GERMANS IN NEW ZEALAND

1840 TO 1870

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by

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PREFACE

I first became interested in Germans in New Zealand on reading Lochore's book, "From Europe to New Zealand". From this source I learnt that Germans were, before the Second World War, our largest group of continental immigrants, and that the history of their group settlements was not yet written. This thesis began as an attempt to make a contribution in this field. Finding it a very large subject, I limited myself to the period before 1880. After studying German emigration from general sources, I confined myself to the Chathams scheme; the Nelson settlement, especially from the angle of the arrangements made to bring the German expeditions to Nelson and to help them after they arrived; biographical material on outstanding people of German extraction in the period, (particularly explorers, scientists and missionaries); the history of attempts by individuals and the government to promote German immigration; and lastly I have also attempted to find out something about those immigrants who "just arrived".

As I have lived away from university centres, and overseas for five years I have not been able to work consistently, or to have ready access to my source material. This has resulted in many shortcomings. There are a great many possible sources of material which I have not been able to follow up, particularly private and family records.

I wish to record the kind help of a number of people, foremost being my tutor, Mr. W.J. Gardner of the History Department, Canterbury University; Mr. J.D. Pascoe who made several suggestions, and showed me much of my material on Mueller, then unpublished; Dr. R.A. Lochore who lent me his papers on German immigration very freely: - these contained two unpublished papers on the Chatham scheme and German immigration to New Zealand; G. Eichbaum for the use of the former paper from Dr. Lochore; Mr. G.R. McDonald for notes on German citizens of Christchurch, Miss Heine of Nelson and Miss Katherine Seyb, my aunt, of Timaru, for information about their families; and lastly, my husband for help in the writing and proof-reading of this work.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes:-

A.G.	Agent-General of the N.Z. Government in London.
AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives.
110th ALC	One Hundred and Tenth Anniversary of the Lutheran Church in New Zealand.
Col.Sec.	Colonial Secretary; Colonial Secretary's Papers
D.A.H.	Dictionary of American History.
Immgr.Off.	Immigration Officer.
Immgr.Return	Immigration Return.
M.A.H.	Memorandum of an Agreement made at Hamburg.
Nat.Ords.	Naturalization Ordinances.
Nat.Acts.	Naturalization Acts (Naturalization Records).
NZC	New Zealand Company Papers.
P.A.	Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company, Wellington.
Sec.	Secretary of the New Zealand Company, London.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Germans made a large contribution to the extensive emigration from Europe in the nineteenth century. Until the mid-'eighties the total number of German emigrants was second only to that leaving the British Isles.[1] If English, Scottish and Irish be counted as separate nationalities, Germans formed the largest national group entering the greatest immigrant-receiving country, the United States, in the nineteenth century.[2] Hansen divides the period 1830 to 1890 into two waves of emigration: first, the Celtic from 1830 to 1860, dominated by the Irish, but including large numbers from the Upper Rhine; and secondly, the Teutonic wave from 1860 to 1890, during which the English predominated and the biggest German and Scandinavian migrations took place.[3]

There were temporary recessions in German emigration during the Crimean, Danish, and Franco-Prussian wars, when government restrictions prevented emigrants, especially able-bodied men, leaving Germany. After 1885 a general decline in German emigration began, and Italian, Austro-Hungarian, and other nationalities exceeded German departures. The source of greatest emigration changed from the north-west to the south-east of the continent.[4]

1 J.I. Isaac: The Economics of Migration, p.61, Table III; see Appendix A.
2 Dictionary of American History, see German Immigration to the United States.
3 M.L. Hansen: The Atlantic Migration, pp. 9-10.
4 Isaac, p.61, Table III, also see Appendix A, and p. 62, Table IV.

The number of Germans migrating to British colonies was never very great; some, however, found their way to Australia, South Africa and New Zealand. The growth of Anglo-German hostility after 1890 caused German migration to be directed even more exclusively to the United States and other countries outside the British Empire.

The motives behind migration are often complex. They may be economic, religious, or political, or a combination of two or all of these. In most cases there are positive and negative factors operating on the migrant, viz., the attractiveness of a new land, and the conditions which make the emigrant want to leave his homeland.[5]

The main incentive to leave Germany, and other European countries was economic; one of surplus population. In France the problem was relieved by the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. France was never a great emigration country.[6] In Germany, however, over-population caused a great outward movement. The largest group of Germans to enter the United States up to about 1860 were well-to-do agriculturalists, mechanics, common labourers and small tradesmen who were hungry for land and opportunity, rather than anxious to escape persecution or oppressive conditions.[7]

The forces of industrialism and urbanisation struck Germany with relative suddenness in the second half of the nineteenth century and

5 Hansen uses the terms "push" and "pull",op.cit., pp. 120-7.
6 Ibid, p.23.
7 D.A.H., see German Immigration to U.S.

"the population grew at a rate which would have terrified Malthus".[8] The increased population did not result in a permanent upward trend in emigration, and the sharp decline which occurred towards the end of the century was caused by the absorption of manpower into industry, by army recruitment, and by legislative restrictions on emigration. The close of the Völkerwanderung coincided with the development of industrial and commercial Germany.[9]

During the nineteenth century some groups of Germans left their country for religious reasons. One large distinct group fleeing from religious oppression arrived in the United States and other lands before 1860. The group was characterised by its adherence to "Old Lutheranism".[10] In 1817 Frederick William III of Prussia had sought to effect a compromise between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches by creating a United Evangelical Church based on a new prayer book. The Old Lutherans were attached to confessional Lutheranism; they were strictly orthodox and refused to conform to the new creed despite the threat of heavy penalties. The result was a large emigration to Australia and America. Some of this group were peasants from east and north Germany. Others were of higher social status, as, for example, was a large group from Saxony who formed the powerful Missouri Synod in the 1840's.[11]

8 W.A. Carrothers: Emigration from the British Isles, p.226.
9 See Appendix A.
10 Hansen, pp. 138-9.
11 D.A.H., see German Immigration to U.S.

Although Frederick William IV ceased active persecution, the established colonies of the group in the United States continued to attract Germans of similar religious persuasion. On the other hand, Australia was found to be too primitive and remote.[12]

Many emigrants left Germany for political reasons. Most of these were opponents of the expanding Prussian power. They included Old Lutherans, who, coming from states such as Saxony or Mecklenburg, were conservatives and wished to preserve the old states. On the other hand, there were political refugees of the pre-1860 period from south-west Germany and the Rhineland, who were liberals, agnostics, democratic intellectuals and "forty-eighters".[13] The latter group, though not numerically great, was important for its progressive ideas and included some scientists.

The Old Lutheran emigrants were from east and north Germany, and many of those in opposition to Prussian political expansion came from states close to Prussia. However, a large group of Old Lutherans came from Prussia itself - from Pomerania, Posen, Magdeburg and Berlin. Before the religious controversy these regions had contributed few emigrants. A little later, Wisconsin attracted settlers from the south west: Baden and Wurttemberg. Other large groups of Old Lutherans came from Saxony, and from Silesia, which suffered depression in the early 'forties.

12 Hansen, pp. 138-9
13 D.A.H., see German Immigration to U.S.

Many of the early German emigrants were peasants from the upper Rhine where famine and pressure of population on the land caused a wave of emigration in the 1830's and 1840's. The liberals and "forty-eighters" came from south-west Germany and the Rhineland. From 1860 to 1890 Prussians and Saxons predominated among emigrants.[14]

The main German emigration ports were Hamburg and Bremen. People from the upper Rhine often went via Le Havre. When restrictions were increased in the former ports, as, for example, during the Crimean war, this exit remained open and accounted for great numbers.[15]

In the period from the later 1840's to 1870 an increasing number of emigrants from continental Europe, particularly Germans, travelled via British ports. This movement began in 1846 with parties of Germans on their way to the United States. In 1853 over 30,000 foreign emigrants sailed from British ports, increasing to an annual average of over 60,000 for the years 1868 to 1870.[16]

Once a successful settlement had been founded by immigrants it tended to attract more people from the same place, and so a "chain" was established to a particular district in the New World or Australasia.

14 Hansen, p.10.
15 Hansen, pp.186-8: Cotton trade between Alsace and the United States via Le Havre made that port an important emigrant port for Germans from the south west.
pp.289: As the crisis which led to the Crimean War developed, the difficulty of emigrating from Hamburg and Bremen increased, but it was easy for German emigrants to slip away through France.
16 Carrothers, p. 214.

Letters and visits from friends and relations who had emigrated, and optimistic reports or evidence of their prosperity in the form of money remittances, were effective incentives to relations and neighbours to follow.[17] From unsuccessful areas a reverse movement occurred, sometimes to a more favoured colony.

As many of New Zealand's German immigrants came from, or through, Hamburg, a little must be said about that city's colonial ambitions. In spite of proposals that the Zollverein should sponsor colonial enterprises, "a combination of conditions caused Hamburg to become the colonial pioneer of modern Germany." [18] The merchants feared that a Zollverein project would capture their trade in colonial products, Hamburg's staple, and they saw in projects of their own the means of capturing part of the trade in emigrants which was enriching their rival, Bremen. Sieveking, a colonial enthusiast and the leading merchant in Hamburg, was interested in the Chatham Islands, as well as Brazil, South Africa, Samoa, and Palestine.[19]

New Zealand has not been a very important "immigration" country by world standards. Of the sixty million emigrants from Europe between 1815 and 1932, she received about one per cent.[20] This small quota was mainly British in origin. To Germans in the nineteenth century New Zealand, if its existence was known, was very small and remote. The few immigrants from Germany and other non-British countries were deviations from the main migratory movements. However, it will be seen that the German emigration pattern was reflected in our small number of German immigrants.

17 Isaac, p. 45.
18 Hansen, p. 230.
19 Ibid., pp. 230-1.
20 Isaac, p. 62.

CHAPTER II

Early Germans in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands Scheme

The first Germans in New Zealand history appear to have been Dr. J.R. Forster and his son, who accompanied Captain Cook as naturalists on his second voyage in 1772. Thus at the very beginning the connection of Germans with science and exploration in New Zealand was established.[1]

There are not many other connections with Germany to note before 1840. Among several hundred American, British and French whaling vessels operating around the New Zealand coast were probably a few German ships from Bremen and Hamburg. The passengers and crew of the Deborah in Port Chalmers in 1844 one evening, "enjoyed a very primitive concert on board the St. Croix, a Danish whaler. Her crew was made up of all nationalities: Danes, Germans, Swedes, Americans, English and French .../who/ sang their English, German and French songs until midnight."[2]

In those early years there lived as a Pakeha Maori in the North Island, Adolph F. Henrici, a native of Hamburg. After travelling round the world as a ship's carpenter he had settled on the east coast, where he had a family by a Maori woman. He lived with the Maoris at

1 See below, p. 57.
2 T.M. Hocken: Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, p.49. R.McNab: The Old Whaling Days, mentions no German whalers (except Hempleman) between 1830 and 1840 and, as this is an intensive study, it is unlikely that there were any at that time.

Pakawhai and Mohaka. When the latter pa was attacked by Te Kooti's Hau Haus, he managed to escape and finally settled at Akaroa.[3]

The first permanent European settler in Canterbury was Captain George Hempleman, the shore-whaler, and well-known personality, of Peraki Bay.[4] He had completely forgotten his native tongue, German, although it was probably his only language up to the age of twenty-five or twenty-six.[5] He was born in Schleswig-Holstein in 1799, and had risen from being a sailor before the mast until, in 1835, he commanded a whaling brig which came to New Zealand from Sydney and left a whaling party at Peraki. He started his well-known log on this voyage. In 1836 he built a house at Port Cooper for a shore party, and in the following year started his shore-whaling station at Peraki.[6] This was a successful venture for, although a heavy drinker, he was practical and business-like. A huge, genial man, he had great determination, as was shown by his tenacity with regard to his land claims in later life.[7]

At Peraki he was visited by one of the Britomart's boats on 14 August 1840. Hempleman was asked to haul down his country's flag, the officer in charge saying that he would give him a better one. He then replaced it with the Union Jack. The whalers treated this as a joke and gave the sailors some good-natured chaff.[8] In 1843 the Peraki station was sold and Hempleman went to live at German Bay, Akaroa.

3 H.C. Jacobson: Tales of Banks Peninsula, pp. 168-77.
4 J.C. Andersen: Place Names of Banks Peninsula, p. 152.
5 Jacobson, p.78.
6 Andersen, pp. 152-60.
7 Jacobson, pp. 77-8.
8 L. Buick: The French at Akaroa, pp. 94-5.

Hempleman claimed that he purchased a large area of land from Bloody Jack (Tuhawaiki) and other Maoris in 1836 or 1837. The purchase was supposed to include most of Banks Peninsula including Akaroa, but he did not dispute possession with the French apart from stating his claims in 1840 and again in 1843 to Governor Grey. In 1852 he complained to the Lt.-Governor that his claim was included in the Canterbury Association block, and this resulted in an ordinance which stated that all claims made by persons professing to have purchased land from the Maoris before English sovereignty was proclaimed, must be looked into at once.[9]

Hempleman refused an award of 2,650 acres, his claim being for fifteen square miles, but is said to have accepted 500 acres some time after 1852, 250 of which were at German Bay. He himself later denied this and reaffirmed his original claim. He was often seen in the lobbies of the House of Representatives at Wellington. At the time of his death his claim was being heard again.[10]

German Bay, where Hempleman settled in later life, was a beautiful spot with some bush containing fine trees and plenty of open land, a little up harbour from Akaroa. It was the chosen home of six Germans who were included among the original French settlers of Akaroa.

9 Jacobson, p. 66; McNab, pp. 292-3.
10 Jacobson, pp. 74-8.

The Nanto-Bordelaise Company was founded in France in 1839 to colonize the estate allegedly purchased on Banks Peninsula by Captain Langlois in 1837. It recruited its immigrants in Le Havre. Although a free passage and five acres of land were offered, with two and a half acres for children, there was little response. As Le Havre was an embarkation point for many Germans going to the United States, it is not surprising to find some Germans included among the Akaroa immigrants.[11]

On arrival in Akaroa in 1840 the six Germans found that the land available was limited and they could not obtain their sections together in Akaroa. They therefore looked for a suitable spot nearby. They were given permission to settle at the place which was named German Bay, and received the customary number of acres.[12] In 1916, during the Great War, the name of the bay was changed to the original Maori name, Takamatua.[13]

The Germans were named Waeckerle, Walter and Wooll and three Breitmeyers, and with them were at least four women and children.[14] First they built a great V hut, 40 feet long and 30 feet wide, of timber and rushes, and in this they spent a comfortable winter. A track to Akaroa was cut, and the Germans started pit-sawing. Jacob Waeckerle cut timber for the first hotel at Green's Point, Akaroa.[15]

11. See above, p.5.
12 Jacobson, pp. 94, 99-100.
13 Andersen, p.214.
14 Buick, pp. 52-3; Nat Ords, 1853: eleven Akaroa Germans naturalized - Jacob and Marie Wackerle, Phillip Wall, John and Eva Breitmeyer and six Breitmeyers, probably children.
15 Jacobson, pp. 100, 103, 219.

In 1843 they built a blockhouse, the Wairau Massacre having caused fear of Maori attack. They grew wheat, and Waeckerle owned the first flour mill in Canterbury. It was built at Akaroa in 1842.[16]

As soon as cattle were introduced from Sydney, dairying became the chief occupation. English settlers took up land in German Bay. By 1893 Waeckerle and Mrs. Malmanche, a French settler, were the only residents remaining who had come under the Nanto-Bordelaise Company.[17]

.. ..

Meanwhile the New Zealand Company was promoting a scheme to settle Germans in the Chatham Islands. By the 1830's England and France had both obtained extensive overseas possessions, but it proved difficulty to develop them. Many of the emigrants from these two colonizing powers preferred to go to the United States and a large number of British emigrants went to Canada. French agents promoting white settlement in Algeria, and English organisations such as the South Australia Company began to recruit settlers outside the boundaries of their own countries. Their principal recruiting ground was Germany. "French agents were busy along the Rhine and ..... as early as 1837 a band of Silesian sectarians ..... had been persuaded by agents of the South Australia Company to accept free transportation to its settlements."[18] This South Australian settlement was financially successful as far as the Company was concerned, and the German settlers at length attained

16 Andersen, p. 214.
17 Jacobson, pp.219-21.
18 Hansen, p.229.

moderate prosperity. They induced some of their relatives and neighbours to join them. The New Zealand Company also decided to send agents to Germany to recruit emigrants.[19]

Before the story of the Chatham Islands scheme is told it is as well to recall the way in which the New Zealand Company conducted its colonizing ventures and the principles of Edward Gibbon Wakefield on which its action was based. Agents were sent to New Zealand to buy land for the settlements. William Wakefield and others bought extensive tracts from the Maoris in both the North and South Islands. In the South Island the natives were fewer and the possibility of troublesome Maori land claims correspondingly less. Allotments of land were sold at a price high enough to send out a sufficient number of emigrants, pay for public works, education and religious establishments in the settlement, cover expenses at home and pay dividends to investors. The land was sold to prospective immigrants of some capital who would presumably form an employer class in relation to the larger number of labourers to be sent to the settlement. It was hoped that many of the latter would save enough money to become land-owners themselves, and the capital so gained could in turn be used to cover costs of bringing out further immigrants.

In 1839 the Company decided to extend its activities to the Chatham Islands, a group lying about 600 miles east of the South Island, discovered in 1791 by Captain Broughton. It was also decided that Germans should be

19 Ibid.

sought to colonize the group and, in December 1839, the Directors resolved to advertise in German newspapers. A. Bach was appointed to translate and distribute the booklet, Information for Colonists, which had just been published by the Company, and a Herr Bockelmann was appointed agent in Bremen for the recruitment and embarkation of emigrants.[20]

A land agent of the Company, R.D. Hanson, visited the islands with the scientific adviser, Dr. Ernst Dieffenbach, who was a German. They were there from May to July, 1840. Dieffenbach reported that the islands were not very fertile and would not support a large population.[21] He did not seem to be aware of the plan for settling Germans there. Hanson purchased the islands from the natives for the Company, acting on the assumption that the British Crown had no sovereignty over them.

In September 1841, an agreement was signed by John Ward, for the New Zealand Company, and by Karl Sieveking, Syndic (Chief Magistrate) of Hamburg, for the sale of the islands to Sieveking in order that they might be settled by Germans.[22]

Sieveking signed "on behalf of the Colonisation Company to be formed in Germany."[23] He was an able "Hanseatic statesman,"[24] and

20 G. Eichbaum: German Settlement in New Zealand, pp. 1-2.
21 Contrary to contemporary and later reports which stressed fertility. So far Dieffenbach appears to have been more realistic. The population in 1962 was 490.
22 Memorandum of an Agreement made at Hamburg, 12 Sep. 1841, quoted by Eichbaum, Appendix.
23 Ibid.
24 Hansen, p.230.

had spent a period as a diplomat for his city in South America where he had interested himself in German settlers. Later, as Syndic, he initiated colonisation schemes. Hamburg's part in such ventures has already been mentioned.

Several reasons for the action of the New Zealand Company may be discerned. The Company was short of funds; British emigrants were difficult to secure. Other intentions of a less materialistic nature, and an affirmation of belief in the permanence of Anglo-German friendship, are given in a letter written by the Director of the Company to Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary:

> "Their (the Directors') desire to give useful neighbours to the settlements which they had founded in New Zealand, is the motive which has principally induced them to dispose of their property in the Chatham Islands to the representatives of communities so little likely to be animated at any time by political hostility to Great Britain ... the arrangement ... must be productive of material benefits, direct and indirect to the colonists of New Zealand; and that not the least satisfactory result will be to render Port Nicholson the centre of a wider circle of commerce."[25]

A writer in the New Zealand Gazette, 7 May 1842, justified the "cession" of the Chathams by saying that the Germans so badly wanted a colony, even a small one, that it would be diplomatic and a just move to allow them to have one. The good, if somewhat condescending, opinion held by the British of Germans as settlers was expressed in the Company's paper[26], which called them, "plodding, perservering, sober and industrious," adjectives commonly used throughout the

25 Director to Lord Stanley, 15 Oct 1841, quoted by Eichbaum, Appendix.
26 New Zealand Journal, 8 Jan 1842, quoted by Eichbaum, p.3.

nineteenth century in reference to German emigrants.

The agreement defined the extent of the Chathams,[27] and the price named was £10,000. It was stated that the Company was not aware that the sovereignty of the British Crown had ever been proclaimed and believed that the German company would be within its rights to offer sovereignty to the towns of Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg, or any other German state. If this was not possible, the Company promised to use its influence with the British Government to make sure that German settlers would be granted full national and religious rights.[28]

It was agreed that the German Colonisation Company should send an agent to the Chathams, that no convicts should be transported there, and that the sale must be ratified within six months of the date of the agreement, viz., by March 1842.[29]

The articles of the German Colonisation Company were drawn up and signed in Hamburg by Sieveking, four others, and four companies on 15th February 1842. The company's immediate object was the colonisation of the Chatham Islands. Other colonising ventures were to follow. The first action was to be the despatch of a commission,

27 "The Chatham Islands, consisting of the large island called by the natives Warrekauru and by the Europeans Chatham Island, of a smaller island called by the natives Rangihaude (sic) and by the Europeans Pitts Island; and of a third island, called by the natives Rangatira and by the Europeans South East or Cornwallis Island, ... and other smaller adjacent islets." M.A.H. 12 Sept 1841, quoted by Eichbaum, Appendix.

28 M.A.H., 12 Sept 1841, quoted by Eichbaum, Appendix.

29 Ibid.

with surveyors and other trained men attached, which would explore the Islands and formally take possession for the German Company if necessary. The surveying of, "a port, of the Suburb, and the more distant rural territory," was also to be undertaken.[30]

The articles of the German Colonisation Company bear strongly the imprint of Wakefield's ideas. The land was to be sold, "at such a price as may seem sufficient" for bringing out emigrants, for providing revenue within the colony, a proportional dividend to the shareholders and also for paying the New Zealand Company for the islands. One-tenth of the land laid out for settlement was to be set aside as an endowment for educational and religious purposes.[31]

The articles were signed less than a month before the agreement of sale was due to be ratified, but the ratification never took place. In October 1841 Lord Stanley had made it clear to the New Zealand Company that he regarded its claim to the Islands and its right to sell them for the purpose of establishing a foreign colony near the British settlements in New Zealand, as extremely doubtful.[32] The Company had hopes that the Government would relent, and so the scheme was therefore kept alive for some time. The period allowed before the ratification of the sale was actually extended to

30 Articles of the German Colonisation Company, 1842. One signatory company, Godeffroy and Son, was responsible for German settlement in Samoa.
31 Ibid.
32 Stanley to N.Z. Company, 28 Oct 1841. Quoted by Eichbaum, Appendix.

September 1842, although it should have been clear that no such sale would be sanctioned. It is doubtful whether Sieveking was informed of the attitude of the British Government although Stanley asked the Foreign Office to advise him officially that the Chatham Islands were part of New Zealand.[33] Eventually, Sieveking learnt unexpectedly that he must abandon the Chathams scheme.[34]

The New Zealand Company would not admit defeat for some time however. In August 1842, Secretary Ward wrote to Colonel William Wakefield, the Principal Agent of the Company in New Zealand, enclosing a letter from Hope, the Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office, dated 29 March 1842, stating that the Chathams would form part of the colony of New Zealand. The letter was accompanied by a legal document which stated that a purchase such as that made by the Company, "is not recognized as conveying any title against a civilised Government afterwards taking possession..."[35] Hope also declared that, "No former purchase can be recognized without the previous sanction of the local government, on the report of Commissioners appointed for that purpose, nor even then to a greater extent that 2,500 acres in the case of any one purchase."[36] Ward

33 Eichbaum, p.2.
34 In Apr 1842. In May of that year a great fire destroyed the business area of Hamburg and put an end to the other colonisation schemes that Sieveking was working on. Hansen, pp. 230-1.
35 Sec. to P.A., 29 Aug 1842, NZC 102/10, 50, encl.
36 Ibid.

interpreted this to mean that Lord Stanley was prepared to allow the New Zealand Company to select land on the Chathams to the extent of 2,500 acres.[37] In May 1843 Wakefield wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Auckland, seeking the New Zealand Government's approval for the sale of the "2,500 acres Lord Stanley allows."[38] The reply was a firm rebuff, Shortland stating that Colonel Wakefield had misconstrued Lord Stanley's statements.[39]

The official disfavour, in Great Britain and New Zealand, of the establishment of a German colony in the Chathams was supported by a Wellington newspaper in an article entitled "Unpleasant Neighbours".[40] This article asserted that the Germans were going to form a penal settlement.[41] However, as was usual in New Zealand in those days, the news that Hamburg intended purchasing the Chatham Islands was already out-dated.

The proposal to settle Germans in the Chathams during the years 1839-1842 accounts for the presence of several German missionaries in those islands in the early 'forties. They included two Moravian Brethren who have been credited with the introduction of Christianity to the Chathams, and a band of missionaries from the Evangelical Church in Berlin, the chief members of which were the Reverends Engst, Scheirmeister,

37 Sec. to P.A., 29 Aug 1842, NZC 102/10, 50.
38 P.A. to Shortland, 31 May 1843, encl. 1 in P.A. to Sec., 12 Dec 1843, NZC 3/3, 80.
39 Shortland to P.A., 12 Jul 1843, encl. 2 in P.A. to Sec., 12 Dec 1843, NZC 3/3, 80.
40 New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 15 Jun 1842, quoted by Eichbaum, p.4.
41 A common accusation. In 1840 the New Zealand Company asserted that the French were going to establish a penal colony on Banks Peninsula; Buick, p.46.

Müller and Henry de Bauke.[42]

Bishop Selwyn visited the German missionaries in 1848 and endeavoured to persuade Scheirmeister to accept Episcopal ordination, but with no success. Scheirmeister afterwards left for Queensland. Engst continued missionary work until about 1859, then became proprietor of a sheep station of about 10,000 acres, in the group.[43]

42 Eichbaum, p.2. Scheirmeister and two Moravian Brethren were in the Chathams before 1842; F.A. Charlton in Contributions of Germans and Scandinavians to the History of New Zealand quotes the Otago Witness Annual, 1896 in saying that Engst, Scheirmeister, Müller and Henry de Bauke arrived from the Grossner Missionary Institute of Berlin in 1843.

43 The Otago Witness Annual, 1896, quoted by Charlton, pp. 23-4.

CHAPTER III

The Nelson Germans

Before the Chatham Islands scheme was finally abandoned the New Zealand Company, unable to find sufficient numbers of emigrants in the British Isles, made plans to recruit Germans for its New Zealand settlements.[1] This resulted in two ships carrying Germans from Hamburg to Nelson, the only emigrants from the European continent to the South Island during the period 1839-1850, apart from the French settlers at Akaroa.[2]

In 1842 the Company advertized New Zealand in Germany as a desirable destination for emigrants.[3] The initiative in bringing the first German expedition to Nelson was taken by John Nicholas Beit, a Hamburg merchant. He visited London in 1842 and heard of the Nelson settlement.[4] Beit then applied to the Court of Directors for permission to lead a German expedition there. Having obtained this, he was appointed agent for the Company in Germany, and he returned to Hamburg where he interested Chapeaurouge and Company in the venture.[5] This Company was one of the great mercantile houses of the city, and a signatory of the German Colonisation Company which has been mentioned in connection with the

1 Eichbaum, p.5.
2 A.H. Clark: The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals, p. 141. There were practically none to the North Island either.
3 Sec. to Capt. Wakefield, 8 Dec 1842, NZC 102/10, 81, encl. 39.
4 L. Broad: Jubilee History of Nelson, p.84.
5 Sec. to Capt. Wakefield, 8 Dec 1842, NZC 102/10, 81, encl. 39.

Chatham Islands. It bought five allotments of land in Nelson, and the North German Mission Society purchased a sixth.[6]

On the basis of the sale, the New Zealand Company granted free passages to a hundred Germans. Beit and Chapeaurouge and Company then hired and fitted out a ship at their own expense on the understanding that they were to be re-imbursed at a rate of £18 per immigrant by the New Zealand Company after safe arrival of the expedition in Nelson.[7]

The St. Pauli, about 380 tons, left Hamburg on 20 December 1842, with 118 steerage passengers. Travelling in relative comfort as cabin passengers, Beit and his family of twelve, and two Lutheran clergymen, brought the total of German immigrants to 134.[8] The majority of the steerage passengers, or "free immigrants" whose passages were paid by the New Zealand Company, were farm workers and tradesmen, some from Hamburg itself and some from the neighbouring state of Hanover whose prince had until recently been the English king. There were also some vine-dressers from the Rhenish provinces. Though some of the working class were practically illiterate a few, probably those designated "yeomen" in the Ship Return, had small capital.[9] This records 22 agricultural labourers including several yeomen and vine-dressers, 19

6 Broad, p.85.
7 Sec. to Capt. Wakefield, 8 Dec 1842, NZC 102/10, 81, encl. 39; Chapeuarouge and Co. to Sec., 6 Feb 1844, NZC 13th Report, 49.
8 Tuckett to P.A., 12 Aug 1843, NZC 104/3, 32. The Ship Return, Col. Sec.44 records 120 steerage passengers arriving, but this figure is not accurate. The return also gives 123 embarked, 4 died, 2 deserted at Bahia, one was born. Approximately 80 adults and 40 children made up the free places, children counting as half.
9 Ship Return, St. Pauli, Col. Sec., Inwards Correspondence, 44/: See Appendix B.

building mechanics and some others, including shoemakers and smiths. The number of adult labourers was forty-eight.

The allotment of land which it purchased gave the North German Mission Society a foothold in New Zealand and a free passage for its missionaries, J.F.H. Wohlers and J.C. Reimenscneider, who were cabin passengers. Two among the steerage passengers, J.W.C. Heine and J.H. Trost, later became pastors. Heine was sympathetic with the Old Lutheran group in Australia.[10] Most of the immigrants came from non-Prussian northern Germany where old Lutheranism was common.

When Beit left Germany in the St. Pauli, his agency for the New Zealand Company was transferred to Chapeaurouge and Company, which hoped to send a large number of Germans to New Zealand.[11] Beit was appointed an agent of the New Zealand Company in Nelson to receive German immigrants and give them "advice and assistance".[12] However the plans resulted in only one further ship being sent and that expedition almost failed to eventuate owing to difficulties over land.

10 In Heine to Col. Sec., 14 Jul 1853, Col. Sec. 53/1177, Encl., Heine says the Germans in South Australia, eight thousand in number, were induced to emigrate on account of the violent suppression of the Lutheran Church by the Prussian Government... "After having suffered for several years incarceration and other hardships the opposers of the new organised state Church in Prussia were allowed to emigrate." Heine sounds sympathetic to Old Lutheranism but, later, writing to Jollie about a grant for a Lutheran Church, he said that the 150 Lutherans in Nelson "declared themselves an evangelical Lutheran congregation according to the canonical laws of the Lutheran Church, 1846, elected me pastor, and asked the Lutheran Church government of Mecklenburg to confirm the election." Heine to Jollie, 7 Feb 1849, NZC, 3/19, 8, encl. 19, sub-encl.

11 Col Sec., Inwards Correspondence, 45/591. Ship return of the Skiold. Emigrants on the Skiold were, "Pioneers to the larger number of German settlers subsequently to follow."

12 Sec. to Beit, 25 Nov. 1842, NZC 102/10, 81, encl.

In 1843 Chapeaurouge and Company entered into negotiations with the New Zealand Company to buy fifty allotments of land in Nelson. The proposal was made on behalf of a wealthy German nobleman, Count Ranzau. Six allotments were to be paid for immediately and the rest before four years, in not more than seven installments. After the payment of each installment a proportionate number of emigrants were to be sent out. This would provide for the sending of eight ships.[13]

The terms of the sale were not settled by the beginning of 1844 because the New Zealand Company did not give sufficient assurance that the rural sections would be grouped together.[14] Ranzau was not prepared to buy without this undertaking and did not want to commit himself about the number of immigrants. However, the Hamburg Company made arrangements for one ship to leave on the basis of the six allotments for the purchase of which arrangements had already been made.[15] The Skiold was almost ready to sail when the New Zealand Company suddenly cancelled all sales because the British Goverhment was investigating the validity of their titles to land.[16] Chapeaurouge and Company objected so strongly that the sale of the six allotments was allowed,[17] but only on condition that the New Zealand Company was allowed to disclaim responsibility if the

13 Sec. to Chapeaurouge and Co., 19 Jan 1844, NZC 102/23. On the same basis as the St. Pauli: 100 emigrants per six allotments.
14 Chapeaurouge and Company to Sec., 30 Jan 1844, NZC 102/23. The 201,000 acres of the Nelson settlement were divided into 1,000 allotments, each 201 acres. Every allotment consisted of one acre in the town, 50 near the town, and 150 in a rural area. Ranzau wanted to form a large property by having his rural secions adjacent.
15 Chapeaurouge and Co. to Sec., n.d., NZC 13th Report, 53.
16 Sec. to Chapeaurouge and Co., 1 Mar 1844, NZC, 13th Report, 55.
17 Chapeaurouge and Co. to Sec., 5 Mar 1844, NZC, 13th Report, 57; Sec. to P.A. 21 Mar 1844, NZC 13/8, 6/44. Seven allotments were sold, six in the names of Kelling and Benoit. One in the names of F.W. Matthoi and Otto Bratenahl was subsequently cancelled because Matthoi committed suicide: Sec. to P.A., 18 Apr 1844, NZC, 13/8, 6/44.

title question was adversely decided.[18]

Chapeaurouge and Company disclaimed any responsibility for the maintenance of the emigrants after their safe arrival, but before they left Hamburg all the adult male emigrants signed an agreement with J.F. Benoit and two brothers, C. and F. Kelling, representing Count Ranzau, in which each man was promised employment at a wage of the amount current in Nelson, to be paid partly in food and housing. Each would receive ten to twenty acres of land which he could pay for gradually.[19]

The Skiold left Hamburg in April 1844 carrying 140 German emigrants, mainly from Mecklenburg.[20] There were five cabin passengers including Benoit, a merchant in charge of the party, and the Kelling brothers, yeomen. There were also 135 steerage passengers. Although he had not given an unfavourable report of the first group of Germans, Colonel Wakefield wrote, " The men evince a decided superiority over those who came last year in the St. Pauli."[21] He may have been influenced by the fact that the St. Pauli Germans made a poor start in Nelson. Among the Skiold men were sixteen agricultural labourers, and seven in the various building trades.[22]

18 Sec. to P.A., 21 Mar 1844, NZC 13/8, 6/44.
19 Original agreements between the Kellings and Benoit, and the emigrants on the Skiold, see Appendix D.
20 H.F. von Haast: Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast, p.38; Broad p.85; Col. Sec., Inwards Correspondence, 45/591, Ship Return Skiold gives towns or villages of origin, some of which can be identified as Mecklenburg names and one is Bavarian.
21 P.A. to Sec., 4 Sep 1844, NZC 3/14,11.
22 Col. Sec., Inwards Correspondence, 45/591; Occupations of immigrants given in Appendix C.

The 134 Germans of the first expedition arrived in Nelson on 14 June 1843. According to the statistics of the Company, the population of Nelson in October 1843 was 2,942, both in rural and urban districts. In December 1844, three months after the 140 Germans of the Skiold expedition arrived, there were 3,079 people in the town and district.[23]

The colony was in an unhappy state when the first German expedition landed. A glance at its short history reveals some of the reasons. The first ships carrying Company officials and their families and English colonists arrived early in 1842. At first there was a busy and optimistic feeling in the new settlement. One of the early comers, Alfred Fell, wrote: "The utmost hilarity prevails .... There are no gentlemen (though some can boast of gentlemanly blood), but all are workers ...."[24] But already in that year of birth there were signs of trouble. In December, twelve labourers left for Tasmania because of lack of work, and the labour problem grew progressively worse. This was caused by lack of capital and slow distribution of land to the wealthier settlers, and the introduction of large numbers of working class immigrants who could not be usefully employed. Public works were started to absorb surplus labour, but pay was very low and there was trouble with the men.

Meanwhile the news of the Wairau massacre fell as a great blow on the young colony, which relapsed into a state of fear and gloom.[25] The people organized themselves against attack, built defences and petitioned,

23 Fox to P.A., 6 Jul 1848, NZC, 3/18,10 encl.25.
24 H. Small: Nelson's First Lawyer, pp. 49-50.
25 Tuckett to P.A., 3 Jul 1843, NZC, 104/3.

unsuccessfully, for an armed force to be stationed in Nelson.[26] The St. Pauli arrived just after the massacre.

Labour discontent became worse following a reduction in wages. Men were released from work in the Wairau and there were 300 on public works.[27] Troubles reached a climax in August when the Inspector of Public Works was attacked by the men.[28] Because of unemployment 22 men and their families, amounting to 70 people, left the colony.[29] Colonel Wakefield requested the aid of the Chief Police Magistrate to arrest the leaders among the trouble-makers but this was refused.[30] After the appointment of Fox as Nelson Agent in September there was an improvement in the labour position. He settled more labourers on the land and introduced piece work, which gave the men more time to work on their own land.[31]

In July 1844, replying to criticisms by Beit that, "Full one-third of the Company's Immigrants have already re-emigrated", Fox wrote that there had been considerable tendency to re-emigrate but the true figures were, "Little more than one-ninth", of all steerage immigrants introduced into Nelson, including Germans. Beit also alleged, "There is in reality no production here and what cultivation is going on is ruinous to those engaged in it." In reply Fox said that cultivation by the labouring

26 P.A. to Sec., 12 Dec 1843, NZC, 3/13, 78 encl.7. An incident occurred in Motueka where Maoris drove away a number of settlers, "This they did with the late Government proclamation in one hand whilst they flourished their tomahawks with the other." Fox to P.A., 19 Sep 1843, NZC, 3/13, 78, encl.1.
27 P.A. to Major Richmond, 7 Sep 1843, NZC 3/13, 73, encl.1.
28 Tuckett to P.A. 30 Aug 1843, NZC, 104/3.
29 Ibid.
30 P.A. to Major Richmond, 7 Sep 1843, NZC, 3/13,73 encl; Richmond to P.A., 8 Sep 1843, NZC, 3/13, 73, encl.
31 Fox to P.A., 1 Nov 1843, NZC, 3/13, 78, encl 10.

classes had increased and wages given on public works had been gradually reduced. There was, "Anything but despair among agriculturalists." [32] After the Wairau massacre, for six months, "Great depression and want of confidence existed, but these have of late much diminished."[33]

By the time the Skiold arrived on 1 September 1844, conditions in the colony were much more stable. Farms were being leased to small holders and agriculture was making progress.[34] But there was no increase in population, which for some years remained static. Having been over 3,000 in 1844, in 1845, 1846 and 1847 it was under that figure. Immigration was counterbalanced by the re-emigration of many settlers, mainly to Australia, and some to South America.

The German expeditions were given a good welcome. The officers of the Company, the British settlers in Nelson, and others, expressed their belief that Germans usually possessed certain of the more pedestrian virtues. An example of the expectation that Germans would prove good colonists was given by Colonel Wakefield, who wrote in 1843 of the St. Pauli Germans, "I am of opinion that they will set the same example of frugality, industry and sobriety that I have always remarked amongst their countrymen."[35] The St. Pauli immigrants were also described as, " a very eligible class" by Secretary Ward.[36]

32 Fox to P.A., 9 Jul 1844, NZC, 3/14, 10, encl 51. Beit's words as quoted by Fox.
33 Ibid.
34 Small, p. 53.
35 P.A. to Sec., 10 Sep 1843, NZC, Letter book, P.A. to Sec. 2,62.
36 Sec. to Capt. Wakefield, 8 Dec 1842, NZC, 102/10, 39.

The Nelson settlers took the side of the German immigrants in a dispute which had arisen with Beit on the voyage. The Germans arrived in a "state of extreme discontent, owing to alleged acts of despotism on the part of Mr. Beit and infringements of the arrangements promised for their maintenance and comfort."[37] A formal complaint had been made to the British Consul at Bahia. When the ship called there an inspection was carried out. The report was favourable to Beit, making it clear that the ship and arrangements were satisfactory, and the complaints of the passengers were not justified.[38] Before leaving Hamburg the vessel had had to conform to the Company regulations as far as compatible with German wants and habits. There was some smallpox and two deaths during the voyage. This was a good record by standards of those days.[39]

In spite of reasonable conditions on ship Beit was hated by the emigrants for his arbitrary behaviour. He also immediately made himself unpopular in Nelson. When Captain Schart of the St. Pauli offered to carry armed settlers to any part of New Zealand, Beit wrote to the Examiner saying that Schart was not in a position to do that, and was a man of such bad character that it would be unwise to rely on him in any way.[40] This attack provoked a storm of controversy in the Nelson teacup. According to Tuckett the townsmen were "prejudiced partisans"

37 Tuckett to P.A., 5 Jul 1843, NZC 104/3.
38 Ibid., encls.
39 Ship Return, Col. Sec., Inwards Correspondence 44/; Nelson Examiner, 29 Jul 1843.
40 Nelson Examiner, 1 Jul 1843; 8 Jul 1843.

of Schart and the German settlers, including the missionaries and the doctor. He did not altogether blame them for that feeling: "I much fear that Mr. Beit is not quite so estimable and judicious a man as the London and Hamburg Companies imagined."[41]

.. ..

The first expedition was faced with such great difficulties that it was described as a failure from the beginning. Many of the immigrants would have re-emigrated as soon as possible if they had had the means. The majority remained in the Immigration Depot in a desponding state, being dissatisfied both with Beit and with their prospects in Nelson.[42]

Both Tuckett and Colonel Wakefield pressed Beit to make arrangements to employ the Germans or to settle them on land, and with that end in view, offered to assist him in the early selection of a rural section of the land purchased by the Hamburg Company.[43] Beit, however, seemed entirely occupied with his own business affairs, and refused to allocate plots to the Germans for their own cultivation, out of the land purchased by the Hamburg Company.[44] Some were purchasers of portions of land from Chapeaurouge and Company, but Beit would not allow them a portion on any of the sections already delivered except on inferior parts. Neither would he himself employ any Germans except at very inadequate wages.[45]

41 Tuckett to P.A., 25 Jul 1843, NZC 104/3.
42 Ibid.ff.; P.A. to Sec., 10 Sep 1843, NZC Letter book, P.A. to Sec.2,62.
43 Tuckett to Beit, 22 Jul 1843, NZC 3/13,90, encl 12, sub-encl 1. Because of the lateness of the survey in Nelson, only some of the rural sections could be distributed immediately.
44 Tuckett to P.A., 3 Jul 1843, NZC 104/3.
45 P.A. to Sec., 10 Sep 1843, NZC Letter book. P.A. to Sec. 2, 62.

During their first fortnight in Nelson the Germans were issued with rations from the Company's stores. Colonel Wakefield wrote to Tuckett saying, "You are right in concluding that the German immigrants have no claim for maintenance or employment out of the emigration fund of the settlement. At the same time it is advisable that they should not be induced to leave Nelsonfor want of employment or fall into destitution."[46] Tuckett and Wakefield therefore arranged for eight families and two single men to settle on land in the Moutere district near the German missionaries. The land belonged to the New Zealand Company and was given rent free for three years with the option of purchase for £150 at the end of that time. The settlers were given rations for three months on loan.[47]

In 1843 the Moutere was described as

> "A finely timbered valley .... the soil in this district is different from that in the other wooded lands in the country, being a yellow clay with less upper soil .... there are some pretty sites for location and some practical farmers who have visited it and are about to locate there are of the opinion that they will have as good crops of grain as in any of the other districts." 48

When the Germans went there a good road to the district was nearly complete.

Three months after their arrival they had made little progress with the cultivation of the land and were being employed on public

46 P.A. to Tuckett, 15 Jul 1843, NZC 3/13, 58, encl 1.
47 Tuckett to P.A., 12 Aug 1843, NZC 104/3, 32; P.A. to Sec., 10 Sep 1843, NZC, Letter book, P.A. to Sec., 2,62.
48 Capt. Wakefield to P.A., 12 Jan 1843, NZC 104/2, 3.

works there. The only excuse Fox gave for their lack of progress was that, "They have had considerable difficulties to contend with." He expected them eventually to become established and be, "a valuable body of settlers."[49] Other settlers in the district were employed on public works and had, with a few exceptions, done little towards cultiviation. Some cultivation and building had been carried out by the Germans when nine disastrous floods in four months, and the cessation of public works in September 1844 compelled them to move to other parts.[50]

Opinions had changed about the suitability of the Moutere for farming. The Germans "have been unfortunate in the selection of land in the Moutere, where their labours have been almost nugatory in consequence of its liability to inundations and the poorness of its soil."[51] Colonel Wakefield anticipated that some settlers would leave the colony when public works ceased, but he hoped that the Moutere Germans would be attracted to the settlement about to be started by those of the second expedition, which had just arrived in Nelson.[52] It appears that some left for Australia and others moved to parts near Nelson and the Waimea.[53]

Among 613 immigrants to South Australia from other colonies in the first half of 1845 were eighty-four destitute Germans. One of

49 Fox to P.A., 1 Dec 1843, NZC 3/13, 90, encl 15.
50 One Hundred and Tenth Anniversary of the Lutheran Church in New Zealand, p.2; P.A. to Sec., 5 Sep 1844, NZC 3/14, 12. The Company went into liquidation and public works ceased.
51 P.A. to Sec., 4 Sep 1844, NZC 3/14, 11.
52 Ibid.
53 110th A.L.C., p.2; Broad, p.85: "Shortly after [the arrival of the second expedition] about half of the second expedition and nearly all of the first left for Australia." This is probably an over-estimate.

them, probably a Moutere settler, told a depressing story of conditions in New Zealand:

> He says .. there is nothing there but mountains, trees and ferns, and almost continuous gales of wind, with heavy rains which made everything a complete puddle. And not the least of the evils, he says, which the settlers have to complain of is natives, who to his own expression, are 'beschwerlich Kerlin' - troublesome fellows. 54

Only a minority of the St. Pauli Germans went to the Moutere. From various sources a little may be learned of the fate of the rest. Colonel Wakefield mentioned "some families" who rented land in the Waimea from a settler, and "a few mechanics" who remained in Nelson.[55] Another source says that about six families settled in the Waimea near the mouth of the river and some of the trades people remained in Nelson town.[56] As there were 26 families included in the Ship Return, 12 are left unaccounted for, except that of Buschel. This man was employed by Beit on his own section in the Waimea South until May 1844 when he was discharged. Beit claimed he should be employed on public works.[57]

Fox had already found it necessary to employ some of the German immigrants on public works in October 1843.[58] These may have been Moutere Germans. In July, Tuckett had written to Beit about the destitute condition of three Germans, Lange, Fluter and Stade.[59]

54 J. Rutherford: Sir George Grey, p.42
55 P.A. to Sec., 10 Sep 1843, NZC Letter book, P.A. to Sec., 2, 62.
56 110th A.L.C., p.2.
57 Beit to Fox, 25 May 1844, NZC 3/14,8, encl 42 sub-encl 1,ff.
58 Fox to P.A., 1 Nov 1843, NZC 3/13, 78, encl 10; Fox to P.A., 7 Nov 1843, NZC 3/13,90, encl 12.
59 "One of /them/... represents to me that he has seven children to maintain." Tuckett to Beit, 22 Jul 1843, NZC 3/13, 90, encl 12, sub-encl. In the Ship Return, Col Sec., Inwards Correspondence, 44/, the name Hunter appeqrs. This was almost certainly the man described as Fluter by Tuckett. Stade is not on the list, but appears in Nat.Ord. 1845, where the St.Pauli

Whether these three Germans went to Moutere or Waimea or elsewhere is not apparent, but it may be assumed that they were helped by the Company.

A series of exchanges between Fox and Beit, after the application on behalf of Buschel, culminated in the dismissal of Beit from his office of Immigration Agent for the Germans, in June. Beit had disclaimed all responsibility for the maintenance or employment of the Germans and criticized the efforts of the Company which was forced to help them.[60] He made claims for hospital expenses incurred on behalf of the immigrants on the voyage and for the amount he spent on additional rations because short rations were issued on board. Fox said Beit attributed "a greater degree of liability connected with the German Expedition than ... I have any reason to believe the Company ever contemplated."[61] Fox rejected all Beit's claims, saying that he regarded his conduct, "as nothing less than an attempt at imposition."[62]

J.W.C. Heine, schoolmaster and pastor to the first expedition put the blame for its "ill success" entirely on Beit.[63] Fox warned Colonel Wakefield that Beit intended, "to be very troublesome to the Court of Directors," when he returned to Europe early in 1847. He added, "I perceive however by a copy of a despatch from the Secretary to yourself

60 P.A. to Sec., 28 Jun 1844, NZC 3/14, 8, encl 42.
61 Fox to P.A., 21 Nov 1843, NZC 3.13, 90, encl 14.
62 Fox to P.A., 27 Jan 1844, NZC 3.14, 2, encl 11.
63 Heine to Fox, 13 Dec 1846, NZC 3.17, 2, sub-encl.

that they may have formed a just estimate of his character."[64]

Other matters of dispute between Fox and Beit were not connected with the German settlers. Beit and Sons built a wharf and warehouse on Crown land in front of an unsold section, and Fox took steps to try and prevent them obtaining a government grant to the land.[65] The wharf, like the Company wharf nearby, had a stone breastwork and a frontage of 120 feet, with a private and bonded store.[66] Beit also wanted some of his sections changed but only one exchange was allowed.[67] In 1849 Beit and family left Nelson permanently for Sydney leaving the claims of four Germans to 130 acres of land purchased by Chapeaurouge and Company, still unsettled.[68]

.. ..

The second German expedition arrived in September 1844 in the Skiold, after a good voyage.[69] The Kelling brothers and Benoit, in charge of the party, held seven suburban sections of land in Waimea East. These had been allotted so as to be practically in one unit, according to arrangements between the Court of Directors and

64 Fox to P.A.,22 Dec 1846, NZC 3/17, 2, encl.
65 Fox to P.A.,11 Dec 1843, NZC 3.13, 90, encl 16.
66 Ruth Allan: History of Port Nelson, pp.10-1. Ruth Allan also mentions G.W. Schroder, who leased the Company's wharf and owned the Catherine, a schooner of 10 tons: op.cit., pp.17, 93. G.W. Schroder owned a sheep run in the Wairau, was ruined by scab and became constable at Waiau: - W.J. Gardner: The Amuri. A County History. p.93.
67 Fox to P.A., 27 Jan 1844, NZC 3.14, 2, encl 11; Fox to P.A., 4 Mar 1844, 3/14, encl 23.
68 Jollie to Fox, 23 Dec 1848, NZC 218/3, 14/48. These were afterwards partially settled, one or two cases in court and the others privately.
69 Fox to P.A., 6 Sep 1844, NZC 218/1.

Chapeaurouge and Company.[70] Their settlement was called Ranzau. It was near Nelson and had access by a good road. The immigrants were supplied with enough provisions to last a year or more. Even though the soil in the neighbourhood had been shown to be good, Colonel Wakefield gave the leaders to understand that if theirs proved unsatisfactory a further exchange could be arranged.[71]

In December 1844, Fox reported that the Germans were making good progress and had built a small but prosperous settlement. "Some families of the labouring class have chosen to re-emigrate to South Australia but as many remain as Messrs. Kelling and Benoit are able to find employment for ..."[72] Two of the suburban sections they found to be, "very stony and unfit for cultivation."[73] The Kellings applied for exchanges for these. In spite of the assurances given, the exchanges were refused by the Court of Directors on the grounds that those made already in England were final.[74] The Kellings had promised employment to nearly 40 labouring men from the Skiold, with seventy-five dependants. According to their statement only 150 acres out of the 350 were fit for cultivation. They threatened to re-emigrate.[75] In spite of their difficulties they were fairly prosperous, and Fox praised their progress.

70 See above p.23.
71 P.A. to Sec., 4 Sep 1844, NZC 3/14, 11.
72 Fox to P.A., 12 Dec 1844, NZC 3.15, 1, encl 68.
73 Fox to P.A., 13 Jan 1845, NZC 3.15, 3 encl 1.
74 The reasons behind the refusal included the large number of applications for exchange being made in Nelson, and the general dissatisfaction among local landowners at the system of distribution. A re-selection of land was being considered and in the meantime all exchanges were refused. Some settlers were already jealous of the Kellings because of the exchanges already accomplished: P.A. to Sec., 14 Jul 1846, NZC 3/16, 11, encl:- Dillon Bell's address to Landowners, 26 Jan 1846.
75 Kellings and Benoit to the Court, 27 Jul 1846, NZC 3/16, 17, encl 21, sub-encl, ff.

Some of the Skiold Germans took up other land in Nelson and a new Moutere settlement called Sarau was established. Heine chose a mission section there when the Company arranged the re-selection of lands.[76] The settlement at Sarau was in a prosperous condition when Haast visited it in 1859, and in the 1870's.[77]

Both the Moutere and the Waimea East settlements attracted new immigrants from Germany, who came independently between 1855 and 1863.[78] In the 1850's the Germans at Ranzau still spoke their own language and subscribed to a German paper from Adelaide.[79] In 1859 Haast visited the inn at Sarau where he found the Germans keeping up the customs of their homeland. The guests sat down and were served by the landlord's daughter. A black forest musical clock and an evening meal of ham pancakes reminded them of their native country.[80]

.. ..

One reason for the welcome given the St. Pauli expedition in Nelson had been the presence of several Rhenish vine-growers, and high hopes were held that viticulture would flourish in Nelson. The directors considered that they would be, "a valuable acquisition to the

76 Several German families followed him there according to Broad, pp.85-6; but the 110th A.L.C., p.2., gives the impression that Heine followed the settlers; Clark, p.141, says they came from East Waimea. Some, however, were St. Pauli Germans: the names Benseman and Sixtus (Svetus) appear on tombstones in a small cemetery at Moutere.

77 Haast, op.cit., pp.37-8; Clark, p.141. An economic reason for Germans shifting from Waimea East to Sarau, see below p.38.

78 110th A.L.C., p.2, Heine to Col Sec., 14 Jul 1853, Col. Sec. 53/1177: Heine asked for help in bringing out relations of the Germans.

79 Millar, J. Halket: Beyond the Marble Mountain, p.103.

80 Haast, op.cit., p.37.

colony."[81] The Examiner welcomed the Germans with "unfeigned pleasure", and said that, "several on landing, immediately examined the soil and pronounced it suitable."[82] Fox mentions that vine growing was proving successful in 1848.[83] Clark thinks that hop-growing was started by the Germans.[84]

The Germans were among the first small-holders to have cattle in Nelson. In 1844 on one of the few farms started in the lower Waimea, one German had four milking cows and some heifers while others had bullock teams. One was making a cheese a day, 60 pounds of butter a week, and supplying Nelson with beef.[85] By 1859 most of the Germans at Sarau had raised themselves to a comfortable position and were making a reasonable living from horse and cattle breeding.[86] Proof of German farming success is given by Fox who witnessed their early efforts:

> The Messrs. Kelling have now one of the largest farms in Nelson in flourishing cultivation; they employ as many of the German hands as they can find work for, and the rest who remain in the Colony, are among the most prosperous of our small cultivators. 87

The St. Pauli and Skiold brought a larger proportion of agriculturally trained immigrants than the other ships that brought immigrants to Nelson.[88] The Germans in Nelson were noticeably better

81 Sec. to Capt. Wakefield, 8 Dec 1842, NZC 102/10, 81.
82 Examiner, 27 May 1843.
83 Fox to P.A., 17 Apr 1848, NZC 3/18, 6, encl 13.
84 Clark, op.cit., p.141.
85 12th Report, NZC, quoted by Clark, p.227.
86 Haast, pp. 37-8.
87 Fox to P.A., 26 Dec 1846, NZC 3/17, 3, encl 31.
88 Clark, p.141.

farmer pioneers than the English. Some time before 1859, "Some ... /from Ranzau/ had sold their well cultivated land there for £20 or £25 an acre and at Sarau bought land from the Government for ten shillings an acre, and were busy bringing it into cultivation."[89] English settlers bought the land which had been broken in by the Germans.

Speaking of the South Island in general, Clark considers the German settlers had a better attitude to the land than the English immigrants who were in the vast majority, and he thinks that a greater number of peasant settlers from N.W. Europe, or other yeomen farmers of that type, might have resulted in more land conservational practices in farming.[90] On the other hand they would not have provided the necessary capital and extensive farm development.

The Kelling brothers who were in charge of the Skiold Germans became owners of a sheep run, and Fedør had a political career. In 1849 the Company gave its land purchasers a re-selection of suburban and rural lands and the Kellings received a re-allocation. In 1850 they applied for a sheep run on the Moutere hills.[91] Fedor Kelling purchased 8,000 acres in Marlborough in 1855 and grazed 4,000 sheep. This was sold in 1877, and he purchased a smaller farm at Stanley Brook, Motueka. His son sold this in 1900 and returned to the property at Waimea East.

89 Haast, pp.37-8.
90 Clark, op.cit., p.158.
91 Bell to P.A., 23 Oct 1850, NZC 3/20, encl, 73; and sub-encl, Kellings to Court.

Fedor Kelling was a member of the Nelson Provincial Council from 1857 until 1876; and from 1859 to 1860 he was member for Waimea East in the House of Representatives.[92] In 1863 he went to Germany as an emigration agent. He became German Consul in 1869, but resigned after a time, finding there was little useful work attached to the office. The Emperor William I awarded him the Cross of the Order of the Crown.[93]

.. ..

The St. Pauli Germans formed the first Lutheran congregation in New Zealand.[94] The two missionaries sent by the North German Mission Society, Wohlers and Riemenschneider were directed to missionary work among the Maoris, and were succeeded in the pastoral care of the German Lutherans by two of the immigrants, Heine and Trost, called "yeoman" and "shoemaker" respectively in the Ship Return.[95] They first became schoolmasters. Heine was afterwards appointed pastor of the settlement by the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in his capacity of patron to the Skiold expedition. Trost followed Riemenschneider into the missionary field.[96]

92 Charlton, pp.62-3.
93 Broad, p.86.
94 110th A.L.C., p.2. The Lutheran Church of Nelson is still active today.
95 Col. Sec., Inwards Correspondence, 44/.
96 Fox to P.A., 1 Dec 1843, NZC, 3/13, 90, encl 15; Broad, p.85; 110th A.L.C., p.2.

The missionaries took an active part in the dispute with Beit who alleged that they were upstarts. It appears, however, that they were well-respected. Fox acknowledged their help in settling the Germans at Moutere. Heine maintained that if Beit had helped the German immigrants, none need have gone to the Moutere.[97]

On reaching Nelson the four missionaries went to the Mission Society's section selected in the Moutere Valley where they hoped to open a mission among the Maoris, but there were none living in the immediate vicinity, and those further afield were already provided for. Riemenschneider attended to ministerial duties on behalf of the Germans. Wohlers, assisted by Heine and Trost, made considerable progress in the cultivation of the section.[98] Thinking that they were not following their calling in this work, they moved away to more suitable fields for missions, except Heine, who remained in Nelson in charge of the Lutheran Church ans was ordained by Wohlers when he re-visited Nelson in 1849. A Lutheran Church was begun at the Moutere in 1844, but it was not completed before the settlers moved away. Heine moved to Nelson where the Lutherans used, for divine service, a house presented by Tuckett, who was himself a Quaker. The Government later granted a piece of land where a Lutheran Church was built. In 1850 Heine went to live in a new manse at Ranzau and subsequently a church was built.[99]

97 Heine to Fox, 13 Dec 1846, NZC 3/17, 2, sub-encl; 22 Dec 1846, 3/17, 3, sub-encl.
98 Fox to P.A., 1 Dec 1843, NZC 3/13, 90, encl 15.
99 110th A.L.C., p.2.

Within two or three years Heine again moved, this time to Sarau where he had selected a new mission section. A church was built. There were then churches, schools and parsonages at Moutere and Waimea East. In the 1860's and 1870's Pastor Heine's parish included Greymouth and Westport, the gold rush having brought Germans and other Lutherans to those places. The Rev. C.F. Meyer took over at Waimea East in 1866 but after his departure and the resignation of Heine in his old age, the two ministries were combined as the parish of Upper Moutere.[100]

The St. Pauli missionaries and one or two others formed a small group of Lutheran missionaries working in widely separated parts of New Zealand. Some became Anglican or Methodist, and one a martyr. Most outstanding was the Rev. Johann Friedrich Heinrich Wohlers, who was born in Hanover in 1811, of peasant stock. He studied at the Lutheran Mission School in Hamburg from 1837 until 1842, at the same time as Riemenschneider. He was ordained in 1842, shortly before leaving for Nelson.[101] He left that settlement in the Deborah on 6 March 1844, with Tuckett, who was looking for the site of a new settlement. He eventually chose it at Port Chalmers. While the ship was at Port Cooper, Wohlers and the Methodist missionary, Creed, started out to walk over the summit of the hills to Port Levy, but were lost in the mist. It was three days before they found their way back to the

100 Ibid.
101 Charlton, p.16.

ship, exhausted and very hungry.[102]

From Port Chalmers Tuckett proceeded south on foot, and the Deborah followed along the coast until bad weather forced her out to sea. When she called at Ruapuke Island, Wohlers decided to settle there and establish his mission. The Maoris gave him a friendly welcome.[103]

The island was the home of Tuhawaiki (Bloody Jack), and the inhabitants were reputedly dangerous but Wohlers became well-loved. Described as tactful, kindly and broad-minded, he allowed the use of the Anglican Prayer-book after a visit from Bishop Selwyn.[104] With Maori help, a small church was built in 1846. Wohlers was joined by Brother Honora from the North German Mission Society in 1849. In 1868 the government built a native school on Ruapuke, of which Wohlers took charge. He taught domestic arts and crafts, and encouraged the Maoris to grow wheat and potatoes.[105]

Wohlers worked at Ruapuke for forty-one years and was the first missionary to carry out extensive work in the far south.[106] He collected myths and legends of the southern Maoris and also sent observations on natural history to Haast.[107] Several papers about Maori subjects by him were published in the New Zealand Transactions. He died in 1885 at the age of 73, at Stewart Island. His autobiography was published in Dunedin

102 Hocken, pp.206-7, (extract from Tuckett's diary); J.F.H. Wohlers: Memoirs.
103 Hocken, p.52.
104 Southland News, 27 Dec 1837, Obituary: Wohlers.
105 Charlton, pp. 15-17.
106 110th A.L.C., p.2.
107 Charlton, p.17.

in 1895, a translation from the original German.[108]

Johann Carl Riemenschneider, son of a Bremen weaver, continued in charge of the church at Nelson for only a few months after the departure of Wohlers. He left in August 1844 for Taupo, visiting Rev. C.H. Schnaachenburg's Mokau Mission on the way. He stayed at Motukaramu until 1846, but finding he was in a Methodist Mission area he went to Taranaki, where he was joined by Trost. He remained at Warea until the Maori wars forced him to leave, and after a stay at Nelson, he took up work at Port Chalmers, possibly among the Germans who arrived during Vogel's immigration scheme.[109]

The well-known missionary, Rev. Carl Sylvius Volkner, came from Hesse-Cassel under the North German Mission Society in 1849. He joined the Church Mission Society and was ordained in 1860 and stationed at Opotiki in the Bay of Plenty, in 1862. His parishioners were converted to Hauhauism by the preacher Kereopa who carried the dried head of a Captain Lloyd from Taranaki.[110] Volkner took his wife and family to Auckland but insisted on returning to Opotiki where he was taken prisoner and put to death by hanging, followed by mutilation of his body and barbaric rites. This outrage helped turn many Maoris against Hauhauism and the Chief Ropata Te Wahawaha (Major Ropata) was largely responsible for their defeat.[111]

108 Hocken, p.43.
109 Charlton, pp. 17-20.
110 N.M. Taylor: Early Travellers in New Zealand, p. 508.
111 Charlton, pp. 21-2. Five persons implicated in the murder were hanged in 1868 but they were not the chief culprits: Rutherford, p.542.

George Adam Kissling from Württemberg was a missionary of the Reformed Lutheran Church who changed to the Church Mission Society while at his first post, in Liberia. He arrived in New Zealand in 1842 and served at Kawa Kawa, East Coast, Auckland and Parnell. He died in 1865, his last days being saddened by the death of his friend Volkner.[112]

The Reverend Corr Henry Schnaachenburg, from Hanover, started his career working for an English business firm in Australia, from where he was sent to New Zealand to purchase flax and timber. At Kawhia, where he settled, he became interested in the Methodist Church through the missionary, the Rev. J. Whitely. He worked at Mokau during which time he was ordained, and at Kawhia. When Riemenschneider visited him at Mokau their boat capsized on the river with the loss of all their possessions which they were carrying.[113] Because of the Maori Wars, Schnaachenburg moved to Aotea and then to Raglan, where he spent the rest of his life.[114]

112 Charlton, pp. 25-6.
113 Taylor, p. 356.
114 Charlton, pp. 26-27.

CHAPTER IV

The Years of Unorganized Immigration, 1850-1870

Between the organized immigration of the Company in the 'forties and that of the government in the 'seventies lay a period of free immigration. During the years 1861 to 1865 immigration reached a peak, though there was a large re-emigration. British emigration was comparatively slack at that time.[1] Between 1862 and 1870, 35 per cent or more of the net immigration was from Australia.[2] In the 'fifties the North Island, whose provinces then had larger populations than those of the south, was more favoured by immigrants. Government sponsored immigration went mainly to Auckland.[3] Other provinces appointed agents to recruit their own immigrants.[4]

In the 'sixties the pattern changed. The gold rushes brought shiploads of newcomers to Otago and the West Coast, and the South Island's population sprang ahead. The expansion of pastoralism kept Canterbury and the rest of the island from lagging far behind.

In this period there were no groups of German immigrants like those on the St. Pauli and Skiold.[5] Many Germans were emigrating

1 Carrothers, p.212.
2 Clark, p.144.
3 Borrie: see chap. on The Development of the South Island.
4 Carrothers, p.140.
5 The same development is seen on a larger scale in Australia where German migration lost its group character, except in Queensland; W.D. Borrie and D.R.G. Packer: The Assimilation of Immigrants in Australia and New Zealand, p.8.

from British ports at this time.[6] During the 'fifties the Germans were the largest non-British group coming into New Zealand.[7] By 1867 however, they were exceeded by almost twice as many Chinese.[8]

In Nelson, friends and relatives and other Germans came out to join their predecessors brought out by the New Zealand Company. Over 100 Germans living in Nelson were naturalised between 1851 and 1866, not including any of the St. Pauli and Skiold Germans, who were naturalised together in 1845.[9] Many of the Nelson Germans were farmers who came to join fellow countrymen already established and naturalized there. As an alien could not own land in New Zealand he was more particular about naturalization than a gold digger would be. This was the largest group naturalized in any province and in 1858 and 1861, Nelson had more Germans than any other province, there being almost 300 of German descent in the latter year,[10] and more came before 1870. By then however, Nelson almost certainly had not received as many Germans as Canterbury or Otago.

Nelson Germans naturalized in the period 1851 to 1866 included 10 farmers in the Moutere with their families amounting to 60 persons, a few names being the same as those of St. Pauli and Skiold settlers; 10 Germans in Waimea East, mainly labourers, and one schoolmaster, with

6 Carrothers, p.214.
7 In 1858 the population consisted of - British born, 36,443; New Zealand born, 18,702; Australian, 14,010; German, 463; United States, 306; French, 173; other foreign, 400; born at sea, 194; total N.Z., 59,328; Statistics of N.Z. 1858.
8 In 1867: Chinese 4,200; German 2,283; French 553; Other foreign 2,196. Note the increase in Germans from 463 in 1858, to 2,283 in 1867: Statistics of N.Z., 1867, quoted by Clark, p.144.
9 Nat.Ords., 1845, 1851-1853; Nat.Acts, 1854-1866.
10 See Appendix E.

their families amounting to 19 people; 23 in Nelson, no district designated, these including 10 musicians.[11] One of the Waimea East group, John Frederick Rose, arrived with his parents from Schwerein, Mecklenburg in 1857 at the age of six, and died in 1949 at the age of 98. The Rose family had been persuaded to emigrate to Nelson by the eldest son who had preceded them. They were among the first to re-settle in the Moutere. John Rose became a Takaka pioneer.[12]

The immigrants to Canterbury between 1850 and 1870 included a number of Germans, 224 coming between 1857 and 1870.[13] As there were already 91 in the province in 1858 this gives a total for Canterbury of over 300 for the period.[14] Between 1851 and 1866, 92 Canterbury Germans were naturalized, but 11 were Akaroa Germans of 1840.[15] Canterbury was second to Nelson in numbers of Germans in 1858, but in 1861 was exceeded also by Otago.

The Naturalization records cover barely a third of the Canterbury Germans. They record 40 German farmers in Canterbury by 1865: Hanoverians at Lincoln, and other groups at Woodend and Kaiapoi. One or two who lived at Rangiora and Oxford were naturalized. There were a score or so in

11 Nat.Ords., 1851-1853; Nat.Acts, 1854-1866.
12 Millar, pp. 100-102.
13 Clark, p.144.
14 Ibid: from 1857 to 1870, 13,766 British compared with 224 Germans.
15 Nat.Ords., 1851-1853; Nat.Acts, 1854-1866.

Christchurch and several in Timaru,[16] and other towns. They followed a variety of trades. Labourers and publicans, and some sawyers at Rangiora were most numerous.

Just north of Christchurch, at Marshland, a small number of Poles and East Prussians settled and began draining and cultivating the rich land. Relatives and other families from their original area were brought out in 1883, and many of the names remain, including Bolaski, Gottermeyer, Rogal, Shimanski. They became market gardeners and are known for their onion crops.[17]

Canterbury Germans bear out Lochore's contention that the majority of Germans coming to New Zealand were from the North German plains.[18] Hanover was well represented and Prussians were not uncommon. Unfortunately the Naturalization records often give only "German."[19]

At Oxford in 1856 there were two German sawyers on the Carleton run, one of whom, Friedrich Luers, later bought 38 acres in Oxford. There were other Germans there in the 'sixties, including Heinrich Meyer whose family is still in Oxford, Diedreik Zweibruck and

16 Katharine Seyb came to New Zealand from Kindenheim near Cologne in the 1850's, was employed by Haast, afterwards married Henry Acker and they owned 400 acres in the Levels district, Timaru. Her two brothers, Johann and Michael came to Canterbury in 1870. Michael ran away from the army when he was conscripted for the Franco-Prussian war, and went to live in the Timaru district where he had a large family. He had a dairy farm near Timaru and also contracted to build local roads. K. Seyb to author, 10 Jan 1954.

17 Clark, pp. 147-8.

18 R.A. Lochore: From Europe to New Zealand, pp. 59-60.

19 Lochore: From Europe to New Zealand, p.60, mentions so-called Prussians in Taranaki, Wairarapa and Canterbury who spoke Polish and regarded themselves as Poles. They seem to have come from Poznan and West-Prussia.

J.F. Dohrman.[20] Part of Waimate was called Germantown in the 'sixties. Only four Germans from there were naturalized.[21]

There were several well-known Germans in Christchurch. Wilhelm Schmidt owned Barretts Hotel and went home for a trip to Europe. He was a President of the Licensed Victuallers' Association and a Christchurch County Councillor from 1875 to 1892. Diedrich Kruse was a blacksmith at Papanui, but transferred to farming. He took a large part in raising money for the German Church and his name was one of the five on the foundation stone, November 1872. A member of the Avon Road Board, Papanui District School Committee, a director of the Papanui Saleyards Company and manager of the successful Harewood Road Steam Threshing Company, he had a large family and died in 1905, aged 76. The ship on which Kruse came out in 1856, the Isabella Hercus had a considerable number of Germans on board, one of whom became Kruse's first wife.[22]

John Ruddenklau spent three years in London before coming to Christchurch in 1856, and he took up land at Rangiora, then 200 acres at Cust. This he increased to 2170 acres. He belonged to various local bodies and died in 1896 aged 61.

John George Ruddenklau from Hesse Cassel went to London in 1851 and came to New Zealand in 1857. He started as a baker in High

20 Nat.Act: D.Dohrman from Germany, a farmer of Oxford; Franz Ulmrick was another Oxford settler who arrived later. He was a big powerful man who fought in the Franco-Prussian war. O.A. Gillespie: Oxford: The First Hundred Years, pp. 85, 88, 90-1.
21 Nat.Act 1865: three bushmen and a carpenter.
22 G.R. McDonald's German notes.

Street, and became a hotel owner. He held offices in the Licensed Victuallers' Association, and was a founder and director of the Canterbury Brewing, Malting and Distilling Company (1867). He was one of the founders of the Lutheran Church. He became a Christchurch City Councillor in 1866 and again in 1877, and was elected Mayor in 1881 and again unopposed for a second term. He was considered a very successful mayor. He bought part of Rangitata Island in 1883, 1,740 acres freehold and 4,000 leasehold. He went on a trip to Germany in 1873, and another in 1890 to England. He died in 1891 aged 62.[23]

When J.G. Ruddenklau and his wife returned from their visit to Germany in 1874 by the Rakaia, they brought with them Rev. Ludwig Lohr, the first pastor of the German Church at the corner of Worcester and Montreal Streets.[24] This was a simple wooden building erected in 1872 by the Germans of Canterbury, with the help of a grant of £200 from the Provincial Council.[25] The first service was held on 14 May 1874, the sermon and probably the whole service being in German. The church had a fine peal of bells presented by Emperor William of Germany, supposed to have been made from the metal of French guns captured in the Franco-Prussian War.[26] According to Haast they were removed and melted down at the time of the first World War, and were not made of gun metal.[27] Lohr returned to Germany in 1878 and before long the church closed down through lack of support.

23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Haast p.642.
26 G.R. McDonald's German notes.
27 Haast, op.cit., p.644.

In 1869 the Canterbury Provincial Government's emigration agent in London, being unable to find enough English emigrants, tried unsuccessfully to send out more Germans. Those already in Canterbury had shown that their kind made good settlers and farming pioneers, except at Oxford where some appear to have been Austrian and Moravian weavers and were not well adapted to pioneering.[28]

About three dozen or more Germans from Otago were naturalized between 1851 and 1866. They came from a variety of German states but those from the north predominated. A group of Germans, at Waikouiti from 1860 onwards, were from the north: Hamburg and Oldenburg. At Invercargill 25 German settlers, including labourers, tradesmen and two surveyors, were also naturalized.[29] Only one miner was among those naturalized. After 1860 miners came crowding to Otago, especially from Australia. They were of many different nationalities. The increase in Otago's population continued until, in 1869, it had the largest of any province. In the three years between 1858 and 1861 the German population of Otago rose from 20 to 194,and of the latter 184 were men; such discrepency in numbers between the sexes was common among new arrivals in Otago at that time.

With the discovery of gold on the West Coast the stream of immigration was partly diverted from Otago. By 1866 there were 20,000 miners on the coast.[30]

28 Gillespie, p.132; Clark, p.147.
29 One of the surveyors was Gerhard Mueller, see below p.77.
30 Borrie, see Chap. on Development of South Island.

They included many Germans, a large group living in Hokitika, the most important gold centre. There were other nationalities too. Italian, Greek, French, and other tongues could be heard in Hokitika at that time, as well as German.[31] Places prospected by Germans were German Gully near Hokitika, German Terrace in the Grey district and Dillmanstown.[32] Germans were mining on the coast until the 1880's.[33]

In the 1890's and about the turn of the century a cosmopolitan group of people used to gather at the house of a Greymouth tobacconist named Schroder, and his brother who were from South Germany. Most of the group were friends from gold-digging days. The conversation was in English or German, but besides Germans from widely different parts of Germany there were Danes, Swedes, a Norwegian, Poles, Austrians, Swiss and others. They had all come to the West Coast independently in the 'sixties to seek their fortunes, and some had come by way of Australia. They were probably drawn together by continental gregariousness and the bond of the German language which most of them knew.[34]

There were nearly as many Germans in the North Island as in the South, in the 'fifties but a greater proportion were town dwellers.

31 A.J. Harrop: The Romance of Westland, p.54.
32 AJHR, 1870, D 40, N 2; A.H. Reed: The Story of Canterbury, p.267.
33 Handbook of N.Z. Mines: contains the names of Germans with claims.
34 Information from Mr. Schroder, Director of Broadcasting; his grandfather was the tobacconist, a "hot-tempered 'black' German" from Wurttemberg or Stuttgart. His other grandfather, from Hamburg, lived at Hokitika.

The provinces of Hawkes Bay and Taranaki in their first years received negligible numbers, but in 1858 Auckland had more Germans than any other province except Nelson and Canterbury, and at Wellington there were also a number. They were a miscellaneous group including merchants, tradesmen, craftsmen and labourers, and a few retired naval officers. They were from all parts of Germany with perhaps a preponderance of Prussians in Auckland. One Aucklander was Dr. Carl Fischer, the homoeopathist mentioned in Haast's biography.[35]

In the North Island the 'sixties was a period of war and decreased immigration. Some Germans and German-Poles fought in the Maori Wars.[36] One group of German settlers including five Prussians, one Hanoverian and one other German farmer went with their families, totalling 37 people, to Rangitikei.[37] Charlton says that the Germans who settled at Pukepapa, near Marton in 1866 were from South Australia.[38] The Lutheran churches at Halcombe and Marton, which still survive, at times shared a Scandinavian pastor with the Danes and Norwegians who came to Hawkes Bay in the 'seventies.

.. ..

35 Haast, op.cit, passim. Another prominent Aucklander mentioned by Haast belongs to a later period. He was Carl Schmidt from Frankfurt, a brother-in-law of Julius Haast, was conductor of the Choral Society, a lecturer in music at Auckland University and a leader in musical circles in Auckland from 1881 to 1900. Haast, p.5.
36 The most famous foreigner was Major F. von Tempsky, a Pole.
37 Nat.Acts, 1862-4.
38 Charlton, op.cit. p.67. Halcombe was settled in the 'seventies.

Although this period is characterized by the unorganized nature of immigration, there were several schemes afoot for procuring groups of Germans. Most of these came to nothing. Julius Haast first came to New Zealand in 1858 carrying a commission from Willis, Gann and Company, English shipowners, to report on the prospects of a large-scale scheme of German immigration. It is likely that Haast's liberal opinions had made it advisable for him to leave Germany. One report by him to Willis and Gann is mainly concerned with the reasons for people emigrating from Germany. He speaks of misrule and oppression in the petty German states, high taxes and service in the German army for three, five, or even six years in some states. He mentions in particular the tyrannical government of the Hesse Electorate.[39] Haast expressed the opinion that Auckland held good prospects for German settlers, and found that British settlers in Auckland and Nelson approved of the idea of German immigration. Willis and Gann meanwhile published a handbook on New Zealand for German emigrants, but after that the matter was allowed to drop.[40]

In 1862 Godeffroy and Company of Hamburg and Sir George Grey corresponded about the introduction of Germans into New Zealand with the aim of establishing military settlements in Taranaki.[41]

39 Haast, p.6. Hesse was the home of Dieffenbach, a political refugee, see below, p. 57.
40 Haast, op.cit., pp. 5-6, 27, 31.
41 AJHR, I., 1862, D-1, Papers relative to the introduction of German Immigration to New Zealand; 1863, D-5 Re introduction of German Immigrants.

Similar terms were proposed to those on which Germans were taken to Kaffraria, South Africa. The Kaffrarian scheme was a failure. Two thousand men of the German Legion from the Crimean war were sent to South Africa as military settlers but they were unsuitable as colonists. Nearly all were unmarried and this proved a fatal handicap. Grey thereupon entered into a contract with Godeffroy and Son of Hamburg without the consent of the British government, for an immigration of German women to supply wives. The scheme was condemned by Lord Stanley and discontinued. Compensation had to be paid Godeffroy out of South African grants. Grey was recalled in 1859: he "exceeded his authority ... in introducing German civil immigrants into the Cape and in overspending the British Kaffrarian account".[42]

The Taranaki scheme was for 1,000 men to be settled in two villages. Fedor Kelling of Nelson was sent to Germany as Immigration Agent.[43] A site was chosen at Pikipara in Taranaki. The scheme was discontinued when the war started and Domett went out of office. In any case Godeffroys had not agreed to the proposed terms.[44] Kelling procured only one immigrant, his second wife.[45]

One group settlement eventuated although it could hardly be called successful in its early years. At Puhoi, North Auckland,

42 Rutherford, pp. 423, 361 ff., passim.
43 Nelson Institute: Kelling's commission signed by Alfred Domett, Colonial Secretary, 6 Jan 1863.
44 Charlton, pp. 63-5; G.H. Scholefield: The Making of A Nation, quoted in Charlton: loc.cit.
45 Millar, p.103. Another unsuccessful attempt to organize groups of German immigrants was that of the Canterbury Provincial Government in 1869, see above, p.51.

three parties of Bohemians totalling 200 persons arrived in 1863, 1866 and 1875, and took up land granted by the government. They were brought out by Captain Martin Krippner, an Austrian army officer who came to New Zealand as a settler in 1859. He did not do well as a farmer himself but believed the peasant people of his homeland would do so. The Bohemian immigrants, male and female, who paid their own passages, received 40 acres of land, and 20 acres for each child. After travelling by way of Hamburg, Altona and Liverpool the first party reached Auckland in 1863. Puhoi was a great disappointment to them. Their land was cut off from Auckland, having no access by road. It was broken, hilly country covered with bush. It must have been a blow to the settlement when Krippner formed a militia company to serve in the Maori wars, and most of the young men went away. Each was given 50 acres of good open land in the Waikato for his services.

Those at Puhoi faced hard work and privation but they measured up to the task extremely well. They became well-known even as far away as Auckland, for their dancing. The story of the settlement was one of slow painful progress and mutual help.[46]

46 D.V. Silk, A History of Puhoi.
James Cowan, Settlers and Pioneers, pp.36-9.

CHAPTER V

The Scientist-Explorers

Since the early days of colonization in New Zealand, when Dieffenbach made exploratory journeys in the North Island, there have been a number of German scientists, explorers and mountaineers. Two forerunners of these were the German naturalists Forster, father and son, who were with Cook on his second expedition. Sir Joseph Banks, the famous scientist of the first expedition, had intended to be with the second, but owing to arguments over the accomodation for scientists and their equipment on the ship he withdrew. The Forsters were then engaged. Their work was less successful than that of Banks and Daniel Solander.[1]

The visit of Dr. Ernst Dieffenbach to the Chatham Islands in his capacity of naturalist to the New Zealand Company has already been mentioned.[2] A native of Giessen, Hesse, he was a political refugee in the 'thirties. He completed his medical degree in Switzerland, and then went to England.[3] His wide scientific interests secured him the appointment of naturalist to the Company, and he was also surgeon on the Tory.[4] In New Zealand he made

1 S.H. Jenkinson: New Zealanders and Science, pp.10, 153. Dr. Forster's scientific work in New Zealand is included in his book, Observations made during a Voyage round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethnic Philosophy, published in London, 1778. The book appeared in the son's name, because Forster senior became involved in a dispute with the Admiralty in which he claimed the exclusive privilege of writing a history of the expedition, a dispute which ended in the Admiralty refusing him permission to write at all.

2 See above, p.13.

3 J.D. Pascoe: Great Days in New Zealand Exploration, p.20.

4 Sec. to P.A., 10 Oct 1840, NZC, 102/2, 93.

a number of short excursions before he embarked on extensive journeys in the North Island. First, in August 1839, came geological and botanical studies in the Marlborough Sounds, and observations on whales.[5] On arrival at Port Nicholson he made a sixteen day journey up the Hutt River in order to find out the extent of any fertile hinterland, and to make geological observations.[6]

Going to New Plymouth with Dicky Barrett, who was to purchase land there for the Company, he made the first ascent of Mt Egmont in December 1839, leaving from New Plymouth and ascending the Waiwakaiho River, and finally a ridge on the left bank of this stream. To do this he had to overcome a number of difficulties including Maori opposition to the desecration of a mountain which was "tapu". Arduous bush travel, and stormy weather caused his first attempt to fail. On the second, he left his two Maori companions praying at the snowline and completed the ascent with his European companion, Heberley, a whaler.[7] His estimate of the height is considered very accurate in the circumstances, being 8,839 feet as against 8,260 feet now calculated.[8] All this was accomplished before he went to the Chathams in the Cuba.

On his return, Dieffenbach landed at the Bay of Islands in October 1840. A letter to Colonel Wakefield from the Directors reports that

5 McNab, p.1.
6 Jenkinson, p.13.
7 W.G. McClymont: The Exploration of New Zealand, p.44.
8 Jenkinson, p.13.

they had received notice from Hanson in the Bay of Islands that he had advanced £50 to Dieffenbach in November. The Directors would accept the bill but they were disappointed at having so far received no geological or botanical specimens from the naturalist.[9] If they doubted the value of Dieffenbach's services as a scientist they were mistaken, for his journeys, and his record of them,[10] show he was an enthusiastic and capable botanist, geologist and anthropologist. His accounts reveal a greater interest in, and understanding of, the Maori race and the problems of European contact and settlement than was evident in the writings of other travellers of that time. He had a concern for their well-being equal to that of the missionaries. He admired the efforts of the missionaries to help their Maori converts.

Hanson told the Directors that Dieffenbach's aim was to traverse the North Island from the Bay of Islands to Port Nicholson, but he returned to Auckland from Taupo. Before undertaking this journey to the centre of the North Island, he made a trip up and down North Auckland studying geological formations, and observing with sorrow that the bush was being burnt off by the settlers in a harmful fashion. His companion was Captain Burnard, a Frenchman.[11]

His greatest journey was with Captain Symonds, and often with a large number of Maoris whose customs and habits he observed at every

9 Sec. to P.A., 3 Aug 1841, NZC 102/5, 151.
10 E. Dieffenbach: Travels in New Zealand.
11 Jenkinson, pp. 13-4.

opportunity. At first they followed the west coast until they reached Kawhia. Turning inland they came down from the top of Mount Pirongia to the mission station at Otawhao (Te Awamutu) on the Waipa in April 1841. On Pirongia Dieffenbach boiled water to find the altitude, calculating it as 2,428 feet, 728 feet too low. From this point he also described the Waipa valley stretching from north, on his left, to south, with its few clumps of bush, some of the trees having been burnt.[12]

From Otawhao he followed the Maori track up the Waipa and so to Taupo, where he arrived in May 1841. He was not a pioneering explorer at Taupo, having been preceded by Chapman, a missionary; J.C. Bidwill, a naturalist; B.Y. Ashwell, Henry Williams and James Buller, missionaries, all of whom visited the lake in 1839. A Scandinavian named Powers, a captive of the Taupo Maoris, was probably the first European there in 1831. Dieffenbach followed the route of Ashwell and Buller.[13] Near Taupo he came across the first hot springs and boiling pools he had seen.[14]

The importance of Dieffenbach's visit to Taupo and the Rotorua area lies in the fact that he made the first detailed and accurate scientific observations of the thermal regions. Bidwill had confined himself to natural history. Dieffenbach regretted that

12 Pascoe, Great Days, pp. 21-2.
13 McClymont, p.46.
14 Pascoe, Great Days, p.23.

Bidwill had disregarded the Maori tapu on Mount Ngauruhoe and had climbed it, because he was unable to persuade the Maoris to relax the "tapu" for himself. They had been angered by Bidwill's evasion.[15] Dieffenbach would only climb with their permission, having great respect for Maori customs. The craters of Mount Tongariro would have interested him most, but he had to be content with visiting the environs of the volcanoes, including Lake Roto-aira, and examining the fumeroles and hot springs at the southern end of Lake Taupo. His enthusiasm for science led him to taste the thermal waters and tread dangerously on the mud crust of hot pools, trustingly following his Maori guides. Jenkinson says Dieffenbach's scientific account of thermal activity at Lake Taupo is very thorough and accurate.[16] His visit to the lake was marked by cordial relations with the Maoris, for whose opinions he always showed respect even when doubting them privately.[17]

Turning north along the east coast of Taupo he again noted the destructive effect of burning the bush and this time had some adverse comments to make on missionary influence, particularly about sectarian rivalries.[18] From the Waikato outlet, he and Symonds travelled to Lake Roto-mahana, his being the first scientific description of the pink and white terraces and Lake Tarawera. At Rotorua he stayed with the Anglican missionary, Chapman, and made an examination of the thermal area. He

15 McClymont, p.42.
16 Jenkinson, op.cit. p.14.
17 Pascoe, Great Days, p.24.
18 Ibid., p.25.

followed on from here out to the coast and visited Tauranga and Matamata before returning to Auckland.

Dieffenbach left New Zealand in October 1841 shortly after completing this journey. His Travels were published in London in 1843. The first volume contained an account of his travels and scientific work, and the second was devoted to a description of the Maori race, a grammar and dictionary of Maori compiled by himself, and a section on New Zealand animals by a British scientist.[19] Dieffenbach died at the age of forty-four in 1855, shortly after having been allowed to return to Germany as a supernumerary professor of geology.[20]

The Company settlements in New Zealand were often established so hurriedly that settlers were beginning their work when exploration and survey had hardly begun. Nevertheless the surveyors were responsible for much new exploration and scientific observation, an important part of which was played by Dieffenbach.

Another German visitor, in 1855, was Dr. Schmidt, who was granted £100 by the Otago Provincial Government for exploration of the province, particularly the south-western part, with the object of finding a route to the west coast. Schmidt held the theory that New Zealand had once been connected with South America and hoped to find evidence to support it.[21]

19 Jenkinson, p.15.
20 Pascoe, Great Days, p.26.
21 Jenkinson, pp.6-7.

However, having no knowledge of bush travel he underestimated the difficulty of his route. He was deserted by his two Maori companions and his fate was never discovered.[22]

In Otago and Canterbury much original exploration of the mountainous regions was carried out by sheepmen, or squatters, looking for suitable country in which to take up runs. The first of these to reach Lake Wakatipu were W.G. Rees and Paul von Tunzelmann, a Balt. In 1860 they left Moetahi in a party of six and crossed the Lindis Pass. Trouble was experienced in crossing the Clutha. On their second attempt from Wanaka they crossed the Crown Range, from the crest of which they saw a lake.[23] They drew lots to determine the location of their runs, Rees drawing the eastern side and von Tunzelmann the western shore. They retraced their steps over the Crown Range and down the Cardrona valley. Both were exhausted and half-starved when they reached Wilkins but were satisfied that they had discovered new land for sheep.[24] Tunzelmann obtained a lease to land extending from the west side to the west coast. Afterwards he gained access to the run from Southland, reaching the lake by the Von River which perpetuates his memory in the area.[25] The run is no longer in the hands of his descendants.

Late in 1858, an Austrian scientific expedition travelling around the world in the Novara, arrived in Auckland. Among the scientists was

22 Hocken, pp. 164-6.
23 McClymont, pp. 127-30.
24 Irvine Roxburgh: Wanaka Story, p. 31-2. Rees was a very well-known resident at Wakatipu during the next twenty years.
25 Robert Gilkison: Early days in Central Otago, p. 14, 18.

Dr. Ferdinand von Hochstetter, a geologist, who was commissioned to examine the coalfields near Auckland. This occupied him until the beginning of 1859. He was invited by the New Zealand Government to stay in New Zealand and study the geology of the Auckland province. There followed a journey to the mouth of the Waikato River, where he found some important fossils, and another in North Auckland. The Provincial Government provided him with a house in Auckland, which became a museum of plants, rocks and fossils collected by him.

Having met Dr. Julius Haast[26] who was also newly arrived in Auckland, and become very friendly with him, Hochstetter gained official sanction for Haast to accompany him in his work. They went together on a long journey during which they made a geological survey of the thermal regions. Dieffenbach's work was now out of date, and a more comprehensive survey was necessary. Leaving Auckland in March 1859, they reached Kawhia by way of the Waikato and Waipa Rivers, and found fossils there. They continued along the coast to Mokau before turning inland to Taupo. Detailed topographical and geological work was carried on from here to the Bay of Plenty. Hochstetter made one camp on a small thermal island in Lake Roto-mahana, and recorded his impressions of the grandeur of the scenery. The large expedition, with its numerous Maori porters, finally visited the Thames valley and returned to Auckland.[27]

26 See below, p. 66.
27 Jenkinson, pp. 26-30.

The work was very thorough, in the German tradition. Hochstetter's book was published in German in 1863, and in English in Stuttgart in 1867, with the title New Zealand. A smaller book, Geology of New Zealand, written in conjunction with A. Petermann, was published in Auckland. It is interesting to note that Hochstetter believed that Ngauruhoe, from which only steam was issuing at the time of his visit, would not become active again. However, it has since shown several periods of greater activity.[28]

Hochstetter and Haast were next invited to carry out a survey in the Nelson province, which then seemed likely to lead in the production of minerals. Hochstetter examined the northern part of the province including the goldfields at Takaka and Aorere. He considered that these would yield for many years and that more discoveries would be made in the main ranges of the island. He also discovered workable coal near Collingwood. Moa bones located in limestone caves at Aorere were of particular interest to Haast. Although Hochstetter remained only a short time in Nelson his work was much appreciated there, as it had been in Auckland.

Hochstetter's work was of paramount importance in establishing the foundations of the geological history of New Zealand. His contributions to theory included observations on the relation of New Zealand to lines of elevation in the Pacific Ocean and the corresponding position of plutonic and volcanic eruptions. He found supporting

28 Taylor, p. 472.

evidence for Agassiz's theory of analogies of fossils in older formations throughout the world. He included summaries of New Zealand flora and fauna in his book. An unsympathetic attitude to the "doomed" Maori race is found in his chapter on Maoris.[29] Of Hochstetter, Julius Haast wrote,

> [His] labours in New Zealand had drawn closer together the bond between English and German colonists. German science combined with German thoroughness and perseverence had won recognition at the Antipodes, which is all the more noteworthy as the English in general, especially in the field of practical science, value only that which proceeds from their own countrymen. 30

Haast's son and biographer writes that although that was largely true, Haast was to find his own work readily appreciated in England.[31]

Julius Haast was born in Bonn in 1824 and studied geology under Roemer, Goldfuss, Bischof and vom Roth, famous geologists at the university of Bonn. The experience in geological field-work which he gained during extensive travels in Europe, and his special studies at Vesuvius and Etna stood him in good stead in his geological work in New Zealand. Arriving in Auckland on 21 December 1858, ostensibly as an immigration agent,[32] he was immediately drawn into exploration and scientific work in Auckland and Nelson, through his meeting with Hochstetter.

29 Jenkinson, pp.30-1.
30 Haast, p.41.
31 Haast, op.cit., p.41.
32 See above, p.54.

When Hochstetter left, the Nelson Provincial Government engaged Haast to continue the geological exploration of the province. He was commissioned to investigate the southern portion which then included part of Westland. His purpose was to discover any workable minerals, passes and suitable routes by which such fields could be opened up. His report to the Provincial Government was a fairly comprehensive survey, containing, in addition, botanical and zoological notes. Haast was interested and proficient in both these sciences.

The field work for this report entailed a long and arduous journey, at one stage of which provisions ran so low that the daily rations for each man consisted of two small pots of flour. The travelling was extremely difficult, but during the eight months spent in the field a great amount of data was collected. Haast discovered the coal deposits, now known as the Buller coalfield, on which Westport's mining industry is based. On examining the deposits located by Brunner in the Grey valley, Haast pronounced them to be of good quality, not lignite which had been discovered in many parts of the province. Traces of gold were found in many rivers.[33]

Late in 1860 Haast was invited by W.S. Moorhouse, Superintendent of Canterbury, to make a geological examination of the hills separating Lyttelton and Christchurch. Work had been started on the railway tunnel

33 Jenkinson: pp. 36, ff.

to link port and plains. The contractors had abandoned the work on finding themselves confronted with very hard basalt, and dykes of even greater resistance. In December 1860 Haast made a study of the Port hills along the tunnel section, and as a result of his report, work on the tunnel was resumed.

The Canterbury Provincial Government then decided to institute a survey. Haast was appointed provincial geologist, remaining in that position from 1862 to 1868, when work on the survey was closed. He was, at the beginning of the period, thirty-eight years of age and into the next six years was crowded his most active exploratory work. It began with an expedition to the headwaters of the Rangitata and Ashburton Rivers in 1862, during which Dr A. Sinclair, the botanist accompanying him, was drowned in the Rangitata near Mesopotamia Station.[34] New tributaries, and glaciers, and paleozoic fossils were discovered by Haast.

Other explorations followed. Coal was found in the Kowai valley during an examination of Mt Torlesse and the Malvern hills. Geological work and gold seeking were conducted in the upper reaches of the Waitaki, including the country around Lakes Tekapo, Pukaki and Ohau. This led him to preliminary exploration, "rather gingerly";[35] of the glaciers and mountains of the Mount Cook region.

34 Ibid, p.20.
35 Taylor, p. 390.

In 1863 he made a crossing from Otago to Westland by the Haast Pass. Following on down to the sea he established a route which was to have importance in the distant future as the route of the first road between the two provinces.[36] Haast was not the first to reach this pass. It was known to the Maoris, whose ancient track follows the Makarora River from the head of Lake Wanaka. Up the west bank it travels high above the bluffs. It seems likely that a nearby pass was preferred by them. It is gained by turning left up the tributary Blue River, ten miles from the lake. This was known as Maori pass in the map drawn by Haast. Other passes from the Makarora may also have been used by the Maoris.[37]

J.H. Baker and his companion, E.Owen, reached the saddle before Haast. They appear to have been the first Europeans to stand on the pass. Baker stated that he climbed a tree on the pass. As he was looking for open grass country for sheep, he was not interested in the panorama of bush, mountain and river that met his eyes. He and his companion did not proceed onto the western side of the divide.[38]

Charles Cameron probably reached the pass in January 1863, immediately before Haast did so.[39] He ascended a mountain to the west of it where he built a cairn, and he had a good view of the

36 Haast proved he could face hardships cheerfully on this trip: "Several miserable and sleepless nights were spent, cheered somewhat by the stories and songs of which Haast knew dozens. He sang until he was hoarse." Roxburgh, p.74.
37 Ibid, pp. 17-8.
38 Ibid, pp. 32, 37, 271-2.
39 The Canterbury Mountaineer, Oct 1962: "Cameron ... claimed to have discovered Haast Pass before Haast did, but his claim was disallowed."; p.85, Roxburgh,pp. 71, 271.

river flowing towards the coast. He believed he had discovered a good route to the west. His provisions were low, so he returned the way he had come. He may have crossed the Maori Pass, not the Haast. The surveyor, T.N. Broderick, and J.H. Baker found the cairn in 1881, and named the peak Mt Cameron. Cameron afterwards claimed to have followed the Awarora (Haast) River to the sea but this may be discounted.[40]

After the Haast Pass trip there followed a visit to the Franz Joseph Glacier, exploration of the upper Rakaia and the Waimakariri Rivers, and excavations of moa remains in the valley of the Waipara River. Haast had great energy and he explored and carried out geological surveys of extensive areas for several months at a time. He always returned laden with botanical and very numerous geological specimens. He compiled the first comprehensive map of Canterbury, published in 1870. He was full of enthusiasm for the alpine region.

> He gave more than 100 names, commemorating his illustrious contemporary scientists of the nineteenth century - geologists, physicists, botanists, zoologists, geographers, pioneers and explorers. Haast did not claim that his map was more than 'a reconnaissance survey', and as he anticipated at the time, in due course corrections were made, and names of hundreds of additional features were added. 41

Features named by Haast include the Godley, Tasman, Murchison, Hooker, Mueller, Reischek, and Franz Joseph Glaciers; the Hochstetter Dome,[42] Mounts La Perouse, Sefton, Elie de Beaumont, de la Beche, Haidinger, Darwin,

40 Roxburgh, pp. 138, 271.
41 The Canterbury Mountaineer, Oct 1962, p.83.
42 Sometimes written "Dom".

Malte Brun, D'Archiac, Goethe, Kinkel and many others, and the Arrowsmith, Agassiz, Liebig and Moorhouse Ranges to name some of the better known ones.[43]

In Christchurch Haast's work went on. There were lectures, classification of specimens, and papers written for leading science publications of the world. He was one of the founders of the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury. He compiled maps of the province and constructed a geological profile of Lyttelton from inside the tunnel.

The Geology of Canterbury and Westland, (1879), is Haast's record of his exploring years which ended in 1868. In 1870 he became curator of the Canterbury Museum, where he housed collections. He was dissuaded by Hector, the director of the colonial geological survey, from sending a large series of fossils to Europe for examination in 1878, but it was not until 1907 that a palaeontologist was appointed to study them. By that time there were about forty tons of material gathered by various individuals and expeditions.

Haast's most important contributions to scientific theory included a reconstruction of glacial activity in the South Island during the Ice Age, and an attempt to explain the volcanic activity of Banks Peninsula. He also proved by much evidence, the existence of an early race of moa hunters.

43 The Canterbury Mountaineer, Oct 1962, pp. 83-7; and Oct 1963, pp.155-7.

The later years of Haast's life were devoted to the museum. He became the first Professor of Geology at Canterbury College in 1876. He was honoured by many of the great scientific societies of Europe. The royal medal of the Royal Geographical Society was awarded to him in 1884, and he was made a K.C.M.G. in 1886. He had received the hereditary distinction of the prefix "von" in 1876. He died in 1887.

With Sir James Hector and Professor F.W. Hutton, Sir Julius von Haast is one of the outstanding men who assisted the development of science in New Zealand, during the period when the provincial and central governments initiated scientific exploration and survey.[44]

Haast had some detractors, among them C.E. Douglas, the Westland explorer. Douglas respected Haast's geological knowledge but claimed that he failed to give due credit to other explorers. The particular case which Douglas quoted concerned the first European crossing of the Haast pass. Douglas thought that Haast had met Cameron and received information about the pass before crossing it himself. Douglas wrote, "To Dr Haast who did leave an account of his journey and roughly laid off the country, all credit must be due. Here I would give a little advice to Scientific explorers, especially to the German brand of the species, and that is make some slight acknowledgment that you do get information from the inhabitants who live about the country."[45]

44 Jenkinson, pp. 36-47 on Haast.
45 J.D. Pascoe: Mr. Explorer Douglas, p.22.

He also condemns Haast, or "someone for him", for the naming of the Haast River, which was the Awarua or Awarora. Roberts, the surveyor, shared Douglas' feelings. He regretted that Haast had ignored the work of Leonard Harper, and he despised Haast for having a man carry him over rivers, "... so when my turn came, I just stumbled and dowsed him and - and he never would trust me again."[46]

The naturalist Andreas Reischek was an Austrian visitor who came to New Zealand for two years, but remained for twelve. Although largely forgotten he was one of the keenest natural scientists in New Zealand in the nineteenth century. He was a taxidermist from Vienna. Ferdinand Hochstetter discovered his abilities and sent him to Haast to arrange the newly built museum in Christchurch.[47]

In New Zealand, Reischek arranged collections, starting at Christchurch, and also working in the Auckland and Wanganui museums and on a large number of private collections. During these working periods he saved money for his travels, which became his real occupation. He made eight lengthy expeditions and many smaller ones, often with no other companion than his well-trained dog, Caesar, but sometimes with an eccentric helper named Dobson.

On his first small expedition to Little River Reischek was given a small greenstone axe by the Maoris. This was the start of his great collection of Maori artifacts and natural specimens. In the epilogue

46 Roberts to Harper, 23 Aug 1893, quoted by Pascoe, Douglas, p.50
47 A. Reischek: Yesterdays in Maoriland, p.8.

to his book by his son a description of his collection from the Vienna museum's annals is quoted, "The significance of this collection lies in the ethnographical and zoological sections. The first includes 453 specimens from New Zealand and must be the last great collection of Maori objects to reach Europe ... The ornithological objects total 3,016 specimens."[48]

His travels started in the Arthur's Pass and Lake Brunner region. In the Rakaia valley the Reischek Glacier was named after him by Haast. He then went to the North Island for six years. He visited Kaipara and North Wairoa, other parts of North Auckland and Coromandel, and islands off the east coast of Auckland. He made extensive journeys in the King country when no other white men were allowed there. Sometimes he had to resort to stealth to retrieve Maori artifacts which were "tapu". These included fine stone tools and carvings in the remains of an old pa, and four Maori mummies.[49] At other times the Maoris lifted the "tapu" for him.

His interest in the Maoris exceeded that of Dieffenbach. He soon learnt their language and he sympathized with them in their conflict with the pakeha. He was not a lover of civilization and preferred the old New Zealand of the Maori. He wished to preserve our forest and bird life but regarded this as hopeless.

48 Ibid p. 308.
49 Ibid., pp. 63-7, 215-6.

In 1884 he returned to the South Island to explore Fiordland. Sir James Hector, his "friend and patron", helped him by obtaining the consent of the government to his travelling on government steamers. While in Wellington on his way south he met Sir Walter L. Buller and became the permanent correspondent of the ornithologist, who included a number of Reischek's observations in his book of birds of New Zealand.[50] He spent five winter months of hardship at Dusky Sound. Next he was at Wanganui, and again in Fiordland in 1886. There he discovered and named some lakes, including Lake Hector and Lake Caesar. He was on the West Coast at a cattle station at Paringa for six months, and he then went with the government steamer, Stella, on her annual tour to provision depots in the sub-Antarctic Islands. Back in Wanganui in 1888, he began his last big expedition, during which he made a solo ascent of Mt Ruapehu. He then proceeded by way of Taupo to Rotorua and back to Auckland. He left there on 20 February 1889 to return to Vienna.[51]

Reischek found leaving New Zealand a very difficult parting. He belongs to the ranks of true explorers and his delight in New Zealand landscapes and in the discovery or rediscovery of the land's

50 Ibid., pp. 229, 231.

51 During his journeys he met a number of Germans. On arrival in Bluff he heard of Wohlers and sent him greetings by a Maori. At Christchurch there was von Haast and others. He also met Mrs Neave of Rakaia Forks station who had been a Baroness von Rosenburg, born in Dresden. Mr Harders, a Holsteiner, lived at Te Kopuru on the Wairoa River, North Auckland, and was probably a timber merchant or timber worker. Two Austrian gold diggers worked in the Coromandel. Hemera te Rerehau, whom he met in the Mokau district, was a Maori chief who had been a friend of Hochstetter, and visited Vienna. He was " an embittered enemy of the English" (Reischek passim.)

features can be found throughout his book. He enjoyed living among the Maoris in the North and on sheep and cattle stations in the South, or in the solitary bush of both islands. He endured a great deal of hardship. His resources were meagre and he was often alone. He suffered several accidents and on one occasion a station owner's wife operated on him to remove bone splinters from his head.

Reischek was above all an ornothologist and his descriptions of the habits of native New Zealand birds in their natural surroundings are among the best parts of his book.[52] He obtained specimens of a number of rare birds including the giant woodhen, two species of saddle-back starling, the Alpine kiwi, the ti-ora,[53] and the mountain kakapo. In the mountains of the West Coast near the source of the Paringa River he thought he heard the notornis but was unable to discover it. He discovered new species of puffin on the Moro-tiri Islands off Auckland, a parakeet which he called after Hochstetter and a ground lark on the Antipodes Islands.

Reischek had hoped that the Imperial Museum in Vienna would purchase his collection, but after much delay and controversy, a number of his countrymen subscribed to present it to the museum. In the meantime he refused tempting offers from abroad, especially from England, in order that the collection could be housed in his homeland. He died on April 3, 1902.[54]

52 Reischek: passages on the kiwi, kakapo, weka and others are found in Chap XIV.
53 Reischek: Chap VI, The Search for the Ti-ora.
54 Reischek: passim.

A Danish-German immigrant in Invercargill in the early 'sixties was Gerhard Mueller. He was born in 1835 in Germany where his father, a Dane, was Professor of Mathematics at Darmstadt University. The son was talented, being an outstanding mathematician, linguist, pianist and athlete. In 1853 he emigrated to the United States, via England. In America, and later in Australia he worked at many different jobs and tried his luck in the goldfields. Meeting with little success in Australia he left for New Zealand.

Following advice received from a friend in Auckland he went to Invercargill and studied for a surveyor's certificate. He was aided by F.H. Geisow with whom he went into partnership. He became a British subject. In 1862 he married Elizabeth Bannatyne McArthur. Business declined in Southland and he went to the West Coast, first surveying the Native Reserves under contract, and then becoming first District Surveyor of South Westland in 1866 with headquarters at Okarito.[55]

Mueller met the explorer Charles Douglas in 1866, and shared with him an interest in flora and fauna, as well as in exploration. In 1871 he became Chief Surveyor for Westland and moved to Hokitika but he went south annually to accompany Douglas on exploratory trips. Douglas taught him bush-craft. Some of Mueller's journeys included explorations of the Waipara,[56] the Haast, the Cascade and Gorge Rivers

55 Mueller, G: My Dear Bannie, pp.16-21; Nat.Act 1860, Mueller and Geisow were naturalized.

56 Classical and nautical names such as Main Royal, Stargazer and Moonraker were given to the mountains by Douglas and Mueller: The New Zealand Alpine Journal, No.37, (1950), pp. 283-5, quoted by Pascoe in Douglas, p.86.

near Aspiring, the south-western coastline to Martin's Bay, the Arawata and Waiatoto, and the Clarke and Landsborough Rivers.[57] He and Douglas ascended the beautiful peak Ionia, a major mountaineering feat in 1885.[58]

Mueller did not believe in bestowing German names on features. German naming was wrongly attributed to him by A.P. Harper. "In his own affairs he had no love for things German, except for his own family and his university masters; and taking, as he did, his naturalization very seriously, he would not bestow Austrian or German names on anything British."[59] His naming of many peaks after New Zealand surveyors has left a string of unimaginative names on the main divide.[60]

As a surveyor Mueller was responsible for the efficient triangulation of the West Coast, beginning the work himself: ..."the present system of survey, whose introduction is due to Mr Mueller, is a sound and practical one, the plans and records based on it being reliable; with the limit of error possible in such a rough country, where surveying is little better than underground "driving"."[61] He made a mistake in his estimate of the possibilities of mountaineering, writing of one peak, "Eros no mortal man will ever ascend the top of."[62] The enormous

57 Pascoe, Great Days, Chap 14: Gerhard Mueller of the Landsborough.
58 The first or second ascent. Douglas may have climbed it previously; see Pascoe, Douglas, pp. 37-8.
59 Mueller, p.220.
60 Pascoe: Great Days, p.132.
61 AJHR 1877, Vol.2, H17, State of the Surveys, quoted by Pascoe, Douglas, p.26.
62 Annual Report of the Crown Lands Department, 1884-5, quoted by Pascoe: Notes on C.E. Douglas.

advances made later in the technique of mountaineering could not be forseen then. Mueller became Commissioner of Crown Lands, Westland, in 1885. In 1891 he moved to Auckland to be Commissioner there, and later Assistant Surveyor-General.[63]

.. ..

In the mountainous areas of the South Island the names Haast, Hochstetter and Mueller are commemorated in pass, mountain and lake.[64] Mount Tasman's northern outlier, Mount Lendenfeld, is named after an early mountaineering visitor to New Zealand. Like Rev. W.S. Green, who made a famous attempt on Mount Cook in 1882, Lendenfeld stimulated New Zealanders' interest in their own mountains. He climbed Hochstetter Dome from the upper Tasman glacier in 1883. Although not a difficult climb it takes its place among the early mountaineering exploits in New Zealand, when travelling to the base of big peaks was itself an adventure.[65] Lendenfeld was not only a climber but also carried out geological and topographical work.

Among the German-Swiss guides who climbed in New Zealand were Green's two guides, Emil Boss and Franz Kaufmann. In the 'nineties

63 Mueller, p.214.
64 But Mt. Mueller and the Mueller Glacier were named after Baron Ferdinand von Mueller, botanist, explorer, and first director of the Melbourne botanical gardens: Mueller, p.220, f.n.1; The Canterbury Mountaineer, Oct 1963, p.156.
65 Pascoe: Notes on C.E. Douglas.

came the British climber E.A. Fitzgerald, bringing Mathias Zurbriggen with him. Fitzgerald's book tells much about Zurbriggen and has some amusing etchings of him in awkward situations. At such times he spoke German in a forcible manner. Together these two made many fine first ascents in the Mount Cook region.[66] After Fitzgerald had left, Zurbriggen made the second ascent of Mount Cook in 1895, by a new route now known as the Zurbriggen ridge.[67]

Another German-speaking Swiss who features in the early years of the exploration of the Southern Alps was Jakob Lauper, who made the first crossing of Whitcombe Pass,[68] from the Rakaia to the West Coast with Henry Whitcombe in 1863. They had food for only fourteen days. The gorges on the West Coast side, combined with bad weather, slowed them almost to a standstill. Reaching the coast by the Hokitika River, they set off north to the Grey, but Whitcombe was drowned when they attempted to cross the Taramakau River at its mouth. Lauper was barely recognizable when at length he staggered back to Canterbury by the track through Harpers Pass.[69] His account of the journey was written in German.[70]

Mount Teichelmann, on the main divide just south of Mount Tasman, perpetuates the name of a New Zealander, of German ancestry on his father's side. Dr E. Teichelmann (1859-1939) was a medical practitioner

66 E.A. Fitzgerald: Climbs in the New Zealand Alps, passim.
67 N.Z. Alpine Journal: (1953) No.40.
68 Butler's pass to Erewhon.
69 McClymont: p.164; A.H.Reed, pp. 244-6.
70 Pascoe, Douglas, p.216.

in Hokitika, whose great interests in life were mountaineering and photography, especially on the West Coast. In the first decade of the twentieth century he climbed many of New Zealand's highest peaks for the first time, and explored unknown alpine regions.[71]

71 Pascoe, Douglas, p.61.

CHAPTER VI

German Immigrants in the Vogel Period

In the decade 1860 to 1870 immigration was uncontrolled, but in the first part of that period the goldfields drew more newcomers than any immigration policy before 1945.[1] Otago grew rapidly, Canterbury steadily, on a farming basis. The provinces had difficulty in carrying out any sustained immigration policies.[2] Otago and Canterbury achieved some successful settlement programmes, but none of the provinces could compete with the central government which, before 1865 when the capital was shifted to Wellington, spent money freely to obtain settlers for Auckland. The North Island provinces were, however, seriously retarded by the Maori Wars.[3]

In the late 'sixties immigration declined, and New Zealand was failing to attract many immigrants from the British Isles or Australia. Although still very much in the pioneering stage, New Zealand held opportunity for the small farmer who was prepared to work hard and who had a little capital. Education, towns and business life were beginning to develop. The provincial governments paid more attention to the regulation of conditions on ships and the problems of isolation than the colonial government was to do after 1870. But the greater opportunities and easier accessibility of Canada and the United States,

1 Net Immigration 1861-5, 93,169; 1866-70, 20,536; 1871-5, 81,946; 1876-80, 54,787. Carrothers, p.318.
2 Borrie, see chap. The Development of the South Island.
3 Ibid.

the relatively hard work required to make good in New Zealand and the onset of depression from 1866 to 1870 resulted in the decline in immigration in the second half of the decade. This was accentuated by the weakness and unco-ordinated nature of the provincial immigration policies, and the failure of the general government to produce an immigration scheme for the whole country.[4]

In 1870 the central government adopted Vogel's public works and immigration scheme, and New Zealand entered on a period of rapid expansion. Large sums were spent on railways and the national debt rose from £7 million in 1870, to £26 million in 1880. Immigration was centralized and more vigorously promoted. Between 1871 and 1881 the population nearly doubled. Land values rose, the influx of miners was resumed, industries and towns grew, and speculation in land and business flourished.[5] Vogel, with the assistance of various groups dissatisfied with the provincial system overthrew the provinces in 1876, and the government was centralized.

When the Government turned to the promotion of immigration, the need for immigrants could not be met from the British Isles, whose emigration had fallen off since the early 'fifties.[6] In 1869 the Premier, Fox, who was in favour of group settlements, wrote to the Immigration Commissioners in London that:

4 Borrie, see beginning of chap. on Vogel period.
5 Carrothers, pp. 209-10.
6 Ibid., p. 207.

> ... Suitable settlers from Continental countries would be highly prized. Germans especially have been found to be valuable colonists. They keep together, and readily form associations. I think you would be able to obtain advantageous offers in respect to German immigrants, and I desire to direct your attention to them. 7

German immigration in the 'seventies, however, was exceeded by Scandinavian. The German Imperial Government's restriction of emigration made recruitment of emigrants difficult. Swedes, Norwegians and Danes were easier to obtain and proved well adapted to pioneering bush work. German and Scandinavian immigration were closely connected in this decade. The ports of embarkation were in the same part of Europe and the same ships were used to transport both groups. The immigrants were sometimes sent to the same district in New Zealand. The Government stopped immigration of Scandinavians and Germans at the same time.

As a result of instructions to the Commissioners in London, two contracts for a total of 4,000 immigrants were made in Scandinavian countries,[8] and another was concluded with Louis Knorr and Co. of Hamburg by the Agent-General, Featherston, in 1872. This was for 2,000 "statute adults" to be sent to New Zealand in two years.[9]

7 Memo to the N.Z. Commissioners, 23 Dec 1869, AJHR 1870, D4, 3, encl.
8 Davidson, p.39.
9 A.G. to Col. Sec., 7 Mar 1872, AJHR 1872, 2, D1A, 10.

In 1872 and 1873 the New Zealand Government appears to have vacillated between the necessity of obtaining large numbers of immigrants and dislike of a large proportion of foreigners. The latter feeling was expressed when the German and Scandinavian contracts were made. "New Zealanders, if not the Government, are anxious lest more foreigners be sent than British immigrants."[10] In Nelson, colonists complained of having to pay when they nominated relations and friends to come from Britain, while foreign immigrants came free, but with less guarantee of remaining. It was advocated that the Government should refund the money or give a free grant of land to British nominated immigrants, after three years.[11] To this the Agent-General replied that only 6,000 Germans and Scandinavians were contracted for in two years and after that the intake could be halted. In his opinion this would be a pity, because foreigners would introduce new industries, and the need for large numbers of immigrants was great.[12] It is interesting to note the different opinions of the official in Europe and the colonists at home. Concern at the number of Chinese in New Zealand was also voiced in New Zealand at this time.

Early in 1873 the Government showed that it wanted at least all the foreigners who were to come out under the existing contracts.

10 A.G. to Col. Sec., n.d., AJHR 1872, 2, D1, B3.
11 Report of the Immgr.Off., Nelson, 9 Apr 1873, Col.Sec. 73/203. Nelson was the scene of the earlier organized German immigration of the 'forties, see above Chap 3.
12 A.G. to Col.Sec., n.d., AJHR 1872, 2, D1, B3.

The Agent-General was urged to spare no efforts to obtain a total of 8,000 immigrants in 1873, (British and foreigners), and alarm was expressed that the German contract might not be fulfilled.[13] The Agent-General's returns showed 1,916 Germans and Scandinavians had been sent, whereas he had led the Government to expect 8,000. Were the contracts still in force? If so, would the number of emigrants specified be sent out in the time?[14]

The Agent-General had difficulty with the German contracts in 1873 because the German governmeht tightened its restrictions on emigration and foreign agents were expelled.[15] Opposition to emigration originated with the Franco-Prussian war, to conserve manpower. In July Featherston notified the Colonial Secretary that Knorr and Co. were unable to fulfill the contract, and that a contract had been made with another firm.[16] Vogel was dissatisfied with the vagueness of this information.[17] In October, Featherston informed him that the German and Scandinavian contracts had been transferred to Behrens of Hamburg, and Gunnerstad; he could not say if they would be carried out.[18] Subsequently an agent named Kirchner took over for New Zealand a contract between Knorr and Co. and the Queensland government, under which about 1,700 emigrants

13 Waterhouse to A.G., Memo. 19, 23 Nov 1872, AJHR 1873, D1, 17. "The Government has heard from private sources that your arrangements with a firm in Germany have fallen through." An explanation was requested.
14 O'Rorke to A.G., Memo. 90, 5 May 1973, AJHR 1873, D1, 90.
15 Charlton, p.72. This happened again in 1877.
16 A.G. to Col.Sec., 11 Jul 1873, Col.Sec., 73/933.
17 Ibid., superscription.
18 A.G. to Vogel, 3 Oct 1873, Col.Sec., 73/1369.

were still to leave. A further contract for 4,000 was made with Kirchner, to be implemented after the Knorr contracts were completed.[19] The total number of immigrants envisaged amounted to 7,000 in two years. When this agreement was made Kirchner had a "large" staff of sub-agents in Germany, and intended to increase his recruiting activities in southern Germany where official opposition to emigration was less than in the north.[20]

A number of suggestions on ways of increasing German emigration to New Zealand were received by the Government from individual Germans. A few in New Zealand offered to return to Germany as emigration agents, if their passages were paid by the Government.[21] The Belgian Consul in Melbourne advocated the use of Antwerp as a port of embarkation for New Zealand: it was already used by emigrating South Germans, Swiss and Alsace-Lorrainers: people who had knowledge of viticulture and sugar beet farming could be brought out by that route.[22] Others were of the opinion that many Germans wanted to emigrate, especially from South Germany, the Rhinelands, and Alsace-Lorraine. The United States was experiencing a depression in 1873 and 1874. If more information could be spread in Germany about New Zealand, and the way the Government helped people to get there, many immigrants could be obtained, in spite of restrictions by the German authorities.[23]

19 Davidson, pp. 40 ff.
20 A.G. to Col.Sec., 26 Dec 1873, Col.Sec., 74/234.
21 One was Krippner of Puhoi, see above, p. 55.
22 Beethre, Belgian Consul-General, Melbourne to Col.Sec.,28 May 1873, Col.Sec., 73/505.
23 Col.Sec., 74/201; Col.Sec., 74/925; Kirchner's report 1874, Col.Sec., 75/730.

The Agent-General sometimes showed impatience with the offers and suggestions passed on to him. Self-appointed agents, "Would not be useful".[24] "The Government is already aware that I have taken full advantage of the favourable disposition towards New Zealand, which obtains, at the present time, among the emigrating classes of Germany ..."[25]

.. ..

German immigrants to New Zealand in the 'seventies came with Scandinavians in not less than nine ships from Hamburg, and in smaller numbers in other ships from Britain.[26]

The first, Freideberg, carried 102 German adults,[27] sixty-eight

24 A.G. to Col. Sec., 22 Mar 1872, AJHR 1872, 2, D1A 16, in reply to a Scandinavian.
25 A.G. to Col.Sec., 15 Dec 1874, Col.Sec., 75/106.
26 See Appendix G.
27 A.G. to Col.Sec., AJHR 1872, 2, D1, B2. Adults in this case were those over 12 years of age.

children and five infants, a total of 175, as well as 117 Scandinavians.[28]

28 Figures from Col.Sec., 73/282 and AJHR 1872, 2,D1, B2:-

Passengers on Freideberg

	Males over 15	Females unmarried over 15	Others over 12 (must be wives or children 12-15)	Totals over 12	Children under 12	Infants	Totals
Germans & Poles	38 (6 Poles)	18	46	102	68	5	175
Scandinavians	48	43	7	98	14	5	117
Totals	86	61	53	200	82	10	292

The total of Germans and Scandinavians who were either wives, or children under 15 and over 12, was 53. According to Haast (p. 642), there were 53 married couples. His other figures (61 single women and 86 total men) are correct. There would therefore have been no children between 12 and 15 years of age, which is likely because the Knorr contract said parents were to pay in full the passage money of children over 12 years. If all 46 of the group, German 'wives or children between 12 and 15' were wives, there are only 38 possible German or Polish husbands. Possibly some "gangplank weddings" of Scandinavian men to German women took place before leaving from Hamburg. According to the contract, only ten in every 100 emigrants were to be unmarried men, so there was some incentive to get married before leaving.

There was a higher proportion of families among the Germans than the Scandinavians, natural perhaps as the port of embarkation was German. German families would find it easier to travel because of this. It may help to explain why the Germans stayed in Canterbury on the whole, while the Scandinavians left for the North Island.[29] By occupations, including Scandinavians there were 46 farm labourers, (including two gardeners, one stockman and three grooms), twenty general labourers and twenty craftsmen and other trades, a total of eighty-six male workers; sixty-one female workers included thirty-nine general servants and nine nurses.[30] The Freideberg left Hamburg on 19 May 1872 and arrived in Lyttelton on 30 August 1872. The immigrants were sent to the Addington barracks.[31] The percentage of families was too large in proportion to single folk, as was the case in other ships. Married people were much slower at finding employment.[32] The immigrants from the Freideberg were said to have expected to receive grants of land.[33]

The German Association of Christchurch to which Haast belonged, entertained Captain Kopper of the Freideberg at Schmidt's Hotel, and £5. 8. 6d. was collected to aid the immigrants. Captain Kopper paid a tribute to the German married couples.[34]

29 Clark, pp. 146-7.
30 Christchurch Report, 1 Jul 1872 - 31 Mar 1873, Col.Sec., 73/282 in 73/645.
31 Haast, p.642.
32 Commissioners' Report, in Christchurch Report, 1 Jul 1872- 31 Mar 1873, Col.Sec. 73/282, but c.f. Haast, p.642: ninety applications for married servants had been received at Addington barracks.
33 O'Rorke to A.G., 5 May 1873, AJHR D1, 90, enc. 91.
34 Haast, p. 642.

The Surgeon's Report on the passengers stated that the majority were Scandinavians and the second greatest number were Poles from Prussian Posen, who were classified as Germans. There were very few Germans and these were from Brandenburg and Pomerania. Of the latter, two were carpenters and the others were genuine agricultural labourers as stipulated in the contract. The surgeon praised them highly and said this class should be brought out if further immigrants were to come from Germany. The Poles, who were German speaking were unsuitable as settlers; the Scandinavians would make useful colonists. Hostility between Germans and Scandinavians was very marked on the ship, even in petty things.[35]

On the Crusader, which came to Lyttelton from London in 1872 with 145 British, twenty-six Germans and twenty-seven Danes, Germans and Danes "did not mix well". It was recommended that Scandinavians and Germans should not be sent out on the same ships.[36] In spite of this the practice continued. The Agent-General defended the policy of sending European emigrants in vessels of their own country rather than having them embark in Britain. This saved expense and the trouble and inconvenience of a second embarkation, and was what the foreign emigrants preferred.[37] This argument was not borne out by the increase of German emigration to the United States via British ports.[38] However, a direct voyage from the German

35 Hall to A.G., AJHR 1873, D1, 8 encl. 5.
36 Commissioner's Report on Immigration to Canterbury, Jul 1872 - Mar 1873, Col. Sec., 73/282. In 1872, 42 Germans came to Canterbury on ships from Britain. AJHR 1873, 2, D2, 37.
37 A.G. to Col. Sec., 1 May 1872, AJHR 1872, 2, D1A, 25.
38 Carrothers, p.214.

or Scandinavian port would prevent loss of immigrants in the United Kingdom.

Another ship which brought foreign immigrants from a British port was the Stonehouse which arrived in Lyttelton from Plymouth on 29 June, 1874, with sixty-eight foreigners and about 300 British immigrants.[39] There were twenty-two deaths, mainly children, some with Polish and some with Scandinavian names. Conditions on the ship were reported to have been quite good.[40] German immigrants from the Stonehouse numbering fourteen families, thirteen single men and six women, a total of sixty persons, were sent to Oxford, where there were already some Germans.[41] Owing to heavy rain they were delayed at Rangiora and a child died there. A newspaper report stated that they had to sleep on a bare floor at Rangiora and had inadequate food, but an inquiry proved this to be untrue, and established that they had been "quite well cared for", but the sick child should never have been moved.[42]

Although Germans at Oxford were reported "all doing well" in July 1874,[43] it soon became apparent that some of the immigrants, who were from Central Europe,were "unsuitable". There were Austrians and Moravians among them. They built themselves houses and worked on the roads.[44] Later, in August 1874, more arrived and there

39 Col. Sec., 74/733.
40 Col. Sec., 74/715.
41 See above, p.48.
42 Supt.Cant. to Col.Sec., 21 Jul 1874, Col. Sec., 74/926.
43 Woodfield, acting for Immgr. Off. in Oxford to Immgr. Off. Ch.ch., Jul 1874, Col. Sec., 74/926.
44 Gillespie: p.132.

was unemployment, then more road work. One road was called German Road. Names mentioned included Geissler, Langers, and Wollstein.[45] Some became sawyers. Many of the Germans had a difficult time. At first they made sauerkraut and parsnip wine, cured bacon and tried to grow tobacco and grapes. Their old customs are now gone and they are completely assimilated.[46]

In October 1874, Germans and Scandinavians arrived in Canterbury on the Gutenburg from Hamburg.[47] There were 137 aboard, and two births and one death occurred on the 112 day voyage.[48]

To Otago went the second ship from Hamburg, Palmerston, whence it brought 129 Germans in December, 1872.[49] The single men and women from this ship found work readily, although wages in the province were slightly reduced as a result of the general influx of immigrants at this time. The hundred family men aboard were not employed so easily. English was still an unknown language to them and they were handicapped in taking up positions by having families. The number in barracks was reduced to 30 families when the Immigration Agent arranged a contract for them to complete a section of the South Island main trunk railway. Arrangements were completed quickly and they began work on the Taieri plain, where they proved themselves very good workers, earning 10/- to 12/- a day.[50] Others who were

45 Ibid., p.133, 144-5, 151.
46 Clark, p.147.
47 Immigr. Return, AJHR 1875, D2 A, quoted by Davidson, p.111.
48 Canterbury Annual Report, ending 30 Jun 1875, Col.Sec. 75/962.
49 Immgr. Returns, from 1 Nov 1871 to 30 Jun 1873, AJHR 1873 D4. See Appendix G.
50 The adjectives "plodding" and "steady" were again applied to German settlers, Otago Immgr. Report, May 1873, Col.Sec. 73/339.

employed on farms and runs also gave satisfaction, and more employers asked for Germans.

In a few months after their arrival the appearance of the Germans greatly improved. Their sober way of life was in sharp contrast to that of many others in Otago in those days, and they mastered English quickly.[51] An inconsistent report said that the Otago Germans again appear to have been mainly Poles, only fourteen of the total being true Germans.[52]

There were several Germans in Invercargill before 1870. Seventeen nominated German immigrants came there between March 1873 and March 1874; and twenty-four from April to June 1874. Southland and Otago Germans may have been augmented from Jackson's Bay when that settlement failed.[53] A group of Germans was located at Gore,[54] but assimilation is complete today and no discernible groups remain in Otago and Southland.

In Canterbury, groups of Germans could be identified in Oxford, Waimate, Geraldine and Marshlands. Today they may only be traced by a few foreign surnames. In Christchurch the German Association and Lutheran Church enabled a cultural group to survive for a number of years.[55]

51 Ibid.
52 AJHR 1873, D1, 52 c.f. Hall to A.G. n.d. AJHR 1873 D1, 8. The Poles, "who also speak German" were "poor types" and would be "comparatively useless".
53 See below, p.95.
54 Charlton, p.73.
55 Haast, pp. 641-4; Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, lists P.E. Schmidt, Schneider, Hirschburg, and Grieshaber who came on the Crusader, and others, all of Christchurch.

Foreign immigrants were sometimes used for special plantations in remote districts. In 1874 a site was surveyed at Jackson's Bay and £12,000 was voted by the General Assembly for its development. Germans, Poles, Scandinavians, Italians, Canadians and British arrived in 1875 and 1876, to a total of 250 settlers. They spread about the bay mainly in national groups at Smoothwater, Arawata, Waitoto and Okuru.[56] Poles, Germans and Italians were in largest numbers. The national groups did not mix well. A school was started but closed after an open fight between Polish and German parents on one side and Italians on the other. The Germans at Smoothwater worked hard to clear the bush and settle successfully but were forced by floods to abandon their holdings. Most of the settlers left when employment on road work finished. Soon the bay was deserted.[57]

The main reason for the failure of the Jackson's Bay settlement, and for other projects on the south-west coast, was inaccessibility. The failure of the Government to build a wharf was the crowning set-back. In the nineteenth century a major shipping route from Australia to Europe passed south of New Zealand, and ships may have visited the settlements had they prospered, although they were on a rough windward coast. In the same way they were isolated from the rest of New Zealand. Only in modern times have roads reached

56 Charlton, pp. 72, 73; Pascoe, Douglas, p.220.
57 A. McKenzie: Pioneers of Martins Bay, pp. 8-9.

South Westland, and it still remains a remote corner.

.. ..

In the North Island Scandinavian settlers who were destined for the Wairarapa and Seventy Mile Bush came to Wellington in 1872 and 1873.[58] The Forfarshire, from London, had 345 British, 34 Danes, 22 Norwegians and 5 Germans on board. Conditions on this ship were very poor, and other ships of Shaw Savill also gave cause for concern.[59]

In 1874 ships came direct from Hamburg and the number of Germans on them increased. There was an increase of Germans relative to Scandinavians in the years 1873 to 1876.[60] The Reichstag arrived in Wellington from Hamburg on 6 August 1874, with a complement of 280. The Germans on it were described as a fine group of settlers.[61] There was one death during the voyage, a good record, and the ship compared favourably with British ships engaged in the same trade.

> "The married people had the use of the after and main hatches. The entrances were built up like deck houses and were a very great improvement on the flimsy booby hatches in the British ships which bring immigrants to this port. The berthing arrangements however were not so good as in the British ships but the compartment was clean and sweet ... The immigrants are a very fine body of people and contrast most favourably with recent shipments of our own countrymen." 62

58 Davidson, pp. 94, 98; Immigration Statistics, 29 Jul to 17 Nov 1872, AJHR 1873, 2, D2, 37.
59 A.G. to Col.Sec., 73/768.
60 Immgr. Returns, AJHR 1876, D5.
61 A.G. to Col.Sec., 15 Dec 1874, Col.Sec., 75/106.
62 Immgr. Commissioners Wellington, 17 Aug 1874, Col.Sec., 74/955.

The ship had "a lower death rate, so far as we are aware, than any vessel which has yet arrived in the Colony." [63]

Another ship arrived from Hamburg in Wellington or New Plymouth early in 1875, with at least ninety-seven "foreigners".[64]

A number of Germans came to Auckland on British ships, mostly on the Queen Bee, which arrived on 29 October 1872, carrying twenty.[65]

Hawkes Bay province requested German settlers as well as Scandinavians. Single female immigrants, Scottish or German, were asked for in 1871.[66] In 1873 a Prussian settler from Hawkes Bay, Charles Knaup, went to Europe with the intention of bringing back friends and relatives who were beetroot growers and sugar boilers. The Agent-General promised to help Knaup and the Province was prepared to give some financial assistance but it seems that nothing came of this move.[67]

Hawkes Bay was not prepared to give much financial assistance to starting viticulture. When the Agent-General proposed sending vine-growers the Superintendant, J.D. Ormond, wanted to limit their numbers to ten or twelve families because it would be a while before they could support themselves.[68] The Agent-General's vine growers would almost certainly have been from the Rhine region.

63 Ibid.
64 New Plymouth Immgr. Report, 1875, Col.Sec., 75/916: 97 immigrants from the Humboldt in Feb 1875; also, 72 from the Reichstag in Sep 1874 and one from the Junttenber, (sic.) which may have been the Gutenburg, in Nov 1874.
65 Report of Immgr. Off., Auckland, 30 Jun 1873. Col. Sec., 73/644.
66 Supt. H.B. to Col. Sec., 26 Jun 1871, AJHR 1871, 1 D3, 30.
67 Ormond to Minister of Immgr., 3 Apr 1873, Col. Sec., 73/190; Col. Sec. to A.G., 12 Apr 1873, AJHR 1873 D1, 77; A.G. to Col.Sec., 12 Jun 1873, AJHR 1873, D2, E, 27.
68 Ormond to Minister of Immgr., 7M, 1873 [illegible]

The Freideberg came to Napier in 1874 from Hamburg with Scandinavians for the East Coast bush settlements of Dannevirke and Norsewood; and with Germans also. Several of the latter settled at Makaretu, west of Waipawa.[69] The Fritz Reuter arrived in March 1875, and most of the Scandinavians, Germans and German Poles were sent to a camp at Porangahau, another example of Germans being sent to make a group settlement in an isolated area.[70] The Freideberg brought another shipload of immigrants from Hamburg in 1875, arriving in Napier in August.[71]

Immigration under the Vogel scheme declined after 1875. The foreign contracts were ended and compensation was paid to Kirchner and Sloman and Co.[72] Even had immigrants still been required, there was again a ready supply of British immigrants, for British emigration had revived.[73]

The Fritz Reuter came to Wellington again in 1876, having left Hamburg after the contracts were ended. The New Zealand Government did not know what to do with the immigrants. The Agent-General had not approved the ship, and the Government denied responsibility.[74]

In 1876 there were a considerable number of Germans in New Zealand in need of employment and land for settlement. Davidson believes that a group of Danes, Russians, Poles and Germans who

69 Davidson quotes AJHR 1875, D4 Immgr. Records.
70 Charlton, p.72.
71 AJHR 1876, D5, Immgr. Returns.
72 Davidson, p. 115.
73 Ibid., pp. 114-5.
74 Ibid., pp. 109-10.

settled at Inglewood, Taranaki, in 1876 were from the Fritz Reuter.[75] Auckland was asked to take 350 Germans, Italians and Scandinavians in 1876, before the Fritz Reuter arrived. The number was refused because employment was available for only about fifty.[76]

A group of twenty Germans were in Palmerston North in 1876. They had arrived there between February and August, and some had had bush felling work, but that was over for the season. Work was found for them at Oroua.[77] A permanent settlement of a number of German families occurred at Halcombe, a village founded by British settlers in 1874 as part of the Manchester block.[78] Traces of a German group are still retained there, including an active Lutheran church.[79]

.. ..

Between 1880 and 1900 immigration declined, with a temporary revival between 1891 and 1895. After a peak period between 1901 and 1905, it declined again until 1920, and increased sharply after that date.[80] Meanwhile, the Great War had had serious consequences

75 Op.cit. p.109.
76 Immgr. Off., Auckland to Col. Sec., 22 Jan 1876, Col. Sec. 76/110.
77 Immgr. Off., Wellington to Col. Sec., 30 Sep 1876, Col. Sec., 76/12,54.
78 See above, p.53.
79 R.A. Lochore: The History of German Immigration to New Zealand, p.1.
80 1881-85: 28,959; 1886-90: -8,702(a loss); 1891-95: 15,320; 1896-00: 10,638; 1901-05: 45,446; 1906-10: 40,966; 1911-15: 35,561; 1916-20: 14,854; 1921-25: 58,883. Carrothers, p.318.

for Germans in New Zealand.

The number of German-born people in New Zealand reached its maximum of 5,007 in 1886, and thereafter gradually declined.[81] The Lutheran Church also declined after 1880.[82] In the same period emigration from Germany to all parts of the world decreased with the coming of industrialisation.[83]

Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand decreased more rapidly than German, especially after 1900. In the period 1900 - 1914 we received 3,400 German settlers. The total German immigration certainly exceeds 10,000, making them our largest foreign group before the Second World War.[84]

Before 1914 the previously friendly or tolerant attitude towards Germans and people of German descent in New Zealand, was quite suddenly reversed. An example of the unreasonable animosity aroused by a German name is found in the case of G.W. von Zedlitz, the first Professor of Modern Languages at Victoria University College, who was deprived of his position by a special Act of Parliament when the College Council refused to dismiss him.[85]

During the war over a thousand civilians were interned and in 1919 about 700 Germans were repatriated, most of them unwillingly.[86]

81 Lochore, Europe to N.Z., p. 59.
82 Davidson, p. 123.
83 Dawson, W.H.: The Evolution of Modern Germany, p. 237; Dictionary of American History, see German Immigration to the U.S.
84 Lochore, Europe to N.Z., p. 59.
85 Zedlitz, G.W. von: The Search for a Country.
86 Lochore, German Immigration to N.Z., pp. 2-3.

Shortly before the Second World War over one thousand refugees entered New Zealand, over half of whom were German nationals, largely of Jewish origin. Apart from them, there was virtually no German immigration between the wars.[87]

In the Second World War, 650 out of 1100 persons of German origin were exempted from restrictions applied to aliens. The Aliens Authorities were satisfied on investigation that they were loyal. Of those interned, most were elderly men. There were scarcely any cases where a naturalized German or the son of German parents appealed against military service, and our old-settled Germans, and practically all those of German stock, were more loyal and gave better war service than alien groups who were allies.[88]

Since the second war there has been a large government-sponsored Dutch immigration but it seems unlikely that further immigration from continental Europe will be encouraged at present.

87 Ibid., p.3.
88 Lochore, Europe to N.Z., p. 61.

CONCLUSION

The Germans who emigrated to New Zealand may be classified in certain broad groups. The Nelson Germans of the 'forties and those who came under the immigration policy of the 'seventies were of similar type. There were two main groups:-

1. Agricultural labourers.
2. Artisans, especially in the building trade.

In the Naturalization lists of the 1850's and 1860's are 160 Germans of a higher economic and social status. i.e. farmers, settlers, merchants, musicians, storekeepers, hotelkeepers and publicans, surveyors and small business men and professional men.[1] Some of the farmers, however, were relations of the Nelson Germans, and came out as nominated immigrants. They would be of the same class as their predecessors of the 'forties. Owing to the fact that the way was prepared for them most of the nominated immigrants in Nelson quickly established themselves as independent farmers.

The naturalization records of the 'fifties and 'sixties represent only part of the total German immigration for the period. The occupation given in the Naturalization lists may be that of the immigrant in Germany, or a new designation for a changed occupation in New Zealand. In spite of these reservations, it appears that a

1 Nat. Acts 1851 - 1866.

group of middle class and professional men were among the German immigrants from 1850 to 1870. On the whole this period presents a greater diversity among German immigrants and they may be compared to the most numerous groups arriving in the United States at the same time, viz., well-to-do agriculturalists, mechanics, common labourers and small tradesmen.[2]

Germans emigrated mainly for land and opportunity. New Zealand had these to a lesser extent than the United States and other new lands nearer Europe. However, the promotion of immigration to New Zealand in the 'forties was the business and philanthropic concern of the New Zealand Company, which recruited some immigrants in Germany. By 1845 Nelson had over 150 Germans and a Lutheran church. The German settlers encouraged relatives and friends to join them, with the result that at least one hundred more arrived in the 'fifties. Other Germans came independently to the various provinces of New Zealand in the 'fifties and 'sixties.[3] The gold seeking motive played a part. By the 'sixties a number of Germans were found in the major settlements, both in the towns and in some farming areas. Canterbury, in particular, had fragmented groups of Germans whose success attracted more from time to time. Two other motives which brought us some of our well-known Germans were missionary and scientific work.

2 See above, p.2.
3 The 'fifties was a peak decade for German emigration, especially 1854.

By 1867 New Zealand's German-born numbered 2,283. The number reached 5,007 in 1886, after the New Zealand government sponsorship of immigration, including Germans as well as British and Scandinavians, in the 1870's. The New Zealand Company and the New Zealand government of the 1869-1875 period were therefore responsible for the beginning and the climax of German immigration to New Zealand. In both cases German immigration occurred because insufficient numbers of British emigrants were available.

In spite of the fact that there was a decline in German emigration after 1885, especially to British colonies, a smaller number continued to come to New Zealand and there was actually a slight increase between 1900 and 1913. The continued arrival of Germans right up to the Great War may be connected with the fact that Germany sent more imports to New Zealand than any other country of continental Europe in the pre-war period.[4]

Assistance to German immigrants was given mainly by the New Zealand Company, and, in the 'seventies, by the New Zealand government. Hardly any assistance was given by German authorities. Hamburg was interested in the colonization of the Chatham Islands in the 'forties. The Nelson expeditions were promoted by a Hamburg company, and wealthy and influential individuals in that city and in Mecklenburg. In the 'fifties and 'sixties a British ship-owning company and another Hamburg company were looking for a chance to organize German emigration

4 N.Z. Year Book 1893; J.C. Andersen, Jubilee History of South Canterbury; pp. 249-50.

to New Zealand, but without result. In the early period missionaries were sent out by mission societies in Germany: the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Berlin sent four Lutheran missionaries to the Chathams; the North German Mission Society despatched three to New Zealand and the Reformed Lutheran Church one other. German states, particularly Prussia and the German Empire increasingly restricted emigration rather than aided it.

Many suggestions for German immigration came from Germans in New Zealand, starting with the Nelson Germans' encouragement of their relatives. Schemes for group settlements followed in the 'sixties and 'seventies. Krippner's scheme was one of the first and resulted in the Puhoi settlement. Others in the 'seventies were not acted upon. The New Zealand Government preferred to rely on the Scandinavian and German contracts made by their Agent-General in London.

The majority of our German immigrants were from the north of Germany, from Prussia, Mecklenburg, Hanover, and Oldenburg; Hamburg and Bremen. By no means all came from the northern plains, however. There were a number of Poles, mostly German speaking, especially in the 'seventies. Some Germans including Haast, came from the Rhinelands. The six Akaroa Germans were probably from the west or south-west. Hessen and Westphalia gave us several, including Dieffenbach. Others were from Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, Thuringia and Saxony. Krippner

made very good pioneering settlers and worthy citizens. There was no discrimination in the nineteenth century except in the 'seventies when a few voices were raised against the large numbers of foreign immigrants being assisted into the country.

In 1899, Seddon's government passed the Immigration Restriction Act which imposed an education test on all non-British immigrants, and immigration regulations were tightened up. Discrimination against Dalmatian gum-diggers early in the twentieth century was based on economic considerations. General hostility to our German settlers was an inevitable accompaniment of the World Wars. Between the wars the absorption of people of German origin became complete, and nowadays they can only be traced through distinguishing surnames. The submergence became, to a certain extent, a conscious effort by the people of German origin.

According to general public demand, place names such as German Bay and Ranzau were changed at the beginning of the first war. On the other hand, the changing of German surnames to English-sounding names did not occur as a result of the war period but seems to have taken place occasionally throughout the nineteenth century purely for convenience: small changes in spelling or pronunciation were much more common than total changes. Some surnames of German origin are not obviously German; others need only a letter dropped out or changed to

and the Puhoi settlers came from Bohemia; Hochstetter and Reischek were visitors from Austria; and von Tempsky was a Pole.

The Germans who settled in New Zealand between 1840 and 1880 have been absorbed into the general population, which is mainly of British descent. Their assimilation, which began in that period, continued rapidly in the 'eighties and 'nineties when renewals of contact with the homeland, through new arrivals, decreased. British immigrants were very numerous in the 'eighties and again after 1907, and these helped to swamp traces of foreigners. German characteristics such as Haast had seen at Sarau in 1859, the speaking of German, even German names disappeared.

The Lutheran Church helped to preserve German identification, if not characteristics, and several churches have survived up to the present day. Some Lutherans were Scandinavians so membership of a Lutheran church was not necessarily a sign of German origin. In 1867 there were 2,383 Lutherans in New Zealand, and in 1871, 2,341; about three-quarters were probably Germans.[5] Membership of the Lutheran Church continued to decline gradually after 1880.

The assimilation of the Germans was made easier by the general friendliness felt towards them as a race in the nineteenth century by New Zealanders of British origin. They were considered to be people who

5 Davidson, p.139.

become a well-known English surname; others obviously German have become well-known, and their foreign origin is not remarked.

All the adaptations which took place served to reduce the evidence that Germans were our largest foreign group.

During the Second World War the standard of loyalty to New Zealand among persons of German origin was very high. Only a few elderly persons had to be interned. In the armed forces men of German descent had a good record of service, and some names of German origin were well-known in the N.Z.E.F.

The contributions made by German settlers to New Zealand include the work of missionaries such as Wohlers, and of scientists such as Dieffenbach, Hochstetter, Haast, Reischek and others. Their work was important in the history of exploration in New Zealand, and in the development of geological and biological knowledge. Dieffenbach also contributed to our knowledge of the Maori people. Other Germans had agricultural, musical, scholastic and technological knowledge to contribute. Above all by their adaptability and willingness to accept New Zealand as their new homeland they were able to give of their best as settlers.

APPENDIX A

German Emigration as a Percentage of European Emigration: 1846 to 1924, with British, Scandinavian and Italian Percentages for comparison

	Germany	British Isles	Scandinavia	Italy
1846-50	14.3	77.9	1.6	0.1
1851-55	21.9	67.7	2.0	0.2
1856-60	24.6	61.4	2.3	2.1
1861-65	19.5	64.3	4.4	3.6
1866-70	24.1	49.4	11.3	5.4
*1870-75	21.3	52.2	6.0	6.3
1876-80	16.3	50.1	8.2	10.2
1881-85	24.9	37.5	8.5	9.3
1886-90	12.5	32.5	7.8	17.2
1891-95	11.0	26.8	6.6	20.6
1896-00	4.1	25.4	3.7	27.5
1901-05	2.7	22.2	5.2	30.5
1906-10	1.9	24.1	3.2	29.0
1911-15	1.2	26.7	2.1	23.2
1916-20	0.6	29.3	2.7	29.3
1920-24	7.5	37.1	3.6	21.7

* sic.

from Isaac: The Economics of Migration, part of Table III, p.61.

APPENDIX B

Names of German Immigrants on the "St. Pauli" which arrived at Nelson from Hamburg on 14 June 1843

Name	Family	Occupation
Karsten, J.C.M.	wife + 3 children	Joiner
Eisimann, P. F.	-	Joiner
Huter, Jos.	w	Joiner
Beckmann, J.H.F.	w + 3	Joiner
Manssen, G.H.C.	w + 1	(Gardener
Martin, J.C.H.	-	(Son of wife
Spanhake, J.H.F.	w + 1	Agr. labourer
Subritzky, S.E.	3	Widow mercer
Korber, J.H.S.	w + 2	Shoemaker
Haase, F.W.	w	Shoemaker
Fricke, D.	-	Shoemaker
Schieb, J.	w + 2	Vinedresser, yeoman & cooper
Tost, J.	w + 2	Vinedresser and brewer
Schneider, P.	w	Labourer
Hansen, P.	w	Ship's carpenter
Assmann, A.	w	Joiner
Pahl, W.	w + 4	Cooper
Mohr, H.	w + 3	Sawyer
Lange, C.J.F.	w + 2	Smith and farrier
Svetus, J.F.A.	-	Smith
J.C.C.	-	Printer
J.C.A.	-	Labourer
J.W.H.	-	Labourer
J.G.C.	-	Labourer
Fesefilot, B.	-	Servant
Jaensch, F.R.	-	Bricklayer
Hare, J.H.	w	Bricklayer
Frank, J.	w + 4	Miller and vinedresser
Treban, Alois	-	Yeoman and vinedresser

Name	Family	Occupation
Meyer, D.	-	Servant
Orye, T.W.	-	Friner(sic) and yeoman
Benseman, C.H.	w + 3	Carpenter
Hempel, J.G.C.	w + 2	Joiner
Heine, J.W.C.	-	Yeoman
Trost, J.H.	-	Shoemaker
Pahl, J.F.C.	w + 2	Sarler(sic)
Buschl, M.	w + 4	Yeoman
Schumacher, F.	w	Joiner
Hasenbein, A.	-	Bricklayer
Jineg, C.F.W.	-	Yeoman
Hilmers, W.	-	Servant
Barth, Th.	-	Butcher
Rahdel, F.E.	-	Agr. labourer
Adam, D.	-	Servant
Dieckmann, H.	-	Smith
Ulrich, B.	-	Agr. labourer
Miller, J.D.F.	w + 4	Locksmith
Schuler, D.H.	-	Servant
Ahrent, P.	-	Shoemaker
Schencher, G.	w	(Agr. labourer
Eberhard, J.H.	-	(Son of wife

from Col.Sec. 44/, St. Pauli Ship Return.

APPENDIX C

Names of German Immigrants on the 'Skiold' which arrived in Nelson from Hamburg on 1 September, 1844

Name	Family	Occupation
Schroder, Johann A.	wife + 7 children	Agr. labourer
Wendelborn	w + 5	Agr. labourer
Balk	w + 4	Joiner
Paap	w + 4	Sawyer
Fanselow	w + 6	Sawyer and roofer
Langbein	w + 1	Agr. labourer
Hammerich	w	Joiner
Dube	w	Agr. labourer
Herbst	w	Cooper
Bruning, Matthias	w + 1	Shoemaker
Heinius	w + 3	Brickmaker
Kieb or Kiel	-	-
Braasch	w	Sawyer
Gerhardt	-	Smith
Schrepp	w + 2	Agr. labourer
Tietjen	-	Agr. labourer
Meyer	-	Agr. labourer
Oualmann	w + 2	Agr. labourer
Rausch	-	Agr. labourer and carpenter
Lange	w + 3 (+2*)	Agr. labourer
Westphal	w + 5 (+2*)	Wheelwright
Parbs	w + 2	Agr. labourer
Busch	w + 5	Mason
Lankon or Lankow	w + 5 (+2*)	Agr. labourer
Siggelkon (sic)	w + 5 (+3*)	Agr. labourer
Schwass	w + 9	Agr. labourer

Name	Family	Occupation
Gebert	w + 2	Agr. labourer
Bannier	w + 5	Agr. labourer
Skerly or Herly	-	Agr. labourer

* denotes other dependents

from Col.Sec. 45/591, Skiold Ship Return.

APPENDIX D

Original Agreements between the Kelling brothers and J.F. Benoit, and the "Skiold" Immigrants

"Agreement between Charles Kelling, John Ferd^{d} Benoit and Fedor Kelling as representatives of Count Kuno Rantzau-Breitenburg of Bothmer in the Grandduchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, on the one, and Henry Ernest Schrepp from Rankendorff, agricultural labourer, on the other part.

1.

Count Rantzau having allowed and promised to the said Henry Ernest Schrepp --- Agricultural Labourer on his own application, to accompany us, the said Charles Kelling, John Ferd^{d} Benoit and Fedor Kelling, with his family consisting of his wife and two little children --- to the Colony Nelson in New Zealand, we Charles Kelling, John Ferd^{d} Benoit and Fedor Kelling hereby promise to said Henry Ernest Schrepp --- kind treatment and, as long as there will be no reason for complaint, for their daily labor the wages current in the Colony, consisting partly in vitals and shelter and partly in money if provided, and liable to such deductions, as hereafter stipulated; likewise after having discharged the family's passage money at the rate of £17.10 per each adult, and children in proportion, according to conditions laid down by Government, to allow said H^{y} Est Schrepp on his application to settle on 10 to 20 acres of rural land, which land shall be transferred to him legally after full payments of £3 per acre, less emigration allowance received from the Company, of 15 shillings per acre.

On the other part I, Henry Ernest Schrepp --- agricultural Labourer --- declare hereby, that I have voluntarily resolved to emigrate to New Zealand with my family at the above conditions, to seek my fortune, and in consideration of the assistance rendered to that effect; engage always to recognize the outlay occasioned by the passage of my family, my wife and my heirs true and always overdue debt, till discharged, and as such to liquidate the same by gradual deductions to be made by my new and present Employers from my weekly wages.

In accepting this agreement in all its details and without any mental reservations, the benefit of any such I promise herewith to forego, I hereby promise to keep the same as a faithful, diligent and loyal workman.

In witness whereof this agreement has been signed and sealed in duplicates by both contracting parties; at Hamburg, this 16th day of April 1844."
(Followed by the signatures of both parties, witnesses and lawyer.)

Copy of one of forty-nine similar documents in the Nelson Institute.

Numbers of Germans and Lutherans in New Zealand in 1858 and 1861, by Provinces

and including numbers of Lutherans in 1857; total number of Lutherans and Germans in 1867; and total number of Lutherans in 1871

	1857	1858			1861			1867		1871
	No. of Lutherans	No. of German birth	Total pop. of prov.	% of Germans	No. of German descent	Total pop. of prov.	% of Germans	No. of Lutherans	No. of Germans by birth	No. of Lutherans
Auckland	28	53	18,177	0.3	96	)	0.39			
Taranaki	2	5	2,650	0.2	7	)24,420	0.34			
Wellington	24	40	11,753	0.35	27	)	0.21			
Hawkes Bay	8	12	1,514	0.8	15	)12,566	0.57			
TOTAL N.I.	62	110	34,094	0.3	145					
Nelson	278	241	9,272	2.6	282	9,952	2.83			
Marlborough	-	-	-	-	17	2,428*	0.73			
Canterbury	48	91	8,967	1.0	122	15,250	0.76			
Otago	27	20	6,944	0.3	194	25,000*	0.71			
Southland	-	-	-	-	16	1,777	0.87			
TOTAL S.I.	353	352	25,183	1.4	631	54,407	1.16			
Stewart Is.	10	1	51	2.0	-	-	-			
Chatham Is.	-	-	-	-	4	50	8.0			
TOTAL N.Z.	425	463	59,328	0.7	780	99,021	0.78	2383	2,283	2,341

* approximate

From Statistics of New Zealand 1857, 1858, 1861; Davidson, p.139; Clark, p.143.

	1851	1853	1854	1855	1856	1858	1860	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	Provincial Total
Auckland	1	-	6	1	2	1	7	2	6	5	4	7	42
Rangiteiki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	28	8	-	-	37
Wellington	2	-	2	1	-	1	3	3	2	-	3	2	19
Other North Island	1	-	1	2	-	2	4	-	1	3	2	-	16
Nelson	-	-	-	-	12	44	3	-	4	1	35	1	100
Marlborough	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	3	2	-	9
Canterbury	-	11*	1	-	-	-	1	21	18	10	23	7	92
Otago	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	5	5	6	9	9	38
Invercargill	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	14	1	-	2	25
Other South Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chathams	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Place not named	-	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
TOTALS (yearly)	4	18	13	5	14	48	26	39	78	37	78	28	388
TOTAL other foreigners	7	44**	14	7	-	12	33	28	32	27	32	35	

* German immigrants who came with the French to Akaroa, 1840. ** Akaroa French

N.B. 1. Numbers include wives and children.

2. 1851-1854 only approximate because countries of origin were not specified.

from Naturalization Records, 1851-1866, Dept. of Internal Affairs.

APPENDIX G

A. Immigrants from 1 Nov.1871 to 30 June 1873 as by Agent-General's Returns and Ship's Books:

Total sent out by A.G., assisted	4,271	= 3,564	statute adults
Total, nominated immigrants	1,166	= 1,025½	" "
Total, Brogden immigrants	2,148	= 1,860	" "
	7,585	= 6,449½	

B. Return of Ships arriving in N.Z. between 1 Nov 1871 and 30 June 1873 showing Nationalities, and Number of Immigrants to each Province:

4,237	English	1,062	to Auckland
90	Welsh	15	to Taranaki
1,181	Irish	809	to Hawkes Bay
700	Scotch	1,538	to Wellington
384	Germans	141	to Marlborough
962	Scandinavians	18	to Westland
31	Others	9	to Nelson
		1,903	to Canterbury
		2,090	to Otago
7,585		7,585	

C. German Immigrants, 1 Nov 1871 to 30 June 1873:

Number	Whence	Date Sailed	Destination	Date Arrived	Ship
4	London	10 May 1872	Canterbury	3 Aug 1872	"Merope"
175	Hamburg	19 May 1872	Canterbury	30 Aug 1872	"Freideberg"
1	London	13 Jun 1872	Auck., Napier	15 Sep 1872	"Ballarat"
1	London	28 Jun 1872	Wellington	25 Oct 1872	"Bebington"
20	London	20 Jul 1872	Auckland	26 Oct 1872	"Queen Bee"
129	Hamburg	29 Jul 1872	Otago	6 Dec (?)1872	"Palmerston"
2	London	8 Aug 1872	Wellington	11 Mar 1873	"Glenora"
12	London	13 Sep 1872	Canterbury	28 Dec 1872	"Pleides"
26	London	10 Oct 1872	Canterbury	5 Jan 1873	"Crusader"
5	London	12 Nov 1872	Wellington	2 Mar 1873	"Forfarshire"
8	London	22 Nov 1872	Canterbury	3 Mar 1873	"Himalaya"
1	London	29 Nov 1872	Auckland	4 Apr 1873	"Durham"

384 TOTAL

D. Ships from Hamburg, 1874-1877:

"Reichstag"	and one other	to Wellington	1874
"Gutenburg"		to Lyttelton	1874
"Freideberg"		to Napier	1874
"Fritz Reuter		to Napier	1875
"Freideberg"		to Napier	1875
"Fritz Reuter"	and one other	to Wellington	1876 and 1877

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