.5
Others	0.2	1.6	1.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	74	142	216
n=	499	1203	1702

Source: Death registers

Table 18 allows us to time these changes more precisely and suggests that the distinct fall in those from an agricultural background occurred after the turn of the century, despite the fact that this period saw the reintroduction of assisted passages which were in part designed to counter the decline in agricultural labourers and farmers. Even allowing for this decline New Zealand still drew a higher proportion from the rural sector than the composition of the workforce might have suggested. We also note that there was not a dramatic increase in people with an industrial background in the early years of the 20th century. The increase in fact continues to come from those with a pre-industrial origin, especially builders.

When we examine those with different occupational backgrounds by regional origin, the patterns are not unexpected. Among the English those with an agricultural background came from the South-east (notably Kent and Hampshire), the east (notably Lincoln), the south and west Midlands, and the far South-west. London supplied about a quarter of the children of labourers, builders and craftsmen. Those with a mining background came predominantly from the tin and copper-mining parishes of Cornwall and the coal mining areas of Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Nottingham, and Yorkshire. Yorkshire and Lancashire-Cheshire were well represented among those whose fathers had been engaged in industrial pursuits. The former supplied 17.5 per cent (compared to its total contribution of 11.0 per cent), and the latter 25.2 per cent (compared to 14.9 per cent). Among the Scots there was a contrast between those with farming fathers who were over-represented among the more distant areas such as the far North, the Highlands and the North-east; and those whose fathers were involved in pre-industrial and white collar

occupations who were disproportionately concentrated on the lowlands. The 12.7 per cent of Scots with fathers who had worked in industry came overwhelmingly from the Western Lowlands around Glasgow.

Occupations – all immigrants from the United Kingdom

For the period 1891-1915, the passenger lists for all ships arriving in Auckland and Wellington from the United Kingdom provided details of occupation, interpreted as occupation at departure. Most of the single women who arrived during the period 1891-1915 were engaged in some form of domestic service, largely as ‘domestics’ with smaller numbers of housekeepers, nurses, cooks, laundresses, ladies’ maids, and housemaids. 80.8 per cent of the English/Welsh fell into this category, compared to 84.2 per cent for the Scots and 89.9 per cent for the Irish. It should be noted, however, that many females described themselves as domestics in order to gain assistance and were in fact mill-hands or factory workers.²⁶ Thus among those engaged in ‘domestic and other service’ were, in the ten years up to the end of March 1916, 6 919 domestic servants who were assisted under the programme introduced in 1904.²⁷ Those engaged in dressmaking and other trades (largely clothing) made up 8.2 per cent, while teachers, clerks and professionals made up 5.8 per cent. The latter group included teachers, hospital nurses, and a doctor, together with a small number of clerks, bookkeepers and typists. The balance of 8.3 per cent included box-makers, barmaids, box-fillers, and shop assistants. British data relating to New Zealand are available only for the period April – December 1912 and for 1913, but indicate that 82.1 per cent of all female emigrants departing for New Zealand were classified as ‘domestic,’ with only 10.1 per cent falling into the category ‘dressmakers and other trades,’ and 7.9 per cent into ‘teachers, clerks, and professionals.’ A comparison between the New Zealand inflow and the total outflow from the United Kingdom indicates that, at least for 1913, the occupational profile of the New Zealand

²⁶ AHJR Session 1, H28, 1912, p.8. See also John E. Martin, *Holding the balance. A history of the Department of Labour 1891-1995*. Christchurch, 1996, p.73.

²⁷ AJHR D9, 1905-1916.

female inflow corresponded fairly closely to that of the total female outflow from the United Kingdom.²⁸

Table 19: Occupations of adult male immigrants direct from the United Kingdom, 1891-1904, 1905-1915, and 1891-1915 (per cent)

Occupations	1891-1904	1905-1915	1891-1915
<i>Agriculture</i>			
Farmers	26.4	22.7	23.7
Agricultural labourers	5.0	4.3	4.5
Total agriculture	31.3	27.0	28.1
<i>Labourers (N.O.S.)</i>	20.6	8.0	11.3
<i>Servants</i>	0.6	0.8	0.7
<i>Occupations with relatively little technical change</i>			
Building	5.7	10.0	8.9
Mining	2.3	5.5	4.7
Other pre-industrial	13.9	18.9	17.6
Total pre-industrial	22.0	34.4	31.1
<i>Occupations with relatively great technical change</i>			
Mechanics (N.O.S.)	1.0	1.4	1.3
Other	4.2	6.8	6.2
Total industrial	5.2	8.3	7.5
<i>White collar</i>	14.1	9.6	10.8
<i>Other</i>	6.1	12.0	10.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	22	35	57
n=	705	1 938	2 621

Source: Social security passenger lists, 1891-1915.

Table 19 giving the occupations of all male immigrants coming direct from the United Kingdom makes an interesting contrast with Table 18 which provides the occupation of the fathers of all British immigrants (including those who came via Australia). There is remarkable consistency between the two tables with respect to the white collar and industrial occupations where 'like father, like son' is the pattern. But there are two interesting contrasts. There was a slight drop in the numbers of pre-industrial workers by comparison with those whose fathers worked in those jobs. Second there was,

²⁸ *Statistical tables relating to emigration and immigration from and into the United Kingdom in the year 1913*, BPP 1914.lxix.941.

surprisingly, a higher number who declared themselves to be either labourers or involved in agriculture by comparison with the fathers. One might have expected, given the declining numbers involved in agriculture in Britain over time that the reverse would be the case. It is true that both sets of figures show a decline between the 1890s and the new century, but nevertheless the numbers still proclaiming themselves to be farmers or farm labourers even in 1905-15 is surprising. The likely explanation for this lies in the preference of the assistance programme for farmers and farm labourers. Thus a comparison between the occupations of the assisted immigrants and those given by the social security passenger lists suggests a strong measure of concordance: increases in the number of assisted farmers and agricultural labourers in 1908 and 1909 and again in 1913 and 1914 were reflected in increases in the proportions drawn from agriculture in the corresponding years. New Zealand's preference for agriculturists is also revealed by a comparison between the occupations of New Zealand's male immigrants with those of all male migrants leaving the United Kingdom in 1913. This indicates that New Zealand drew a substantially larger proportion from agricultural jobs (34.2 per cent as against 20.7 per cent for the whole outflow). Correspondingly the total flow from the United Kingdom had a much higher proportion classified as 'labourers' (18.4 per cent compared to 5.3 per cent among the emigrants to New Zealand)²⁹ In other words, the data, although just for one year, suggest that while the occupational composition of the flow to New Zealand was changing, it differed from the total outflow from the United Kingdom.

Finally, it is worth observing that prominent among those classified as 'pre-industrial' were boot and shoe makers, butchers, and tailors, that is, those who, while possessing traditional skills, were required by New Zealand's rapidly expanding food processing and consumer goods industries. The relatively high numbers of both pre-industrial workers and industrial employees after 1905 (in total they were 42.5 per cent of the total) may reflect the use employers made of the right under the immigration assistance scheme to

²⁹ See *Statistical tables relating to emigration and immigration from and into the United Kingdom in the year 1913*, BPP1914.lxix.941. The classification adopted otherwise precludes a comparison with the sample derived from the social security passenger lists.

nominate the tradesmen and operatives which New Zealand's expanding industries required.

Regional origins: the English and Welsh

The preceding section suggested that the occupational composition of the British immigrant inflow into New Zealand began to change during the period 1891-1915, and that raises the question of whether that change was accompanied by any shift in the pattern of regional origins.

Table 20: Regions of birth, English and Welsh immigrants, 1840-1852, 1853-1870, 1871-1890, and 1891-1915 (per cent)

Regions of birth	1840-1852	1853-1870	1871-1890	1891-1915
London-Middlesex	14.8	17.3	16.8	19.5
South-east	21.5	13.0	13.8	11.2
East	7.1	7.6	7.0	6.1
South-west	22.8	15.9	17.8	10.0
Midlands				
East	3.1	6.2	3.4	4.6
Central	5.8	5.4	6.2	5.5
West	4.9	5.4	6.3	4.1
South	4.6	3.5	6.0	3.0
Yorkshire	5.8	8.5	6.6	11.2
Lancashire-Cheshire	5.2	8.4	7.3	14.6
North-east	1.2	3.4	4.0	4.9
North-west	1.5	2.2	1.2	1.9
Off-shore islands	0.7	1.6	2.4	1.4
North Wales	0.6	0.5	0.5	1.1
South Wales	0.4	1.1	0.7	0.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	25	35	76	73
n=	698	1 189	1 956	1 411

Source: Death registers

Table 20 indicates clear signs of an important shift in regional origins. While London-Middlesex remained a major source, Yorkshire and, especially, Lancashire-Cheshire made significantly larger contributions in the period 1891-1915, continuing a shift which

had begun to emerge from about 1880.³⁰ The South-east and the Midlands as a whole, while remaining important sources, contributed smaller proportions, but the major change involved the South-west the contribution of which fell sharply from 17.8 per cent in 1871-1890 to 10.0 per cent in 1891-1915. In other words New Zealand began to draw less on its long-established recruitment fields and more on the North-east and North-west of England which had previously contributed relatively small proportions of New Zealand's English and Welsh immigrants.

Table 21: Regions of birth, English and Welsh immigrants, 1891-1904, 1905-1915, and 1891-1915 (per cent)

Born in	1891-1904	1905-1915	1891-1915
London-Middlesex	19.0	19.7	19.5
South-east	12.6	10.6	11.2
East	6.7	5.9	6.1
South-west	14.4	8.5	10.0
Midlands			
East	3.9	5.0	4.6
Central	4.9	5.8	5.5
South	2.8	3.1	3.0
West	5.4	3.6	4.1
North-east	4.1	5.3	4.9
North-west	1.3	2.1	1.9
Lancashire-Cheshire	12.3	15.5	14.6
Yorkshire	10.0	11.6	11.2
Off-shore islands	1.0	1.5	1.4
North Wales	1.0	1.1	1.1
South Wales	0.5	0.7	0.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	30	43	73
n=	419	992	1 411

Source: Death registers

Table 21 suggests that this shift intensified after the turn of the century as the proportion drawn from the South-west and the South-east declined and that from Yorkshire and Lancashire-Cheshire in particular increased. Indeed, the collective contribution of the four northern regions, namely, Yorkshire, the North-east, the North-west, and

³⁰ For an account of one Lancastrian family, see Joyce K.Dey, *Newchurch to New Zealand: the story of the five Lord sisters*. Waihi Beach, [1993].

Lancashire-Cheshire, increased from just over a quarter (27.8 per cent) in 1891-1904 to just over a third (34.5 per cent) in 1905-1915. Since in 1840-1852 those four northern regions supplied just 13.8 per cent of New Zealand's English and Welsh immigrants, and only 19.1 per cent in 1871-1890, the contribution of 34.5 per cent in 1905-1915 represented a major shift in regional origins.

Despite these changes, it is interesting to note that a comparison, for the 1890s, between the regional origins of New Zealand's inflow and those of the emigrant outflow from England and Wales, indicates that New Zealand still drew a considerably larger proportion of its immigrants from the South-east (13.4 compared to 4.3 per cent) and a slightly higher proportion from the South-west (17.8 compared to 14.6 per cent), the two long established sources of New Zealand's English/Welsh immigrants.³¹

A better indication of how far New Zealand emigrants remained exceptional is revealed in Table 22.

Table 22: Regional Representation Indices, English and Welsh immigrants, 1840-52, 1853-70, 1871-90, 1891-1904, 1905-15

Born in	1840-52	1853-70	1871-90	1891-1904	1905-15
London-Middlesex	151	197	179	116	120
South-east	193	118	122	136	114
East	68	70	67	83	73
South-west	209	150	180	246	145
Midlands					
East	53	101	58	67	87
Central	102	87	95	74	88
West	77	84	103	116	77
South	99	73	130	86	96
North-east	33	87	98	74	96

³¹ See Dudley Baines, *Migration in a mature economy: emigration and internal migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900*. Cambridge, 1985, Appendix 1.

North-west	104	147	86	127	206
Lancashire-Cheshire	40	66	55	77	97
Yorkshire	58	81	62	91	105
Off-shore islands	91	266	400	222	333
North Wales	17	14	15	57	63
South Wales	14	38	23	12	17

Source: Census of England and Wales, 1901, Death registers

The table reinforces the increasing importance of migration from the north, with three of the northern regions represented about in proportion to their populations and the North-west strongly over-represented. Apart from the continued marked over-representation from the offshore islands (especially the Isle of Man) and the continued under-representation from Wales, the other significant suggestion to emerge from the table is that by the turn of the century New Zealand was beginning to receive – in terms of regions of birth - a much more balanced inflow from England and Wales than at any previous period in its immigration history.

Table 23: County contributors, England and Wales, 1871-1890, and 1891-1915 (per cent), and representation indices for 1891-1915

Regions and Counties	1871-1890	1891-1915	Representation Indices 1901
London-Middlesex			
London	15.4	17.6	127
Middlesex	1.3	2.0	81
South East			
Hampshire	3.4	2.0	85
Kent	6.3	4.6	161
Surrey	1.9	2.6	118
Sussex	2.3	2.2	119
East			
Cambridgeshire	0.6	0.7	115
Essex	1.4	1.9	58
Huntingdonshire	-	0.1	71
Lincolnshire	2.6	1.8	119
Norfolk	1.5	0.7	49
Rutlandshire	-	0.1	166

Suffolk	0.9	1.0	90
South West			
Cornwall	8.0	3.1	316
Devonshire	4.2	2.8	138
Dorsetshire	1.0	0.6	100
Somersetshire	3.0	2.2	154
Wiltshire	1.5	1.2	148
Midlands East			
Derbyshire	1.0	1.3	87
Leicestershire	0.8	1.4	104
Northamptonshire	0.9	0.7	64
Nottinghamshire	0.7	1.2	66
Midlands Centre			
Staffordshire	2.1	1.9	50
Warwickshire	4.1	3.7	134
Midlands West			
Gloucestershire	3.6	2.0	100
Herefordshire	0.5	0.6	176
Shropshire	0.7	0.7	89
Worcestershire	1.4	0.7	46
Midlands South			
Bedfordshire	0.9	0.7	130
Berkshire	1.4	0.7	80
Buckinghamshire	0.8	0.4	75
Hertfordshire	0.2	0.3	41
Oxfordshire	2.7	0.7	123
North East			
Durham	2.4	3.1	85
Northumberland	1.6	1.9	103
North West			
Cumberland	0.9	1.4	171
Westmoreland	0.3	0.4	200
Lancashire/Chester			
Cheshire	1.2	2.5	103
Lancashire	6.1	12.1	89
Yorkshire	6.6	11.2	102
Offshore Islands			
Channel Islands	2.2	0.7	250
Isle of Man	0.3	0.6	353
North Wales			
Anglesey	0.0	0.1	91

Carnarvonshire	0.1	0.1	24
Denbighshire	0.1	0.3	79
Flintshire	0.2	0.1	77
Merionethshire	0.0	0.1	50
Montgomeryshire	0.1	0.1	50
Pembrokeshire	0.0	0.1	40
Radnorshire	0.1	0.1	166
South Wales			
Brecknockshire	0.1	0.1	63
Carmathenshire	0.1	0.1	26
Glamorganshire	0.2	0.4	15
Monmouthshire	0.4	0.1	10
Total England & Wales	100.0	100.0	

Sources: Death registers, and Census of England and Wales, 1901

Table 23 reinforces this point with the five principal counties now only providing just over half of the immigrants, significantly lower than in previous flows. The table also brings out the new importance of Yorkshire and Lancashire and the continued significance of Kent, London and Cornwall.

Regional Origins: the Scots

Table 24: Regions of birth of New Zealand's Scots-born immigrants, 1840-1852, 1853-1870, 1871-1890, and 1891-1915 (per cent)

Born in	1840-1852	1853-1870	1871-1890	1891-1915
Far North	6.1	5.9	10.8	3.8
Highlands	10.3	16.0	9.8	8.7
North-east	7.0	10.2	10.4	8.7
Eastern Lowlands	37.1	32.7	27.9	34.3
Western Lowlands	36.2	26.6	33.2	38.3
Borders	3.3	8.6	7.9	6.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number)	6	38	47	43
n=	213	745	742	469

Source: Death registers

Table 24 reveals some shifts in the regional origins of the Scots during this period with a sharp fall in immigrants from the Far North, and a consolidation of migration from the Lowlands which now contributed 72.6 per cent of all Scots immigrants. However as table 25 shows the far north was still slightly over-represented; but also indicates that as with the English in this period, the Scots migrants to New Zealand were drawn more evenly from throughout the country than in any previous period.

Table 25: Regional representation indices, Scottish immigrants, 1840-1852, 1853-1870, 1871-1890, and 1891-1915

Born in	1840-1852	1853-1870	1871-1890	1891-1915
Far North	165	151	292	187
Highlands	86	136	91	139
North-east	57	77	78	93
Eastern Lowlands	109	97	83	99
Western Lowlands	127	96	112	92
Borders	34	90	87	107

Sources: Death registers, and Census of Scotland, 1901.

Table 26: Counties of birth, Immigrants from Scotland, 1871-90, 1891-1915 (per cent)

Regions and Counties	1871-1890	1891-1915	Representation Indices 1901
Far North			
Caithness	1.6	1.2	158
Orkney	1.2	1.2	188
Shetland	8.1	1.4	222
Highlands			
Argyll	1.6	2.1	128
Bute	1.3	1.6	381
Inverness	3.6	0.9	45
Ross	2.4	3.5	205
Sutherland	0.9	0.5	104
North-east			
Aberdeen	8.2	6.8	100
Banff	1.2	0.5	36
Moray	1.0	0.9	90

Nairn	0.0	0.5	250
Eastern Lowlands			
Angus	5.6	7.0	110
Clackmannan	0.4	0.0	-
Dunbarton	1.6	2.6	102
East Lothian	0.1	0.5	58
Fife	5.0	4.9	100
Kincardine	0.9	1.9	206
Kinross	0.4	0.2	125
Mid Lothian	8.1	10.6	97
Perth	2.9	1.9	69
Stirling	2.4	3.3	104
West Lothian	0.4	1.4	95
Western Lowlands			
Ayr	8.5	4.5	79
Lanark	20.4	29.3	98
Renfrew	4.3	4.5	75
Borders			
Berwick	1.3	1.4	203
Dumfries	2.4	2.6	160
Kirkcudbright	0.1	1.2	136
Peebles	0.7	0.5	147
Roxburgh	1.0	0.7	64
Selkirk	0.9	0.0	-
Wigtown	1.4	0.0	-
Total Scotland	100.0	100.0	

Sources: Death registers, and Census of Scotland, 1901

The major conclusion which might be drawn from Table 26 is the continuity in representation of certain Scottish counties over time. The note-worthy changes in the 1891-1915 period are the fall in the Shetlands which explains the decline from the far north, and the very strong representation of Lanarkshire.

Regional Origins: the Irish

Table 27: Provinces of birth of New Zealand's Irish immigrants, 1840-1852, 1853-1870, 1871-1890, and 1891-1915

Born in	1840-1852	1853-1870	1871-1890	1891-1915	¹ES1891-1915
Connacht	6.3	8.5	6.4	6.8	3.3
Leinster	34.1	19.9	14.9	16.0	12.9
Munster	27.8	31.7	35.2	26.2	19.9
Ulster	31.7	39.8	43.5	51.0	63.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not stated (number	18	45	42	23	-
n=	144	527	748	229	

Sources: Registers of deaths; and *Emigration statistics for Ireland*, BPP 1890-1891, xcii; 1892, lxxxviii; 1893-1894, cii; 1895, cvii; 1896, xciii; 1897, xcix; 1898, ciii; 1899, cvii; 1900, cii; 1901, lxxxviii; 1902, cxvi, pt.ii; 1903, lxxxii; 1904, cvi; 1905, xcvi; 1906, cxxxiv; 1907, xcvi; 1908, cxxii; 1909, ciii; 1910, cix; 1911, lx; 1912-1913, cv; 1913, lv; 1914, lxix; 1914-1916, lxxx; and 1916, xxxii. ¹ Derived from *Emigration statistics for Ireland*.

Table 27 compares the provincial origins of New Zealand's Irish emigrants derived from the death registers with those estimates based on data published in the British Parliamentary Papers. The former include all Irish, wherever they came from, while the latter only includes those who sailed direct from Ireland to New Zealand. Both sets of figures point up the continued low representation from Connacht and Leinster. The table also reveals the significant increase of migrants from Ulster, largely at the expense of those from Munster. A comparison of the figures of those who came direct from Ireland (the British figures) with those who came from all sources suggests that the direct migrants were even more heavily concentrated upon Ulster folk. The implication therefore is that the migration from Australia, and perhaps also from England and Scotland, must have included significant numbers of Munster-born people. Evidence supporting that conclusion is provided by Lyndon Fraser's analysis of the provincial origins of 1 434 Irish *Catholic* migrants who arrived in Christchurch and whose deaths were recorded over the period 1876–1918. Nearly half of the 1 434 individuals could not be traced to existing (assisted) passenger lists, suggesting that either they were self-payers or, and more likely, that they had moved on from the Australian colonies.³² If that were so, then the inflow of the Munster-born from the Australian colonies continued a process established during the gold rushes of the 1860s, and highlights the way in which

³² Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead: Irish Catholic immigrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch*. Auckland, 1997, Chapter 1.

the ethnic composition of New Zealand's UK-born population was influenced by earlier flows to Australia.

Table 28: Provincial representation indices, Irish immigrants, 1840-1852, 1853-1870, 1871-1890, and 1891-1915

Born in	1840-1852	1853-1870	1871-1890	1891-1915
Connacht	37	53	40	45
Leinster	141	81	62	65
Munster	95	121	136	107
Ulster	109	120	127	143

Source: Death registers, and Census of Ireland, 1901.

Table 28 confirms the growing importance of Ulster migration in the New Zealand flows.

Table 29: Counties of Birth of Immigrants from Ireland, 1871-90 and 1891-1915

Regions and Counties	1871-1890	1891-1915	Representation Indices 1901
Connacht			
Galway	3.9	3.4	76
Leitrim	0.6	0.0	-
Mayo	0.4	1.9	41
Roscommon	1.4	0.5	21
Sligo	0.1	1.0	50
Leinster			
Carlow	0.6	0.0	-
Dublin	5.8	6.8	58
Kildare	0.6	1.0	29
Kilkenny	1.6	1.5	79
King's Country	0.9	0.5	34
Longford	0.7	0.0	-
Meath	0.4	0.0	-
Queen's Country	0.4	1.5	108
Westmeath	1.7	0.5	33
Wexford	1.0	2.5	97
Wicklow	0.9	2.5	161
Munster			
Clare	4.1	3.9	152
Cork	9.0	9.2	101
Kerry	11.1	4.4	111
Limerick	4.9	2.4	69

Tipperary	3.7	2.9	78
Waterford	2.9	2.9	141
Ulster			
Antrim	11.7	21.4	447
Armagh	4.4	3.4	115
Cavan	2.7	1.5	65
Donegal	3.6	1.9	47
Down	5.7	6.3	126
Fermanagh	1.1	0.5	32
Londonderry	5.1	8.7	252
Monaghan	1.3	1.0	56
Tyrone	7.7	4.4	124
Total Ireland	100.0	100.0	

Sources: Death registers, and Census of Ireland, 1901

In general terms, Table 29 suggests that after the great influx of the period 1871-1890, New Zealand drew an increasing proportion of a much smaller inflow of immigrants from a smaller group of counties. In particular, it drew upon three counties in Ulster, namely Antrim, Down, and Londonderry the natives of which were all markedly over-represented in the inflow of the period 1891-1915. As we have already noted this pattern was reflected in the religions of the Irish arrivals, with the decline of Catholics among Irish to under half of those with religious affiliations. In the 1891-1915 inflow from Ulster, 27.4 per cent belonged to the Church of Ireland, 38.4 per cent to the Presbyterian Church, 15.1 per cent to the Roman Catholic Church, and 19.2 per cent to other Protestant churches, so that the largest component of the inflow from Ulster was evidently of Scots rather than English or Celtic ancestry.

Place of death

Table 30: Place of death of immigrants 1891-1915 (percentages of country of birth)

Region	England/Wales	Scotland	Ireland	All
Northland	2.2	1.1	0.9	1.8
Auckland	27.2	19.0	16.5	24.2
Waikato/Coro.	5.6	5.1	5.2	5.5
Bay of Plenty	3.5	2.6	1.7	3.1

Gisborne	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.0
Taranaki	3.9	4.3	5.2	4.1
Hawkes Bay	6.5	6.8	9.1	6.8
Manawatu/Wang	6.7	4.3	7.4	6.2
Wairarapa	1.6	0.9	3.0	1.6
Wellington	13.8	10.3	14.8	13.1
Nelson	2.0	1.3	1.7	1.8
Marlborough	1.4	0.9	0.0	1.1
Canterbury	16.1	16.7	18.7	16.5
West Coast	1.6	2.4	0.9	1.7
Otago	4.3	16.9	8.3	7.5
Southland	1.6	5.6	4.3	2.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
unknown	1	1	0	2
Number	1410	469	230	2109

Source: Death registers

Table 31: Region of death of immigrants 1891-1915 (percentages of region of death)

Region	England/Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Number
Northland	81.6	13.2	5.3	38
Auckland	75.1	17.5	7.5	510
Waikato/Coro.	68.7	20.9	10.4	115
Bay of Plenty	75.4	18.5	6.2	65
Gisborne	65.1	23.3	11.6	43
Taranaki	63.2	23.0	13.8	87
Hawkes Bay	63.2	22.2	14.6	144
Manawatu/Wang	71.8	15.3	13.0	131
Wairarapa	67.6	11.8	20.6	34
Wellington	70.4	17.3	12.3	277
Nelson	73.7	15.8	10.5	38
Marlborough	83.3	16.7	0.0	24
Canterbury	65.2	22.4	12.4	348
West Coast	63.9	30.6	5.6	36
Otago	38.4	49.7	11.9	159
Southland	37.9	44.8	17.2	58
ALL	66.9	22.2	10.9	2107
unknown	1	1	0	2
Number	1410	469	230	2109

Source: Death registers

As in earlier periods, Tables 30 and 31 provide the regions of death of immigrants who arrived in this period, and once more this does not necessarily reflect the regions to which they initially moved. However the table reveals some quite significant changes from the

previous period, and emphasises again how different was the migration at the end of the century from the migration of the previous fifty years. One notes immediately how important Auckland had become for all migrating groups (almost a quarter of the whole flow), but it is a particular magnet for the English. The proportion of the English migrants dying in Auckland had almost doubled from the 1870s and 80s, and indeed three quarters of the migrants to Auckland were English (compared with three fifths previously). Perhaps this was a consequence of the emergence of secondary industry in Auckland and the need for trained operatives there. Certainly the changing occupational character of the male immigrants from England is consistent with this argument. By contrast Canterbury was attracting only 16 per cent of the English and as Table 31 shows that nationality was actually under-represented by comparison with the Scots and the Irish. From the 1890s on it is Auckland, not Canterbury, which is more English than the English. The middle part of the country – Nelson and Marlborough to the south of Wellington, Wairarapa and Manawatu to the north, and Wellington itself continued to attract slightly more English than New Zealand as a whole.

The Scots go to the growing centres of population – Auckland, Wellington and Canterbury, but this is purely a reflection of their numerical size, because as Table 31 shows, each, apart from Canterbury (and then only marginally), attracts a lower percentage than the country as a whole. The most striking finding is that only just over 22 per cent of the Scots migrants in this period died in Otago or Southland – a huge drop from the almost 49 per cent of the 1870s and 80s migrants who died there. Table 30 suggests that this is largely because of the relative fall in the total population in those provinces, since almost half of all the UK immigrants dying in Otago came from Scotland, but from the perspective of the Scots migrants as a whole the south was no longer the preferred destination.

The Irish pattern also throws up significant change. Two areas which had traditionally attracted many Irish – Auckland and the West Coast – both appear to have seen a smaller proportion of Irish migrants among their UK migrants than New Zealand as a whole. The contrast is particularly striking on the West Coast – in the 1870s and 80s 38 per cent of

the coast's UK migrants were from Ireland, while at the turn of the century the percentage had dropped to under 6 per cent. The West Coast Irish were very much a phenomenon of the 1860s and 1870s. The Bay of Plenty which had attracted Vesey Stewart's organised Irish migration in the 1870s and 80s was no longer a magnet for them. On the other hand Canterbury continued to attract the Irish disproportionately. In actual numbers there were more dying there than in Auckland and the Irish were over-represented among all Canterbury's UK immigrants. In other words the old stereotype of Canterbury as English and Auckland as Irish (true of the 1840s) had partially reversed itself by the end of the century.