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**The Assimilation of Vogel's Scandinavian Migrants
into Colonial New Zealand**

by
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Abstract

To the very 'English' environment of 1870s New Zealand, thousands of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians arrived with the invitation and financial assistance of the colonial government. Into the mélange of English, Scots, Welsh, and Irish, these Scandinavians quickly disappeared as a cultural entity. In existing literature there are strong indications of a conscious willingness to assimilate, and to relocate from (initially) culturally homogenous bush settlements for colonial communities elsewhere. But factors of the migrant experience that prompted assimilation have not been addressed in detail, nor have those changes been mapped over time. In this thesis these gaps in the literature are addressed through exploration of the pressures to assimilate in the environment of the colony, and multi-dimensional indicators of what was happening and why. This involved tracking an indicative population of migrants; those that arrived aboard the *Ballarat* and *Hovding* in 1872, and their descendants. Primary sources including newspapers, periodicals, memoirs, and government records (including naturalisation, land ownership, marriage, birth, and probate) were utilised, supported by secondary sources such as academic literature, local histories, family histories, and archival databases. This research has found rapid adoption of 'English' cultural practices; first publicly, then later in private life. While initially isolated, and refreshed with new migrants, the pressures to change were significant. Language changed quickly, with the adoption of English as a second language a necessity, swiftly transitioning to almost universal usage even among family. Those that arrived knowing Scandinavian languages kept them, but rarely passed them on. Religion and literature failed as cultural anchors; Lutheran parishioner numbers fell inexorably, and no literate traditions were passed down. High intermarriage rates among single adult migrants, and very high rates among children born to migrant families after arrival, indicate both willingness to merge into the majority culture, and lack of nativist rejection by the 'English'. Migrants commonly Anglicised their names and the names of their children, indicating a conscious desire to fit in. Within a generation, despite demonstrated pride in their heritage, the cultural uniqueness of the Scandinavians was essentially gone.

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Introduction

The Scandinavians recruited to New Zealand as assisted migrants under the Vogel scheme were an unusual addition to a nineteenth century English colony. New Zealand was already being described as 'more English than England', yet few (if any) of Vogel's Scandinavians could even speak the language. Some New Zealanders questioned the wisdom of bringing such foreigners to the colony. Yet from 1871 to 1876 around 3,300 Scandinavians arrived in New Zealand. They were subsidised by the government, lured by cheap land and guaranteed employment, and a chance at a better future.

The decision to emigrate from a familiar place and culture, journey for months across capricious seas aboard over-crowded ships, and then begin a new life in an unknown land where even communication would be a struggle, could not have been lightly taken. On arrival they were met with crude encampments and 'special settlements' in dense forest that were built mostly of promises and debts. But they set about them with a will, clearing land for farms while driving through the forest the roads and railways so desired by the government.

Settled initially near Palmerston North, with successive ships bringing the founders of Mauriceville, Dannevirke, Norsewood, Mellemkov (Eketahuna), and more, the Scandinavians of the bush settlements began their time in New Zealand as the dominant ethnic and cultural groups within their geographically and linguistically isolated communities. Yet their Scandinavian cultural identity largely disappeared, quite quickly, as the initial settlers assimilated into the majority population, leaving little more today than the names of towns, streets, and families, and a sense of pride in a Scandinavian heritage that in no way distances them from their New Zealand identity.

This thesis does not attempt to illuminate lost histories, but instead explores a shadow left by existing ones. Historians have provided many histories on or around the special settlements, and have mentioned in most the swift disappearance of Scandinavian cultural distinctiveness. But assimilation is presented as inevitable in hindsight for a people not physically distinct from the ethnic majority, and who shared similar cultural trappings. Few historians have attempted to quantify how assimilation occurred, or explore why the Scandinavians, despite their foreign origins, religious differentiation, and initially isolated communities, did not become cultural pluralists, or why they did not fight more for the survival of their identity. By examining the post-arrival experiences of the migrants from the *Ballarat* and *Hovding*, and the settlements of Dannevirke and Norsewood especially, this thesis seeks to answer something of how, why, and over what period the Scandinavians became New Zealanders.

The methods used in this study included gathering details and narratives from secondary sources, collation of primary sources to support or refute these narratives, and the use of quantitative analysis to demonstrate assimilation over time. From these sources are drawn details of the migrants

from the *Ballarat* and first *Hovding*; what they were leaving behind, how their experiences in the Bush pushed some to move to colonial communities, the adoption of 'English' practices, rising tides of demographic change, failures of cultural anchors, and a willingness among many to become other than they were when they arrived.

Sections

In the first section of this thesis the background of the migrants and the Vogel scheme are explored; where the migrants came from and why they were leaving, what prompted New Zealand to actively seek them, and why some Scandinavians choose New Zealand over other destinations.

The second section deals with what the migrants experienced; recruitment, voyage, and arrival, and the founding and development of their settlements. Tough economic realities, the need for the English language, and ever-increasing exposure to colonial New Zealanders applied pressures and offered opportunities that made change a path of least resistance. The failure of cultural anchors is also addressed in this section; religion, language, and literature.

The third section deals with quantified indicators of how the migrants and their descendants changed over time; recorded cultural practices, intermarriage, and how they named their children (and themselves) as indications of who they wanted to be in relation to the majority around them. Details on the methodologies used for tracking marriages and identifying the ethnicities of spouses and the given names of descendants are provided in the respective chapters.

Historiography

The literature reviewed for this thesis falls into several categories; histories of nineteenth century Scandinavia, emigration, academic literature on Scandinavians and others who migrated to New Zealand, local histories exploring colonial life and Scandinavian experiences in the bush settlements, and examinations of assimilation.

Literature on Vogel's Scandinavians often address assimilation, but in the broadest terms, or it is alluded to and not analysed, despite the experiential nature of many of the histories that they appear in. It is an aim of this thesis to address this lack of detail.

Scandinavia and emigration

An essential element of why and how Scandinavian migrants disappeared so quickly into colonial New Zealand society is who they were as people, what elements of their own culture anchored them to their initial identity, and which they were willing to abandon.

Scandinavian historians have much to say on nineteenth century emigration. Olavi Koivukangas's 1992 paper *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings* is well-regarded and oft-cited, summarising nineteenth century Scandinavian emigration to New Zealand; early-comers, gold seekers, and Vogel's migrants. His writing on the special settlements provides excellent comparisons to more populous communities in the Americas, examines the failure of language in sustaining cultural continuity, and provides detail on motivations to emigrate. He references assimilation, but as a lengthier process than was perhaps the case. Regrettably, *Longest Voyage* is too brief to provide in-depth analysis.¹

In *Emigration and Scandinavian identity* (2020) Mart Kuldkepp has directly addressed key points of interest to this thesis. He discusses the malleability of migrant identity; why what was carried from home does not persist, and the 'contingent' nature of identity based on relationships between individuals, organisations, and communities. His study offers comparison with the Americas, and posits that migrants balance cultural behaviours and assimilation through individual agency based on personal need.²

The 1990 *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (edited by Henning Bender and Birgit Larsen) also sheds light, although the articles tend to be high level, or granular vignettes based on individuals. But

¹ Koivukangas, Ølavi. *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992)

² Kuldkepp, Mart. 'Emigration and Scandinavian Identity'. *Introduction to Nordic Cultures*, 181-94 (University College London, 2020)

letters, testimonies, and institutional records provide detail; describing states of mind and formative experiences.

Historians have directly explored Scandinavian eagerness to emigrate, touching also on elements of identity they may not have fought to retain. Unfortunately, while push factors are shared, this literature overwhelmingly describes migration to America. Fortunately, comparison points between Scandinavians in New Zealand and America are valuable to this thesis, highlighting the importance to cultural persistence of large communities, homogeneity, and the refreshment of cultural connections from Home by successive waves of migrants over time. The first key piece, and one commonly referenced, is *Norwegians in Minnesota* (2002), by Jon Gjerde and Carlton Qualey. This highly regarded book focuses on Norwegian settlement patterns, and the urbanisation and acculturation that followed. It references multitudes of push factors; land scarcity, attendant poverty, and religious dissatisfaction.³ The Swedish perspective is presented in Lars Ljungmark's *Swedish Exodus* (1972; updated through 2008), also focusing on what happened post arrival in America, but also exploring socio-economic and population changes that acted as primary push factors.⁴ The Danes have not been as comprehensively described, but are given a rigorous treatment by Kristian Hvidt in *Flight to America* (1975), a book that details internal migration histories, and social, economic, religious, and political push factors; one of the first publications to do so statistically.⁵

Research dealing with cultural push factors is also well represented, such as Tavuchis' excellent *Pastors and Immigrants*, detailing Norwegian dissatisfaction regarding the Lutheran Church, and the Church in Minnesota failing as the cultural shepherd it desperately tried to be. This touches on other points relevant for this thesis; the importance of Church identity (and efforts of pastors) in sustaining old identities in new places, while describing Scandinavian comfort with 'religious pluralism'.⁶

The literature also illuminates two points. One is that prompts to move changed over time, based on events and trends. This includes the Great Famine pushing Swedish emigration, peaking in 1869, addressed in Bohman's *Hungry Sixties*, and war and displacement, addressing in David Huggonson's *Queensland and the refugees from the German-Danish War of 1864* (2021), describing a

³ Gjerde, Jon, and Carlton Qualey. *Norwegians in Minnesota* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2002)

⁴ Ljungmark, Lars. *Swedish exodus* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1996) – Translated from the original *Den Stora Utvandringen*

⁵ Hvidt, Kristian. *Flight to America: The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York: Academic Press, 1975)

⁶ Tavuchis, Nicholas. *Pastors and Immigrants : The Role of a Religious Elite in the Absorption of Norwegian Immigrants* (Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht, 1963)

people severed from their homeland, thus motivated to find and commit to another. The second point is that larger numbers and higher concentrations slow assimilation; a contrast with New Zealand.⁷

Scandinavian migration to New Zealand

Although nineteenth century Scandinavian migration to New Zealand is a niche topic, literature has been developed on it.

The earliest considered for this study is J. W. Davidson's 1938 thesis (unpublished) on Scandinavian settlements in New Zealand, and the government role in establishing them. Detailed, it unfortunately does not track migrants outside the bush, and missed the opportunity to engage with surviving settlers, relying mostly on official records.⁸ Regrettably little academic literature was developed on Vogel's migrants while they were alive and could have contributed directly.⁹

A 1965 thesis by Leslie Gordon explored more generally Hawke's Bay migration during the 1858 to 1876 period, but was also developed from government records, maintaining distance from the migrants; less useful for the experiential focus of this study.¹⁰

In 1971 Rollo Arnold produced an extensive academic treatment; *The Opening of the Great Bush, 1869 – 1881*. This PhD thesis is exceptionally detailed at both community and individual levels, and covers many facets of the settler experience (especially education) across Wanganui, the Taranaki, Manawatū, and Seventy Mile Bush, including settlement development over time (until the early 1880s).¹¹ Despite meticulous detail, and reconstructing settler history at a granular level, the thesis lacks cultural explorations, and has been criticised for overly local focus, idealisation of settlers, and marginalisation of Māori, an issue in glaring contrast to its otherwise evidence-based character.¹²

John Morris in 1973 prepared a quantitative study (perhaps the first) on Vogel's migrants, including English, Irish, Scots, and continental Europeans. Although his thesis recognised arrival of Vogel migrants after the end of the scheme, and has been used in numerous demographic studies, it has been criticised for skewed sampling; failing to acknowledge the incomplete nature of the selected

⁷ Although tracking the differential is outside the scope of this thesis, the awareness that not all those that emigrated for material reasons actually wanted to leave implies that there were migrants who were more likely to try and retain as much of Home as they could, compared to those of their fellows who left for, at least in part, culturally motivated reasons.

⁸ Davidson, J. W. *Scandinavian Settlement in the Dominion*, (unpublished thesis, held by Victoria University of Wellington, 1938)

⁹ However, a quantity of Davidson's thesis was incorporated by Lyng in his book *The Scandinavians*, to good effect.

¹⁰ Gordon, Leslie Geoffrey. *Immigration into Hawke's Bay, 1858-1876* (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965).

¹¹ Modified for a broader audience, it also became the basis for a book of similar name, but the book being less analytical and with much of the details amalgamated, it has not been used for this study.

¹² Arnold, Rollo D. *The Opening of the Great Bush 1869 – 1881* (PhD Education, Victoria University of Wellington, 1971)

passenger records. The tiny number of continental Europeans included (around 30), and gappy records are in combination problematic, given how many migrant cohorts from one region arrived together aboard one vessel, and thus being absent from the study.¹³

Also in 1973, Anthony Grigg produced a thesis on colonial attitudes toward the Scandinavians they found themselves sharing their very English colony with. His work has been extremely helpful, demonstrating that nativism (so corrosive to assimilation) was not a meaningful hindrance for Vogel's Scandinavians, while detailing government rationales for the uncharacteristic recruitment of foreign labour. Working from government records and newspapers, his thesis maintains a closer connection with its subjects, although reflected through their perception by others.¹⁴

More contemporary is Mark Dunick's 2022 thesis *Continental European Assisted Immigrants*, including Scandinavians making up half the total. With methodologies including statistical analysis and tracking of individuals through passenger records, naturalisations, newspapers, and probate (among other sources), Dunick's thesis offers insights into community formation and integration, including settlement descriptions, migrant gender imbalances, and the mutual assimilation of various continental European migrant groups during their mutual assimilation into the 'English' majority. Dunick disputes the assumption that the special settlements held enclaves of foreign culture for any significant period of time, as does this thesis.¹⁵

Local histories

Local histories published on Scandinavian migrants and their settlements have been important to this thesis, despite limitations such as a general lack of academic rigour.¹⁶ Each history features a narrative of the community (or communities) represented, and they contain some of the only narratives and memories sourced from original settlers and their descendants.¹⁷ Despite flaws, local histories provided experiential and community details not found elsewhere.

¹³ Morris, John. *The Assisted Immigrants to New Zealand, 1871-79: A Statistical Study* (submitted for the M.A. degree, University of Auckland, 1973)

¹⁴ Grigg, Anthony R. *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration, 1870-1876* (B.A. Hons thesis in History, University of Otago, 1973)

¹⁵ Dunick, Mark Edward. *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand* (Doctoral dissertation, Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, 2022)

¹⁶ Typically; no citations, no bibliography, no comparisons to other communities, no comparisons to other ethnic migrant groups, little to no tie in with the state of the rest of the colony, and little to no analysis of their subject matter.

¹⁷ They were a people that did not have much use for writing things down, so they have left historians few letters, diaries, or memoirs to work with.

The earliest is Jens Lyng's *Scandinavians in Australia and New Zealand*, published in multiple editions between 1906 and 1939.¹⁸ Developed from primary sources, including personal histories gathered from settlers, it offers perspective into lives and experiences useful for understanding pressures (and willingness) to assimilate, and contains details not recorded in other, less personalised contemporary sources. However, it is not academic research; Lyng does not offer analysis of what he selected for inclusion. It is also focused mostly on Australia, although this provides contrast to the Scandinavian experience in New Zealand.

George Petersen in *Forest Homes* (1956) constructs a more richly detailed description of settler life, including daily routines and cultural practices otherwise absent in the literature. More than the settler experience, Petersen describes their world and engagement with it, providing insight on the thoughts of individuals and mindsets of communities. The focus on local settlements (especially Mauriceville) is limiting, and there is little information on events common across the colony such as recession. His writing is sometimes presented in such broad strokes that chronology and location are a mystery. Petersen is also short of analysis, making some note of cultural change over time, without examination.¹⁹

Both books demonstrate problems common to local histories predating the late twentieth, particularly 'settler ideology'; a romanticised focus on personal industry and morality providing success on merit in an empty virgin land, downplaying factors such as the colony overall and engagement with Māori.²⁰ This is not uncommon for the period.²¹ Each also suffers another common issue; selection for inclusion based on author interests (and access limitations), which can distort reader understanding.²²

More contemporary examples include Andersen's 1972 *Norsewood*, written for the community centennial. It offers details on arrival, early struggles, later expansion, and elements of cultural retention. But the book is high-level, barring selected anecdotes and personal histories. It is less romanticised than Lyng or Petersen, but also lacks analysis.²³ *Dannevirke* by McDonald (2002) is more detailed and carefully researched, drawn from a broad selection of well-cited sources, less romanticised than earlier histories and more nuanced. Covering the period from initial Māori arrival(s)

¹⁸ Lyng, Jens Sørensen. *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne University Press, 1939) [The edition used for this thesis]

¹⁹ Petersen, George Conrad. *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956)

²⁰ Despite obvious evidence of copious contact with Māori from an early stage of settlement; trading for oats, purchasing of horses and dogs, etc.

²¹ The well-regarded work of C. J. Carle, *Forty Mile Bush*, published in 1980, is literally subtitled 'A Tribute to the Pioneers'

²² Also the possibility of suppression of information considered uncomfortable, especially given that many of the original settlers were alive when Lyng first published, and their direct descendants when Petersen did.

²³ Andersen, Archibald Leonard. *Norsewood : the centennial story*. (A. L. Andersen, 1972)

to the 1920s, focussed on the structure and nature of the community while avoiding institutional and personal histories, *Dannevirke* is a more modern and well-researched book, and a solid reference for this thesis.²⁴

Two standouts need mention. *Norsewood : A Special Settlement* by the Kitts (2014) is not the typical local history narrative. The authors collated copious primary resources into an outstanding reference. These include migration records, government communications, reports, maps, land records, newspapers, advertisements, photographs, institutional records, and oral histories, all gathered and collated with brief descriptions providing context. Elements of the culture and heritage of the Norsewood settlers are also presented, although there is (again) a lack of tie-in with the colony overall, presence of Māori, or analysis of materials. This thesis used the *Norsewood* reference extensively.

The second is Val Burr's *Mosquitoes and Sawdust* (1995), an excellent example of a rigorous local history, well regarded and oft-cited. Despite focussing on Manawatū settlers, their experiences and daily lives have been very useful for this thesis. Burr collated a well cited selection of primary sources (land and employment records, school records, naturalisation, church records, newspapers, personal correspondence, and more), as well as histories gathered directly from settler descendants. *Mosquitoes and Sawdust* avoids romanticisation, and incorporates local and family histories to present a detailed understanding of Scandinavian settlement, development, and assimilation factors.

Many other local histories used in this study have been institutionally focussed (particularly schools and churches) produced for anniversaries of note. They typically contain overviews of communities hosting the institution, but shed little light beyond that institution. This literature exists for Norsewood School, Dannevirke Country, Dannevirke North School, and more. Some, such as the *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* (1949), have significant settlement details, and as with Lyng and Petersen's work was produced when pioneer voices could still be heard.²⁵ These histories have seen some use in this thesis.²⁶

²⁴ An earlier history, *Dannevirke*, written by G. H. McDonald, was not utilised.

²⁵ Culliford A. F., and R. I. Harrison. *75th Jubilee Norsewood School 1874 - 1949* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1949)

²⁶ Other institutional local histories include:

Dannevirke North School Diamond Jubilee 1936 : official souvenir (Taranaki District, 1936), and;
Dannevirke Borough : Sixtieth Anniversary (Dannevirke Borough Council, 1952), and;
Norsewood 1872-1972 official souvenir programme booklet (Norsewood Centennial Committee, 1972), and;
Dobson, Ethel. *Dannevirke North School Centennial 1873 – 1973* (Dannevirke Publishing, 1973), and;
Vaughan, C., and P. Ridge, and B. Thomsen. *Norsewood School Centennial March 1974* (1974), and;
Martha, Anne. *Dannevirke Presbyterian Parish 1887 – 1987* (The Parish Council, Knox Presbyterian Church, Dannevirke, 1987), and;
Halford, Bert. *Norsewood District and School – Celebrating 125 Years 1872-1997* (Norsewood Reunion Committee, 1997), and;

More tightly focused on the experiences and reflections of individuals are family histories such as Andresen's *Johanna's World*, Johnson's *From Norway*, and Brew's *Scandinavian Footprints*. Care has been taken with these. They offer detailed and valuable accounts of thoughts, drives, and interactions at the individual and family level, with assimilation cues and progression woven throughout. But while developed from historical literature, family records, and oral histories collected from descendants; they are stories, and their presentation reflects this.²⁷

Other migrant groups in New Zealand

Broader studies of migration to New Zealand also offer contrasts with other migrant groups, valuable to this thesis.

The Albertlanders have been the subject of several books, beginning with Henry Brett's *Albertland : Brave Pioneers of the 'Sixties*, first published in 1927; a local history that details in romanticised fashion the struggles of those who stayed on their land.²⁸ James Burrows' 1969 *Albertland : the last organised British settlement in New Zealand* is a local history prepared with extensive primary sources, limited romanticisation, highlights the importance of economic viability to hold people on their land, and demonstrates how dispersal corrodes unity.²⁹ Read Wheeler's PhD thesis *The Albertlanders* studied the community, and the people, to a much more rigorous degree. Using modern tools and source access, Read tracked the Albertland migrants not just in the settlement itself, but also the majority who departed from it (or never settled it) to seek success in colonial communities instead. Read demonstrates the importance of language, dispersal, and mixing in rapid assimilation.³⁰

P. L. Berry's 1964 exploration and analysis of German migrants in Nelson includes their cultural and social integration into colonial society. As skilled migrants, their experience differed from that of Vogel's Scandinavians in the Bush. Their pastors influence on cohesion was notable, but rapid adoption of English, mixing, and intermarriage, led to rapid assimilation anyway.³¹

Dannevirke North School 1873-1998 (Dannevirke North School, 1998), and; Harold, Sherynn. *St Joseph's Parish Dannevirke : Celebrating 100 Years of Faith 1898 – 1998* (St Joseph's Parish Centennial Committee, 1998)

²⁷ Andresen, O. M. *Johanna's World* (Viking Sevensseas, 2001), and; Johnson, Rachel M. *From Norway with Love* (Rachel M. Johnson, 2006), and; Brew, Margit. *Scandinavian Footprints* (Egan Reid Ltd, 2007)

²⁸ [The most recent edition; the 1927 edition with indexing] Brett, Henry, and Hook, Henry. *The Albertlanders: Brave pioneers of the 1860s* (2003).

²⁹ Borrows, James L. *Albertland: the last organised British settlement in New Zealand* (A. H. & A. W. Reed 1969)

³⁰ Wheeler, Read. *The Albertlanders: the making and remaking of a New Zealand provincial immigration scheme: a thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History* (Massey University, 2025)

³¹ Berry, P. L. *Germans in New Zealand : 1840 to 1870* (thesis toward MA History, University of Canterbury, 1964)

The assimilation experience of the Puhoi Dalmations was a marked contrast to the Albertlanders and Scandinavians. An overview, *Old Puhoi* (1937), written by Erle Rose, is too high level and bereft of details for academic purposes.³² Silk's *A history of Puhoi* (1923) is deeper, although brief, but a local history very much of 'romantic settler' ideology. Like many earlier histories it contains immediate details and knowledge (such as oral histories) that would otherwise have passed with the original settlers, although it has also been criticised for genealogical errors.³³ Marjory Hurrey's *Down the years* is an excellent archive of collated resources, although lacking analysis.³⁴ More useful treatments of Puhoi include Jana Procházková's *Bohemians in New Zealand* (2010), written for a Czech academic audience. *Bohemians* addresses aspects of the Puhoi experience related to their slow assimilation; the importance of religion and language as sources of identity, isolation, cultural changes in the early twentieth, and the mythologising of initial hardships. Procházková looks also at heritage pride and the recent revival of cultural practices, describing them as performative.³⁵

Immigrant history with a wider lens has also been developed, with Wilfred Borrie being among the more prominent on the topic. Through his publications Borrie established himself as an influential historian, specialising in immigration and population studies. Completed in 1938, *Immigration to New Zealand since 1854* (PhD thesis and precursor to the book *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938*) is an excellent starting point for any study of migration to New Zealand, framed from a demographic perspective.³⁶ His writing includes *The European Peopling of Australasia* (1992), *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants* (1967), and a multitude of studies on immigration to Australasia.³⁷ Borrie's writing (and the collections that he edited) are well-regarded, information dense, insightful, and valuable to any historian studying immigration across Australasia, although marred by a dismissive attitude toward indigenous peoples.

³² Rose, Erle. *Old Puhoi* (A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1937)

³³ Silk, D. V. *A history of Puhoi : an historical narrative of the people of Puhoi, dedicated to the pioneers living and dead* (N.Z. Tablet Printing & Publishing, 1923)

³⁴ Hurrey, Marjory. *Down the years : a scrapbook chronicle of Puhoi, a New Zealand Bohemian settlement, 1861-1986* (Christine Krippner, 2013) [published posthumously]

³⁵ Procházková, Jana. 'Bohemians in New Zealand - The history and Present Situation of the Puhoi Village' *Český Lid* 97, (Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, 2010) 19-34

³⁶ Borrie, Wilfred D. *Immigration to New Zealand since 1854* (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1937), and; Borrie, Wilfred D. *Immigration to New Zealand, 1854-1938* (Highland Press, 1991)

³⁷ Including:

Borrie, Wilfred D. *Italians and Germans in Australia* (1954), and;

Borrie, Wilfred D. *The Cultural Integration of Immigrants: a survey based upon the papers and proceedings of the Unesco conference held in Havana, April, 1956* (UNESCO, Paris, 1956), and;

Borrie, Wilfred D. *The peopling of Australia* (University of Sydney, 1958), and;

Borrie, Wilfred D. (Ed.), *Population Growth: National and International Trends* (Editor, 1975)

Further assimilation studies

Multi-dimensional assimilation studies are becoming more common, as contemporary historians no longer consider assimilation inevitable or a single-track process, but a process of multiple elements that extend from all parties, with aspects such as language, religion, and public vs private cultural practices, all changing at different rates.³⁸

Heath and Schneider in *Dimensions of Migrant Integration in Western Europe* (2021) developed a modern assessment of assimilation vs multi-dimensional integration, tracking how structural factors (such as employment), social factors (networks and intermarriage), cultural factors (language use), and civic factors (political participation), all progress at different rates.³⁹ Maehler and Daikeler in *The Cultural Identity of First-Generation Adult Immigrants* (2024) have mapped changes in identity using meta-analysis of multiple studies on identification (as acknowledged by first and second generation migrants), correlated across multiple origin factors, especially political ones.⁴⁰ Gülzau et al produced *Liberal democratic values among migrants* (2025), demonstrating that migrants tend toward liberal democratic values, varied at their destination by the societal values of their prior Home, demonstrating that deeper patterns of belief do not shift as easily as publicly demonstrated behaviours.⁴¹

Earlier, less multi-dimensional studies, also have value in understanding migrant agency in assimilation. Timothy Hatton's 1997 *Immigrant Assimilation Puzzle in Late Nineteenth-Century America* explores the relationship between assimilation and economic success. Hatton studied British, German, and Scandinavian immigrants, providing a window on choice as necessity in the face of material pressures, rather than just social ones. He demonstrates that migrants maintaining a less pure cultural identity, and who learned the majority language faster, enjoyed greater earning potential. The previous perspective was that foreign origins had little effect on material status in labour dependant nineteenth century economies (barring the effect of overt racism).⁴² Further studies

³⁸ Since the later decades of the twentieth century there has been pushback against early non-narrative attempts to understand social mobility, acculturation, and the general use of demographic cohorts to study people who move culturally, socially, and geographically, typified by labour historians like James Henretta as 'consciousness and meaning [being] usurped by data and diagrams.'

Henretta, James. "The Study of Social Mobility: Ideological Assumptions and Conceptual Bias", *Labor History*, 18:2 (Spring 1977)

³⁹ Heath, Anthony F., and Silke L. Schneider. 'Dimensions of Migrant Integration in Western Europe', *Migration Studies* (Front Sociol. 2021, Apr 29; 6)

⁴⁰ Maehler, Debora, and Jessica Daikeler. 'The cultural identity of first-generation adult immigrants: A meta-analysis', *Self and Identity* (2024), 23 (5–6) 450–483

⁴¹ Gülzau, Fabian, and Marc Helbling, and Sandra Morgenstern. 'Liberal democratic values among immigrants in Europe: Socialisation and adaptation processes', *European Journal of Political Research*. (Cambridge University Press, 2025) 1-24

⁴² Hatton, Timothy. "The Immigrant Assimilation Puzzle in Late Nineteenth-Century America", *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol 57, No 1 (1997) 34-62

by Hannon and Blau demonstrate that migrants could be tremendously disadvantaged by language alone, taking longer to develop work skills, and even being forced to engage economically within linguistically defined ghettos until fluent, after which they could catch-up with the native-born.⁴³ A 2021 paper by Rho and Sanders; *Immigrant Earnings Assimilation*, demonstrates that for high skill immigrants, or those whose skills are needed, earnings and earnings growth are likely to be exceptional by majority population standards, and they are likely to find employment quickly. Lower skill migrants or those possessing skillsets saturated in the labour market will experience delays in finding employment, and lower economic gains for it.⁴⁴ The impact of these factors on Scandinavian assimilation in New Zealand is significant, but not well explored in existing literature.

Further research by Shen and Kogan (*Immigrants' relative income*, 2019, and alluded to in Hatton, 1997) demonstrates that children of migrants tend to outstrip the earning power of native-born. This advantage becomes salient if the migrant community is smaller or rural, and second-generation individuals relocate to urban centres. This has significant impact on the cultural resilience, or lack thereof, of the second generation.⁴⁵ At the same time, older studies demonstrate that maintaining mobility to pursue advantage within the new country also has a positive effect on assimilation, as per J. Higham in *Integrating America: the Problem of Assimilation in the Nineteenth Century* (1981).⁴⁶

More recent literature highlights the importance of conscious migrant decisions in assimilation. Kiu and Pringle's *Mainland Chinese first-generation immigrants* (2023) describes deliberate efforts to forestall or address nativism by cloaking foreignness in the cultural practices of the majority, building on factors alluded to in earlier literature such as S. A. Reiss' *A Fighting Chance: The Jewish-American Boxing Experience, 1890-1940* (1985).⁴⁷

⁴³ Blau, Francine D. 'Immigration and Labor Earnings in Early Twentieth Century America.' *Research in Population Economics* 2 (1980): 21-41, and;

Hannon, Joan U. 'Ethnic Discrimination in a Nineteenth Century Mining District: Michigan Copper Mines, 1888.' *Explorations in Economic History* 19, no. 1 (1982) 28-50

⁴⁴ Rho, D., and S. Sanders. 'Immigrant Earnings Assimilation in the United States: A Panel Analysis', *Journal of Labor Economics*, Vol 31 No 1 (2021)

⁴⁵ Shen, J., and I. Kogan. 'Immigrants' relative income and life satisfaction: Comparison groups from a multi-generational perspective', *Acta Sociologica*, Vol 63(1), (2019) page 82-102

⁴⁶ Higham, J. 'Integrating America: the Problem of Assimilation in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, I (Fall 1981)

⁴⁷ Pringle, R. and L. Kiu, 'Mainland Chinese first-generation immigrants and New Zealander's views on sport participation, race/ethnicity and the body: Does sport participation enhance cultural understandings?' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol 58(4), (2023) 725-745, and;

Reiss, S. A. 'A Fighting Chance: The Jewish-American Boxing Experience, 1890-1940', *American Jewish History*, 74 (March 1985) 233-254

Database resources

Historians are increasingly turning to database resources to support their research. Pertinent examples include John Morris (1973), and more current work by Sue McCliskie (2020) and Read Wheeler (2025).⁴⁸ This thesis also utilised numerous databases, vital to tracking the movement of people who did not record much of their own lives. Foremost among them is the *Norsewood Cemetery Project*, a genealogical database developed by Pip Peck; genealogist and Norsewood pioneer descendent. Their work collates family and personal histories with official records into a genealogical collection invaluable to this thesis.⁴⁹

Additional data, particularly regarding marriages and births, was sourced through the New Zealand Society of Genealogists via the *Kiwi Collection*.⁵⁰ Family Search was also a valuable resource, particularly for probate records that helped identify descendants and confirm marriages.⁵¹ The Department of Internal Affairs *Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948* was also invaluable for providing a snapshot of settler movement.⁵² However, none of these resources have assembled or mapped indicators of assimilation to provide a picture of how quickly it occurred for those of Vogel's Scandinavians who welcomed it.

⁴⁸ Morris, John. *The Assisted Immigrants to New Zealand, 1871-79: A Statistical Study* (submitted for the M.A. degree, University of Auckland, 1973), and; McCliskie, Sue. 'Using Digital Genealogy to trace Colonial Mobility: Dangerous Ground or Rich New Research Methods', *Britain and the World*, Volume 13, Issue 2 (2020), and; Wheeler, Read. *The Albertlanders: the making and remaking of a New Zealand provincial immigration scheme: a thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History* (Massey University, 2025)

⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the Norsewood Cemetery Project is (at the time of this writing) available only through the Internet Archive, the website no longer being accessible at the original URL. [LINK](#)

⁵⁰ New Zealand Society of Genealogists – Kiwi Collection. [LINK](#)

⁵¹ Family Search – Probate and Miscellaneous Records [LINK](#)

⁵² [This resource is no longer available directly via the DIA website, but can still be accessed through the National Library] *Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948* - National Library [LINK](#)

1 - Why Scandinavians left Scandinavia

Scandinavians, the push and pull factors they experienced, and their willingness to move.

Over the Long Nineteenth, tens of millions of Europeans left their homelands to seek a better future. They were pushed from Europe by poverty, political disenfranchisement, religious persecution, and war.⁵³ They were drawn to their destinations by the promise of employment, affordable land, political empowerment, religious freedom, and security. Some returned. Some returned and departed multiple times. But so many left that the 'European Diaspora' was grimly referred to by governments of the day as 'the emigration problem'.⁵⁴ Scandinavia was no exception, with over three million departing, of which 95 percent settled in the Americas.⁵⁵

The factors encouraging Scandinavians to emigrate, alone or in families, were similar to those experienced by the rest of Europe. Some left seeking greater political or religious freedom, some fled events. But the vast majority emigrated in search of better economic opportunities such as employment, affordable land, social advancement, or the prospect of a more stable food supply. They left despite leaving behind almost everything they knew; homes, friends, and family, and other elements some left behind willingly.

Peace, vaccines, and potatoes

The strongest pressures to leave were economic, grounded in population growth, as the citizenry of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, roughly tripled during the long nineteenth.⁵⁶ In 1833 Swedish Bishop (and poet) Esaias Tegner would attribute this to 'freden, vaccinet och potaterna' (peace, vaccines, and potatoes).⁵⁷ But within a just few years these factors, and attendant population increase, had pushed many rural Scandinavians into deep poverty. There were too many people for the land to support.

⁵³ Petersen, George Conrad. *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 5.

⁵⁴ Kuldkepp, Mart. 'Emigration and Scandinavian Identity'. *Introduction to Nordic Cultures*, 181-94 (University College London, 2020) 181-182, and;

Tavuchis, Nicholas. *Pastors and Immigrants : The Role of a Religious Elite in the Absorption of Norwegian Immigrants* (Springer – Science+Business Media Dordrecht, 1963) 12 and 16

⁵⁵ North America received the vast majority of emigrating Europeans, to the point that today the United States and Canada together boast several demographic oddities, such as hosting 38 percent of the world's population claiming German descent, 33 percent of the world's population claiming Scandinavian decent, and seven times more people claiming Irish descent than actually live in Ireland.

⁵⁶ O'Neill, Aaron. *Population of Denmark 1769-2020*, Statista (2022) [LINK](#), and;

O'Neill, Aaron. *Population of Norway from 1769 to 2020*, Statista (2022) [LINK](#), and;

Jonsson, Pernilla, and Fredrik Sandgren, 'Statistics on the occupational structure of Sweden 1800-1920'. *Occupational structure and industrialization in a comparative perspective* (INCHOS Book Project, University of Cambridge, 2009) Fig 1

⁵⁷ Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 182.

Norway was already utilising all of its arable land by around 1800, pushing into increasingly marginal land.⁵⁸ Denmark achieved some success by transforming half its wetlands into fields during the period.⁵⁹ Sweden actually tripled its arable land between 1800 and 1870 through massive deforestation.⁶⁰ But these efforts were not enough.

Worsening land shortages were inheritance practices.⁶¹ In Denmark crofts were commonplace, but a high proportion of farmers owned their land, a proportion that increased during the nineteenth thanks to progressive land reforms begun the century before. Both owned farms and tenancies were typically inherited by the eldest son, but more sons could mean subdivided lands too small to support the families working them, or younger sons becoming landless labourers. Draining wetlands was insufficient, and families kept getting larger. The numbers of rural poor increased, with migration to a town or city, or emigration to North America, were popular options.⁶²

In Sweden nearly half of all rural households were tenant farmers or landless labourers, which meant internal migration was already taking place. But for those that owned their farms, inheritances were traditionally distributed between male descendants, creating increasingly small and impractical sub-divisions of land as families expanded. This prompted an 1827 law forbidding land division below what would support a family. But the situation for landowners and crofters resembled that of Denmark; growing families too large to be supported on plots too small to be efficient.⁶³

In Norway fishing was a common occupation and source of food, but did not offer economic mobility. Tenant farming and herding were the norm for rural people, although the majority farmed land they rented rather than owned, or served as labourers on the farms of others. Limited grazing led to extreme practices such as lowering goats on ropes down the sides of fjords to access forage.⁶⁴ There was little new land that could be brought under the plough that was anything but marginal.⁶⁵ While some support for a growing population was provided by labour needed for a growing shipping industry, rising government debt and poor harvests led to economic stagnation and climbing poverty rates.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ Burr, *Mosquitoes and Sawdust* 4.

⁵⁹ O'Dell, Andrew C. *The Scandinavian World*. (Longmans Green, 1957) 190

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 121

⁶¹ Keesing, Norma. *The Immigration of the Scandinavian People to the Hawke's Bay*. (Norma Keesing, 1993) 2

⁶² Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 183-4.

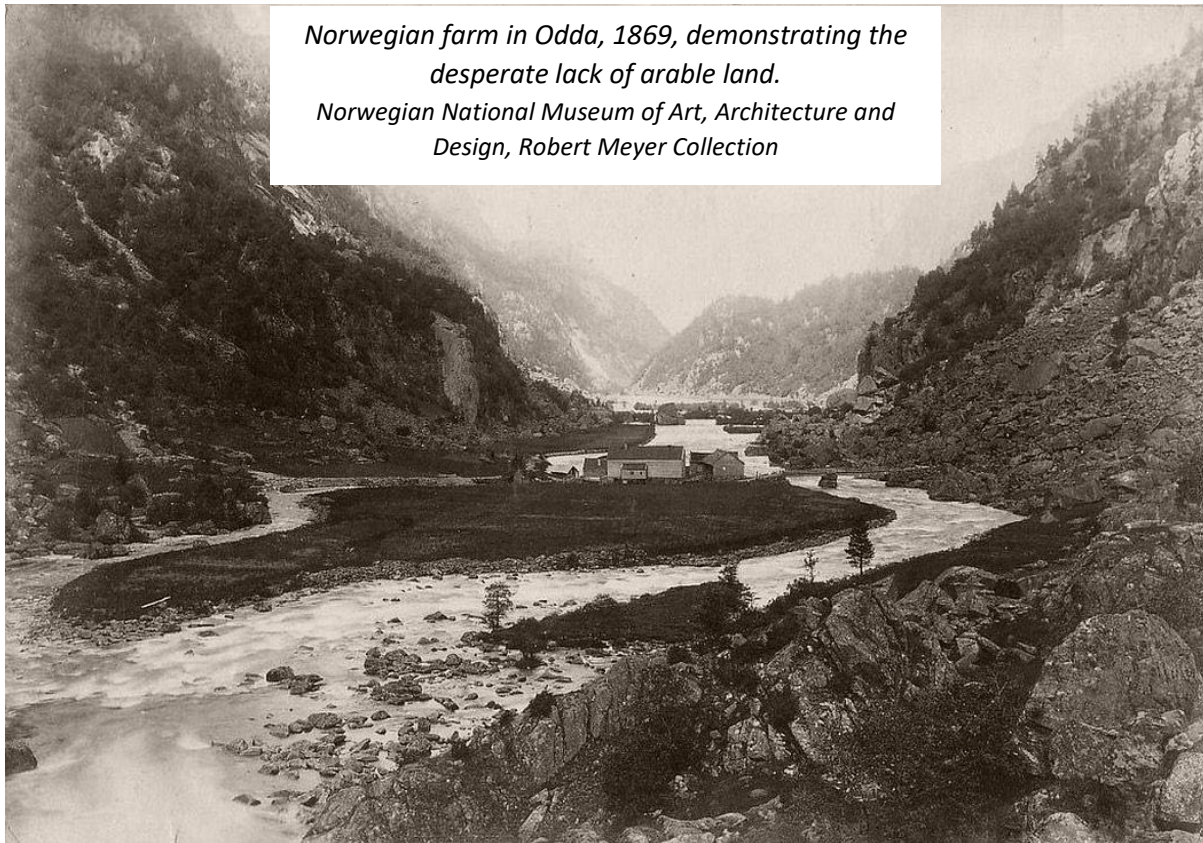
⁶³ *Ibid* 183.

⁶⁴ Culliford, A. F., and R. I. Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School 1874 - 1949* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1949) 64

⁶⁵ Such as Pasotorpet, described in the opening chapters of *Johanna's World*; hilly, stony, lightly forested in pine, and not very productive.

Andresen, Øystein Molstad. *Johanna's World* (Viking Sevenses NZ Ltd, 2001) 28-9.

⁶⁶ As Norwegian farmers and crofters pressed into increasingly marginal lands seeking subsistence, an interesting method of dealing with economically unproductive individuals emerged. The elderly were a burden on the impoverished households they had helmed, so local parishes in places like Odalen established care



Unlike in most other European nations of the time there was only a limited economic relief valve for the rural poor through employment in cities; the industrial revolution would not reach Scandinavia in any meaningful sense until around 1870.⁶⁷

A sequence of unfortunate events

Events compounded these woes. Bad harvests occurred throughout Scandinavia during the 1830s, pushing increasingly large numbers of rural poor into local migration as itinerant labourers and seasonal workers. In 1851 and 1857 Denmark passed laws removing internal tariffs and guild control of industry, which proved beneficial to many, but reduced the job security and income of craftsmen and professionals.⁶⁸ In 1864 Prussia declared war after the Danish government broke an agreement regarding governance of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies of southern Jutland.⁶⁹ The fighting lasted less

rosters, where the infirm would live for a week with one family, then move on to live with another for a week, in a constant rotation intended to share the load.

Andresen, *Johanna's World*, 26 and 263.

⁶⁷ Nielsen, Sophie Krogh. 'Daily Life in Denmark in the 19th Century', *The Bridge Vol 37 : No 1, Article 7* (2014) 44

⁶⁸ *ibid*, 43.

⁶⁹ In 1863 the Danish government, believing Prussia to be distracted by their campaigning in Poland, absorbed Schleswig (nominally affiliated with the German Confederation, but ruled by the Danish king) by applying a blanket Constitution to both the Duchy and Denmark proper. Wilhelm I and Otto von Bismarck considered

than a year, decisively in Prussia's favour. Some of the 200,000 Danes living in Schleswig-Holstein, a minority to ethnic Germans also native there, left for already overcrowded towns and cities further north. This occurred immediately after the Danish defeat, and surged again years later when swearing fealty to Prussia, compulsory Prussian military service, and bans on the Danish language in schools were introduced.⁷⁰

In 1867 the Great Famine began in Finland and Sweden. Unseasonal rains in 1866 damaged wheat and potato crops, followed in 1867 in northern Sweden by a cold spring that delayed planting until midsummer, and in 1868 by a drought in south Sweden. All of Finland suffered both of these meteorological calamities. Around 250,000 died, mostly Finns, while in Sweden 1867 was known as 'the Lichen Year', so named for what many were eating. Whole communities in affected Swedish counties simply fled.⁷¹

Changes in the value of agricultural exports also caused economic pain. In the 1860s the newly emancipated serfs of Russia began exporting cheap grain in bulk thanks to the ongoing expansion of European rail networks. Russian grain poured into the United Kingdom, the principal market for grain from Scandinavia. This led to changes in agriculture, such as a pivot from wheat to enclosure for livestock, the immediate effect of which was to worsen agricultural incomes for small farms across Scandinavia.⁷²

Political disenfranchisement

Outside of factors pressing on the lower tiers of Maslow's Hierarchy (sustaining of life) were higher tier factors (satisfaction from life) that also helped push people to depart.⁷³ It is odd today to think of the liberal and democratic modern Scandinavian states this way, but in the nineteenth century

Schleswig to be a German Confederation polity. Most of Europe backed them, with Austria actually joining the fight on the side of the Prussians. The occupation of Schleswig-Holstein became effectively permanent after the French defeat at the end of the Franco-Prussian war of 1871.

⁷⁰ A situation that would come a head in the early 1880s, as so many Danes refused to serve in the Schleswig occupation army that the Prussian government reportedly decided to expel all Danes from Prussian territory *Manawatu Times*, Volume VIII, Issue 211, 15 March 1883, Page 3 [LINK](#)

⁷¹ *Last Great Famine in Northern Europe*, Environment and Society Portal (Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society) accessed 10/09/2023, and; Ludvigsson, David. *Televising the Famine: An Audiovisual Representation of the Famine in Northern Sweden, 1867–1868*. (Linköping University, 2017) 106

⁷² Dunick, Mark Edward. *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand* (Doctoral dissertation, Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, 2022) 70, and; Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 187, and;

Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust* 5, and;

Falkus, M. E. 'Russia and the International Wheat Trade, 1861-1914', *Economica*, Nov., 1966, New Series, Vol. 33, No. 132 (Nov., 1966) 416-29

⁷³ In order of importance; Physiological, Security, Belonging, Self-esteem, and Self-actualisation.

political disenfranchisement was universal for anyone not already wealthy or connected with the Crown, making for a democratic process that did not involve most people.⁷⁴

In Denmark voting rights were enjoyed by less than 15 percent of the population.⁷⁵ In Sweden 12 percent could vote, with local elections apportioning votes relative to wealth.⁷⁶ An 1858 quotation from a Swedish migrant in America expressed how heavy politics could weight as a prompt to leave; 'I long realised the oppression of [Sweden's] less fortunate citizens... The undue power of the higher classes, the disregard and harshness with which they used it to oppress the poor.'⁷⁷ Norway also allowed only 12 percent to vote, with governance 'dominated by the aristocracy of professional men who filled most of the important posts in the central government'.⁷⁸ Historian Sverre Steen gives a more pointed description: 'Prior to 1814, the higher civil servants ruled in the name of the king. After 1814, they ruled in the name of the parliament.' The civil service, drawn from academia, became a sort of untitled nouveau nobility, even intermarrying to maintain familial control of government positions.⁷⁹ In each case voters needed to be male, married, and landowning. Social hierarchies were rigid, and unpopular requirements such as conscription were common across all three nations.⁸⁰

The reality was that the people making policy and writing laws were not meaningfully answerable to the majority of the people affected by them.⁸¹

Religion

Religion in Scandinavia was also a growing source of discontent for some, grounded in Lutheran Church integration with government. Emerging in the 16th century, Lutheranism was adopted as the state religion in Denmark (then including Norway) to reduce the influence of the Catholics. In Sweden, Lutheranism was adopted as part of the patriotic movement under King Vasa during the dissolution

⁷⁴ Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 17-8.

⁷⁵ The '7 Fs' were unable to vote: fruentimmere (women), folkeholde (servants), fattige (poor people), fremmede (foreigners), fallenter (bankrupts), fjolster (fools), and forbrydere (criminals) Nielsen, *Daily Life in Denmark in the 19th Century* 48.

⁷⁶ Bengtsson, Erik. 'The Evolution of Popular Politics in 19th-Century Sweden and the Road from Oligarchy to Democracy'. *Journal of Modern European History*, Vol 21 Issue 1 (2022) 1-2.

⁷⁷ Goldstein, Robert Justin. *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe*. (Routledge Library Editions: Political Science, 2013 edition) 197.

⁷⁸ Quoted in 1848 by the utopian socialist and journalist Marcus Møller Thrane, just before his seven-year stint in prison for forming worker organisations that sought better conditions and wages, mass education, universal suffrage, and other things considered by the government to be inimical to social order.

⁷⁹ Myhre, Jan Eivind. 'Academics as the Ruling Elite in 19th Century Norway', *Historical Social Research*, Vol 33 No 2 (2008) 21-41, p.21-2

⁸⁰ [The loss of a working age son for several years from a family would have been quite a burden] Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants* 5.

⁸¹ How this may have motivated individual Scandinavians who arrived in New Zealand in the 1870s is speculation, but there are some indications that political involvement was a priority, expressed in a later chapter.

of the Kalmar Union, prompting confiscation of Catholic properties and wealth, and the end of Catholic political influence. Across Scandinavia the Lutheran Church was elevated and drawn tightly to each Crown.⁸²

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries functions of local administration fell increasingly on the local parish as an arm of the State. Pastors recorded births, Confirmations, marriages, and deaths, and performed typically secular government functions including discussions on public duties, managing state mandated poor relief for those without family, basic mass education, and compiling conscription lists. The parish also collected taxes to fund these efforts, making the Church financially intrusive.⁸³

But while each nation became more liberal through the second half of the nineteenth, Lutheranism remained pre-eminent, ubiquitous, and sometimes burdensome. In Sweden, for example, only Lutherans were permitted to hold public office, and only Lutherans were (technically) permitted residency.⁸⁴ Non-Lutheran Christians from across Scandinavia, including Catholic vestiges, the new Wesleyan Church of Norway, and emerging Swedish Methodists and Baptists, would have been inclined to relocate from under a Lutheran Church to which they did not want to belong.⁸⁵ Some Lutherans even felt the Church had lost vibrancy while assuming more secular functions, becoming 'spiritually sterile' during its transformation into an arm of government.⁸⁶

Willingness to move

A key factor to emigration is willingness to relocate. Far from the anecdote of people being born, growing up, marrying, living their lives, and dying within the same community, mobility was a common element of the Scandinavian lifestyle during the Long Nineteenth. Knowledge regarding opportunities travelled as slowly as a ship sails, but people were largely aware of the differences between where they were and where they could be.

Mobility beyond their home nations is something the people of Scandinavia have been comfortable with for a long time. It could be argued, with one's tongue in one's cheek, that Nordic peoples began seeking prosperity through migration during the fourth century Migration Period, when their movements carried them deep into the Roman Empire. From the eighth through eleventh

⁸² Oka, Kenjiro. *Scandinavian Piety: The study on the spiritual context of Pietism revival in 19th Century mainly in Sweden*. (Graduation Thesis for Master of Divinity, Kobe Lutheran Theological Seminary, 2017) 7-8

⁸³ Markkola, Pirjo. 'The Long History of Lutheranism in Scandinavia. From State Religion to the People's Church', *Perichoresis*, Vol 13, Issue 2 (2015) 7

⁸⁴ Markkola, *The Long History of Lutheranism in Scandinavia*, 1 and 6.

⁸⁵ Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 184, and; Granquist, M. A. *Scandinavian Pietists: Spiritual Writings from 19th-Century Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland*. Classics of Western Spirituality (Paulist Press, 2015) 14-5

⁸⁶ Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 18

centuries many Scandinavians left their homelands with tremendous enthusiasm to seek economic opportunities elsewhere.⁸⁷ And with the eighteenth-century repeal of laws restricting movement from the parish (Denmark) or across borders (Sweden), nineteenth century Scandinavians were free to move between nations as they willed.⁸⁸

The importance of economic push/pull factors, and their effect on the willingness of Scandinavians to move, is demonstrated in a study by Åkerman of 344 men from the Swedish city of Vasteras, tracked from age 20 to 38 in the late nineteenth century. Between 23 (confirmed) and 45 (possible) emigrated. Only 76 (22 percent) remained in the city for the 18-year period of the study, with at least 223 migrating internally within Sweden. Of those born in Vasteras only one in ten remained for the duration studied.⁸⁹ Although people of higher social class were more likely to move, progressive social mobility was supported by physical mobility. Around 41 percent of people considered 'unskilled or labourer' class attained semi-skilled, skilled, or white-collar status during the study period. Crucially, those who migrated were more likely to achieve this at 63 percent, while only 15 percent of those who stayed did. But of the migrants with higher than 'unskilled or labourer' status who moved, 22 percent lost economic status.⁹⁰

The lure of greener pastures

As economic pressures from population growth mounted, and as political and religious factors applied 'soft' pressures of their own, pull factors from other nations were felt ever more keenly. The Scandinavian tendency for mobility would carry them overseas in vast numbers, and to North America in particular, for which an engine of encouragement had developed.

In the later portion of the nineteenth, letters extolling the virtues of life in the Americas began arriving from family already settled there, a phenomenon becoming so voluminous they became known as 'America letters'. Circulars such as Norwegian *Norway and America* and *Verdens Gang* (Norway), and *Amerika* (Sweden), were among many publishing stories of migrants succeeding in the New World.⁹¹ Carleton Qualey noted 'America letters were a dynamic factor, perhaps the most

⁸⁷ The Danelaw (from 865), Normandy (from 911), and the Shetlands, Orkneys, and Isle of Man (from the 9th century onwards) are the standouts of this period, during which time the Vikings were so notorious that the Lord's Prayer was adjusted to accommodate them; "A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine" (*from the fury of the Northmen deliver us, O Lord.*)

⁸⁸ [Danish males forbidden to leave the parish] Baack, Lawrence J. *Agrarian Reform in Eighteenth -Century Denmark*, University Studies of the University of Nebraska (1977) 3-4, and; [Swedes requiring royal permission to leave the country] Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 184.

⁸⁹ Åkerman, Sune. 'Swedish Migration and Social Mobility: The Tale of Three Cities', *Social Science History*, Vol 1, No 2 (Winter, 1977)

⁹⁰ Ibid. 181-3.

⁹¹ US Library of Congress, "Scandinavians: The Norwegians", *Immigration and Relocation in US History*, (Classroom Materials) accessed 24/10/23, and;

effective single factor' for encouraging emigration.⁹² If a published letter was contrary to the narrative of America as the land of opportunity, it was swiftly answered by immigration agents whose livelihoods depended on a steady flow of Europeans.

Letters were supplemented by materials from frontier governments; the Wisconsin Board of Immigration in one year alone printed 20,000 German-language copies of a marketing pamphlet, and advertised in dozens of newspapers across England and continental Europe. Promotional materials could be seen in migrant homes 'standing in the little bookshelf side by side with the Bible, the prayer book, the Catechism, and a few other reminiscences from the old country.'⁹³ The message carried by these materials was typically assisted passage, employment guarantees, and 'free' land such as the 160 acres available via the 1862 Homestead Act.⁹⁴

Supplementing letters, advertisements, and pamphlets, were visits by Scandinavian journalists and prior emigrants, both demonstrating another attractive factor; it was as easy to return as to go, making migration less daunting.⁹⁵ Some returnees were sponsored by businesses seeking more labour, steamship lines more passengers, or were representatives of frontier governments eager for strong backs. Some returnees worked directly for emigration and shipping agents, their travel subsidised for marketing purposes.⁹⁶ A quote from Norwegian Andreas Ueland is revealing: 'A farmer from Houston County, Minnesota, returned on a visit the winter of '70-'71. He infected half the population in that district with what was called the America fever, and I who was then the most susceptible caught the fever in its most virulent form. No more amusement of any kind, only brooding on how to get away to America. It was like a desperate case of homesickness reversed.'⁹⁷

Key also was presence of family. Many Scandinavians emigrated after learning of land and employment opportunities from relatives already there, a process known as chain migration, which

Beijbom, Ulf. 'The America Letter', *Swedish American Genealogist*, Vol 19, Number 2, Article 17, (2019) 167-177, and;

Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 185, and;

Burr, *Early Manawatu Scandinavians* 12

⁹² Warner, Kristina. *Norwegian Immigration to Minnesota*. (Norwegian American Historical Association), 2 [LINK](#) [accessed 30/09/23]

⁹³ From Hans Matteson's *Reminiscences; the Story of an Emigrant*, presented in Curti, M., and Birr, K., 'The Immigrant and the American Image in Europe 1860-1914', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol 37, No 2 (Sept 1950) 203-230

⁹⁴ Act of May 20, 1862 (Homestead Act), Public Law 37-64 (12 STAT 392); 5/20/1862

⁹⁵ Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 185 and 188.

⁹⁶ US Library of Congress, 'Scandinavians: The Swedes', *Immigration and Relocation in US History*, (Classroom Materials) accessed 23/09/2025

⁹⁷ Ueland, Andreas. *Recollections of an Immigrant*. (Balch and Company, 1929), and; US Library of Congress, 'Scandinavians: The Norwegians', *Immigration and Relocation in US History* (Classroom Materials) accessed 23/09/2023

accelerated as more Scandinavians arrived. While agents and marketing may not have been entirely trusted, the word of family was.⁹⁸

There was anti-emigration sentiment to overcome. The Church, press, and government all opposed migration, seen as robbing their countries of the best workers. Schools taught that emigration was like a crime.⁹⁹ These sentiments lessened over time, but coincidentally the Danish word for 'emigrant' (udvandrere) bears a striking similarity to udvandrere; 'outlaw'. But enticement to greener pastures was unrelenting, and many Scandinavians demonstrated their willingness to move by doing exactly that. North America, well-known and aggressively marketed, was their preferred destination.

North America eagerly accepted migrants from all professions, not just agriculturalists. Even unsubsidised the cost of passage from Europe was not insurmountable (£3-4 by sail, £7 by steamer), with steamships common from the 1850s making the trip in only ten days.¹⁰⁰ During the Long Nineteenth some 50 million Europeans crossed the Atlantic to become Americans.¹⁰¹ It is estimated that half the population growth of Scandinavia from 1850 was relieved purely through emigration.¹⁰²

Compared to North America, New Zealand was not a realistic choice; underdeveloped, sporadically wracked by war, preoccupied with farmers and rural labourers, and (by the late 1860s) suffering an economic downturn to boot. In addition to presenting less opportunities to entice migrants, there was also the issue of passage; £24-40 per, taking 90-120 days, a poor comparison to the Atlantic routes.¹⁰³ Most Scandinavian emigrants would not have looked twice at New Zealand, assuming they even knew the little colony existed. To become a destination, the colony needed a pull factor to equal what America offered. The Vogel scheme was an almost perfect lure.

⁹⁸ Curti, Merle and Kendall Birr, 'The Immigrant and the American Image in Europe 1860-1914', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol 37, No 2 (Sept 1950) 212

⁹⁹ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 65

¹⁰⁰ AJHR 1871 I D03a No 1 (letter from Featherston and Bell to the Colonial Secretary, and attachments, 9 September 1870) 5

¹⁰¹ Baines, D. 'European Emigration, 1815-1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision again', *Economic History Review* 47-3 (1994) 525-44, p.525

¹⁰² Jonsson and Sandgren, *Statistics on the occupational structure of Sweden 1800-1920*. 4-5

¹⁰³ Koivukangas, Ølavi. *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992) 5

2 – The colonial state and the state of immigration

A colony of isolated migrant towns with big problems to solve

Plato described Greek settlements on the Mediterranean as ‘like frogs around a pond’, with the sea servicing trade and communication between them. Initial New Zealand colonial settlements were similar; coastal, and linked by the sea. Inland were forests and rugged mountains; a roadless and dangerous ‘wasteland’ that resisted both movement and settlement. And in those forests the Māori had both numbers and opinions.

Colonial numbers and migration

When the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 there were 2,000 settlers in the colony, and the same again in sailors, whalers, traders, and others just passing through.¹⁰⁴ Permanent colonial presence clustered around the settlements of Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, and Christchurch, plus scattered coastal camps, missions, and other encroachments. At 80,000, Māori still had a massive advantage despite the emerging ravages of European diseases, and losses from the Musket Wars.¹⁰⁵

Migration to the colony was of two modes. Natural; being people making their own way, following family, chasing dreams, or jumping ship, and assisted; supported financially by an organisation such as the New Zealand Company, which brought in 15,000 migrants during the 1840s.

Government management of immigration began with the UK Parliament First Constitution Act of 1852, implemented in New Zealand from 1853. Six colonial provinces emerged, responsible (among other things) for promotion and management of migration from the UK. This essentially ended large scale assisted immigration by the private sector. From 1858 the provinces were permitted to sell ‘waste lands’ to support themselves, and from 1868 use up to 25 percent of proceeds to tempt settlers.¹⁰⁶



*New Zealand Company
Emigration Notice
Otago University Research Heritage*

¹⁰⁴ *General report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*. (Great Britain Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, 1844), 11

¹⁰⁵ As many as 20,000 Māori are believed to have died during the 1820s from intense tribal conflict, which included Te Rauparaha's famous southern expedition and later migration.

¹⁰⁶ Borrie, W. D. *Immigration to New Zealand Since 1854* (Knox College, Dunedin, 1938) 20-23, and;

But each provincial immigration programme was independent. There was no attempt to coordinate over shared needs.¹⁰⁷ Provinces fielded their own emigration agents abroad, acting in competition with each other.¹⁰⁸ Wealthier regions like Auckland and Wellington drew the majority through the promise of economic prospects. Some provinces also assisted migrants financially, and in Auckland's case; provided land grants too. The focus of all this recruitment were UK citizens, were arrivals growing to an annual peak of 9,000 in 1859. By the end of 1860 the (by then ten) provinces collectively boasted 59,328 colonial citizens, just over 30 percent born in New Zealand, and 55,275 Māori.¹⁰⁹ Trying to lure emigrants from countries other than the United Kingdom was not seriously considered.¹¹⁰

In the 1860s gold was discovered in Otago and Canterbury, and migration there exploded. In 1863 this peaked at 45,730, before falling back to 6,000 per year.¹¹¹ Previously, Scandinavians in the colony were mostly whalers and sealers, and a few deserters jumping ship; very few overall. But they numbered around 500 in 1867, made up mainly of prospectors from the gold fields of Australia.¹¹² This was still less than the 553 French and 2,838 Germans recorded for that year.¹¹³

There were plenty of push factors to motivate Scandinavians to emigrate, but precious few pull factors to draw them all the way to New Zealand, barring convenience if already in Australia seeking gold. As per the majority of the continental Europeans living in New Zealand at the time, they were also mostly male and transient, following economic opportunities.¹¹⁴

Borrie, W.D. *The European Peopling of Australasia; a Demographic History 1788-1988* (Australian National University, 1992) 102

¹⁰⁷ AJHR 1872 I D16 (Report by Halcomb, Immigration Officer) 3

¹⁰⁸ Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 1.

¹⁰⁹ 'STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1860', Statistics New Zealand

¹¹⁰ Borrie, *Immigration to New Zealand*, 25.

¹¹¹ In the year 1860 some 8,935 immigrants arrived (and 2,871 left, leaving 6,064 net). In 1861 this jumped to 22,339 (6,117 departing), followed by 34,290 in 1862 (13,299 departing), peaking at 45,730 in 1863 (10,610 departing). Canterbury would help to prop these numbers with the discovery of gold at Greenstone Creek in 1864; some 20,931 would arrive that year (12,404 departing), and just under 20,000 a year later. Thereafter the numbers would decline back to the pre-rush level of around 6,000 net per year.

STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1860, Statistics New Zealand, and;

STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1861, Statistics New Zealand, and;

STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1862, Statistics New Zealand, and;

STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1863, Statistics New Zealand, and;

Overview - immigration to New Zealand 1840-1914', (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), [LINK](#), accessed 03/03/2024

¹¹² Lyng, Jens Sørensen. *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne University Press, 1939) 157-8.

¹¹³ 'Results of a Census of New Zealand, Taken for the Night of the 27TH February, 1871.'

PLACES OF BIRTH, TABLES XI., XII (comparison of 1871 values to 1867, full details not recorded in the 1867 census tabulations)

¹¹⁴ Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants* 95

Isolation and war

Despite growth in the 1860s, the settlements of the colony were still isolated from each other by areas of densely forested land. Inland growth was hampered by lack of infrastructure, and the development of infrastructure was hampered in turn by lack of funds and coordination between provinces.¹¹⁵ The great forest dominating the centre of the North Island was a particular bugbear, leaving Wellington, Wanganui, North Plymouth, Napier, and Auckland as isolated as the colonies of ancient Greece.

‘Disturbances’ with Māori also kept migrants away.¹¹⁶ Spanning 1845 to 1872, the New Zealand Wars resulted from expanding colonial interests placing Māori communities under untenable pressure. Māori of the Taranaki in particular expressed dismay over abuse of land and timber rights by mustering to war repeatedly and expensively for the colonial and northern provincial governments, driving down migration to the North Island. During the gold rushes Auckland, New Plymouth, Hawke’s Bay, and Wellington could only watch enviously as a migrant wave washed across the south, prompting significant economic development there. But with little gold and ‘rebellions’ raging, the north offered little to attract migrants.¹¹⁷

The fighting also revealed how isolation was more than inconvenient, it was dangerous. Colonial dominance was of the coast, and not much more. Hemmed by forests, some settlements like New Plymouth, Wanganui, and Napier, were difficult to reach overland, and impossible to reinforce quickly. The mobile warfare used to great effect by Te Kooti (1868-72) and Titokowaru (1868-69) also demonstrated how vulnerable rural communities were to roving war-bands.¹¹⁸ The Hawke’s Bay province was the most isolated, with communication and movement practical only by ship.¹¹⁹ With no meaningful land linkage the town of Napier (and satellite communities on the Ruataniwha plains) were essentially an island bracketed by a rugged sea of forest on one side, and the actual sea on the other. This isolation was why Hawke’s Bay separated from Wellington Province to become its own Provincial District in 1858, just three years after Napier was founded. It was obvious if another war with Māori broke out then communities like these could find themselves in dire straits before anyone else knew

¹¹⁵ An example of the failure of the provincial governments to coordinate are the various rail gauge choices made by Canterbury (broad gauge), Southland (standard gauge), and Otago (standard narrow). The last would become the national standard in 1870.

¹¹⁶ AJHR 1872 I D16 (Report by Mr Halcomb, Immigration Officer) 3, and; Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 1, and;

¹¹⁷ The North Island only generated one modest gold rush; in the Coromandel in 1867

¹¹⁸ At one point in his campaign Titokowaru sacked and burned every European settlement for 45km along the coast from Whanganui (Rollo 24), although he did manage to accomplish this without killing anyone.

¹¹⁹ Land passages did technically exist; one was rock hopping down the east coast shore into the Wairarapa, the other a rough bush track cut in 1865-6 using Māori labour, traversing the Seventy Mile Bush from the north through the south, and west to the Manawatū Gorge, but this was not used or maintained and swiftly disappeared.

McDonald, Rob. *Dannevirke : The Early Years* (Rod McDonald, 2002) 37

there was a problem. The danger was exacerbated by the drawdown of Imperial troops in the 1860s, prompted by the Crown insisting the colony fund their Regiments, and the colony refusing to do so.¹²⁰

It was problematic that Māori remained dominant across the inland North Island. The forests preventing travel, trade, and communication gave them an intolerable advantage in war.¹²¹ But between Napier and Wellington lay an obvious opportunity to address the issue; Te Tapere nui a Whatonga, the Seventy Mile Bush. This vast wilderness was responsible for the isolation of the Hawke's Bay, with a million acres of potential farmland locked beneath its canopy. A land link from Wellington to Napier had been proposed when Napier was founded, but secession of the Hawke's Bay made the matter less of a priority. What was to have been the great arterial route through the North Island terminated at Masterton.

It may have been the 'Māori rebellions' of North Taranaki (1860-61) and the Waikato (1863-64) that prompted John Davies Ormond (then Hawke's Bay Deputy Superintendent) to re-advocate in 1864 for a connection between Napier and Wellington, to be built by military settlers on confiscated Māori land.¹²² His suggestion was not actioned, but by the close of the 1860s it was clear that the great arterial road would solve many issues if extended from Masterton to Napier, and westward into the Manawatū.¹²³

But building infrastructure to link provinces through the bush, and weaken the hold of Māori on the North Island, required labour at scales beyond what was available. Assisted immigration was an obvious tool to this end, and Sir Julius Vogel was prepared to wield it on a massive scale.



John Davies Ormond
National Library of NZ

¹²⁰ At their peak in 1865 the 12th, 14th, 18th, 40th, 43rd, 50th, 57th, 65th, 68th, and 70th Regiments were stationed in New Zealand, totalling around 10,000 men. Most had left by 1867, except the 18th, which remained until 1870.

¹²¹ AJHR 1869 I B02 p.9, and;

Arnold, Rollo D. *The Opening of the Great Bush, 1869-1881: a Social History of the Bush Settlements of Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Wellington*. (PhD diss., Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, 1971), 58-61.

¹²² McDonald, *Dannevirke* 37, and;

Petersen, George Conrad. *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 10.

¹²³ In 1867 a survey was conducted that indicated a roadway was feasible through the Manawatū gorge near the level of the river. This would connect the Manawatū and Hawke's Bay regions while avoiding the necessity of clearing the ranges, and would be much more practical than the most effective transport in use at the time; Māori canoes and hiking through the bush.

3 – Why Scandinavians came to New Zealand

The Vogel scheme – passage subsidies, land, and jobs

‘So long as immigration across the Atlantic was so cheap, and land in America and the Canadas obtained, the ploughman and the artisan would not pay £14 or more for a passage to New Zealand, [...] if we desired to see the country prosper we were bound to go in for assisted immigration.’

Mr McLelland of the Mutual Improvement Society.

Bruce Herald, Volume VI, Issue 634, 28 July 1869

Assisted immigration

Vogel’s plan was audacious, but did not emerge from a vacuum. Assisted immigration was not new; subsidised passage was a staple of New Zealand Company migration during the 1840s. Using land to tempt migrants was also a proven tactic; between 1858 and 1868 Auckland province successfully drew settlers by offering 40 acres to ‘every industrious Man or Woman, of good character’ that emigrated from Britain or Australia.¹²⁴ Several programmes were considered in the 1860s that proposed assisted immigration to support immediate needs, three in 1863 alone. First was Governor Grey’s plan for the North Island to receive 5,000 military settlers from England, induced by 50 acres each, held against performance of military service, with said land sourced from tribes ‘in arms against the government’.¹²⁵ Second was a similar proposal prepared by Walter Mantell (previously Native Minister) for Wellington to receive 1,000 military settlers sourced from Australia, Nelson, or Otago, also induced with land, and also illustrating the competitive nature of provincially managed immigration.¹²⁶ Third was Bucholtz & Co., proposing to the Waikato government to bring 150 Danes



*Auckland Province Emigration Poster
Auckland Council Libraries – Tāmaki Pātaka
Kōrero o Tāmaki Makaurau, Sir George Grey
Special Collections*

¹²⁴ Auckland Council Libraries – Tāmaki Pātaka Kōrero o Tāmaki Makaurau, Sir George Grey Special Collections (reference 7-C2024)

¹²⁵ AJHR, 1863 Session I, A-08, (Copy of Dispatch from Governor Sir George Grey), 1.

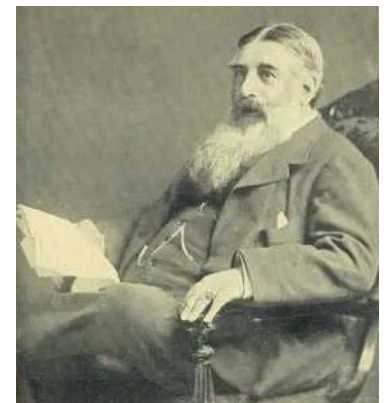
¹²⁶ AJHR, 1863 Session I, A-08b, (various communications), 1-2.

to the province via assisted immigration, with each to receive 40 acres of land in exchange for the formation of a military special settlement to improve regional security.¹²⁷

Superintendent and Land Purchase Commissioner of Wellington, Dr Isaac Featherston, was perhaps the first official to consider inseparable the issues of immigration and public works development. During the 1860s, in addition to using land sales for income, Wellington also attracted migrants through offers of land and guaranteed employment on public works schemes. But the closest analogue in financing, structure, and scale to the Vogel scheme was that of Queensland colony.¹²⁸ British loans totalling £2,000,000 were raised for public works, with a portion earmarked for immigration promotion under the 1863 Immigration Act. This included funding an Agent-General in London and sub-agents across Britain, Ireland, and Germany. All migrants were welcome, as many as would sail and settle. Except for the Germans, who were also welcome, but not more than 2,000 of them. Passage was fully subsidised for farmers, labourers, skilled craftsmen, and domestic servants, all vital for the colony. Those who paid their own way received a certificate entitling them to 40 acres of land. The scheme was successful, aided by the American Civil War deterring many who otherwise would have crossed the Atlantic instead. By 1865 30,000 people (including 5,000 Scandinavians) had migrated to Queensland through this programme, although an unknown number promptly decamped for the gold rushes and more pleasant climes of New South Wales and Victoria.¹²⁹

Vogel's plan and the support of the Fox government

Sir Julius Vogel presented his Financial Statement to the government on 28 June 1870. 'The time has arrived when we must set ourselves afresh to the task of actively promoting the settlement of the country,' [and attend the needs of the colony through] 'public works, in the shape of roads and railways; and immigration', which Vogel felt would 'do more towards finally solving our difficulties with the Natives than any other that could be devised'.¹³⁰



Sir Julius Vogel
National Library of New
Zealand

¹²⁷ AJHR, 1863 Session I, D-12, (various communications), 1.

[This plan later stymied by the war between Denmark and Prussia during which the emigration of young Danish men was temporarily halted.]

¹²⁸ Australia had initially benefited immensely from an 'assisted immigration' programme of sorts; the Transportation of over 160,000 convicts, without whom it has been suggested that the Australian colonies would have withered away due to the general lack of interest by English migrants who had cheaper, easier, and more pleasant options in the Americas. But Transportation ended for Queensland in 1839. Precise population counts are not available due to shifting colonial boundaries and a lack of census activities prior to 1860, but in that year the newly established colonial parliament there expressed a keen desire to expand.

¹²⁹ Lyng, Jens Sørensen. *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne University Press, 1939) 27 and 118-9.

¹³⁰ AJHR 1869 I B02, (Loan for the North Island), 9, and;

His vision was to push development of population and infrastructure, funded by borrowing, to promote long term economic growth; a strategy that became known as ‘Vogelism’. The plan would fund migrant passage to New Zealand, central government land purchases from Māori, and the public works the colony desperately needed, to which selected immigrants could be attached through cheap land local to contracts for their labour. The purchase of Māori land by the central government to fill it with settlers was a priority, to tighten control over ‘wasteland’ areas.¹³¹ In the bush, proposed Special Settlements would be the seeds from which roads would grow. Funding would be sourced via English loans for (initially) £6 million secured against colony land, with additional funds acquired from land sales and future railway proceeds.¹³² But this was an outrageous figure for a fledgling colony already in debt to the tune of £4.2 million, generating revenue of £1.2 million annually.¹³³ Reception to the plan was mixed.¹³⁴ But the Statement carried, and on 12 September 1870 the Immigration and Public Works Act would follow, to action Vogel’s intent.

The Act included a new portfolio; Minister of Public Works, and the transfer of certain functions from the provinces to central government.¹³⁵ These included road, bridge, ferry, and railway construction, gold field water works, the acquisition of ‘waste lands’ from North Island Māori, and the funding and management of assisted immigration. Provincial government opinions would be sought ‘from time to time’, but their role in infrastructure was reduced, and only Otago and Canterbury retained their own recruitment schemes in England. When other provinces sought migrants, they now did so through the government Agent in London. More Acts would follow, further superseding provincial control of infrastructure and management of immigration.¹³⁶

Grigg, Anthony R. *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration, 1870–1876* (B.A. Hons thesis in History, University of Otago, 1973) 7-9

¹³¹ Dunick, Mark Edward. *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand* (Doctoral dissertation, Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, 2022) 35

¹³² AJHR, 1870, B-02, (Public Works and Immigration) 12-14, and 18, and;

‘The Public Works Era’, *New Zealand Heritage*, 1009.

¹³³ AJHR, 1870, B-02, (Revenue of the Past Year, and Comparison with Expenditure), 9, and;

AJHR, 1870, B-02, (Total Debt after deducting Sinking Fund), 33.

¹³⁴ [‘...elevate New Zealand to a pitch of prosperity...’] NZPD, 1870, June 14 to July 20, 17 June, Gisborne, 19, and;

[‘...frequent bursts of laughter...faint applause [but] coldly received...’] Financial Statement. Evening Post, Volume VI, Issue 115, 29 June 1870, 2 [LINK](#), and;

[‘...rather coldly received by the House.’] Latest Telegrams. Press, Volume XVI, Issue 2242, 30 June 1870, 2 [LINK](#), and;

[‘received very coolly, there being frequent bursts of ridicule’] Latest Telegrams. Lyttelton Times, Volume XXXIII, Issue 2955, 30 June 1870, 3 [LINK](#)

¹³⁵ This new portfolio was first held by the Hon. William Gisbourne, then from December 1871 by John Davies Ormond.

¹³⁶ Highway Boards Empowering Act 1871 (35 Victoriae 1871 No 8), and;

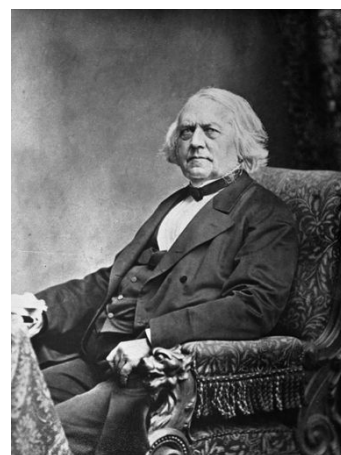
Immigration and Public Works Act Amendment Act 1871 (35 Victoriae 1871 No 75)

Why Scandinavians?

So why did the government of a colony so determinedly ‘English’ prioritise continental Europeans for Vogel’s special settlements?¹³⁷

The first indication that alien migrants might be considered suitable was in 1870, when Hugh Carleton addressed Parliament regarding the suitability of Canadian settlers for New Zealand. The suggestion may have been surprising, but British migrants were not considered well suited due the lack of forestry in Britain.¹³⁸ It was expected Canadians would prevail, being used to isolation, rugged terrain, and old growth forest that colonials elsewhere struggled to tame, especially as Canadians had already proven themselves excellent foresters in their homeland and in Auckland province.¹³⁹ The special settlement at Albertland was especially telling. Intended to make forest into farms, Albertland was a failure; the settlers were unable to support themselves on their forest sections, so dispersed to Auckland and other communities.¹⁴⁰ The situation was described in the *Wellington Independent* as ‘the death of the forty acre [land grant] system in Auckland’, and prompted a sense of ‘despair of ever seeing the Manawatū forest cleared and settled by English labour.’¹⁴¹

Supporting the idea that Scandinavians might be a good fit for such terrain was the example of Bishop Ditlev Monrad and his family settling Karere near Palmerston North in 1866. They made a positive impression, on arrival and after, thanks to the industriousness of the family and their followers.¹⁴² They also did not provoke nativist resentment in the process. For colonials the presence of the Danes (and one Norwegian) was probably made easier by sympathy over the Danish defeat to Prussia and untimely drowning of Monrad’s nephew soon after arrival.¹⁴³ As well, their numbers were small and their settlement located in deep bush, isolation robbing it of potential for controversy. Monrad left again in 1869 (perhaps prompted by Titokowaru’s nearby successes) taking with him his wife and most of their children. The rest



Bishop Ditlev Monrad
Manawatū Heritage

¹³⁷ As late as 1870 Ormond had proposed the contracting of an English company, to receive land in the Seventy Mile Bush, so they could tenant it with immigrants and generate profit once roads had been built.

AJHR 1870 I A-18, p.3

¹³⁸ NZPD, 1870, vol 8, p.393

¹³⁹ Recruited for a sawmill near Kohokohu in Northland.

¹⁴⁰ 1,000 migrants arrived aboard the *Hanover* and *Matilda Wattenbach* in the spring of 1862, with another 1,300 arriving in 1863 on five more vessels. But by the end of that year only 220 remained on their land, struggling to clear their sections. A memorial at Port Albert reads: 'More immigrant ships followed, but isolation and difficulties of access hindered progress and the original plans for a township at Port Albert were thwarted.'

¹⁴¹ The Scandinavian Immigrants, *Wellington Independent*, Vol XXVI, Issue 3253, 17 July 1871, p.3 [LINK](#)

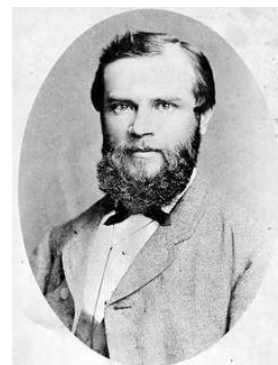
¹⁴² Untitled. *Grey River Argus*, Issue 58, 26 May 1866, p.3, [LINK](#) and;

Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 158-9

¹⁴³ Untitled. *Grey River Argus*, Volume III, Issue 151, 29 December 1866, p.2 [LINK](#)

of his family and supporters remained and continued making the settlement a successful one.¹⁴⁴ Back in Denmark, Monrad and his eldest son published accounts of their New Zealand experiences, and promoted New Zealand as a destination for Danish emigrants.¹⁴⁵

Other advocates also campaigned for Scandinavian settlers, such as Bror Friberg, a Swede living in New Zealand since 1866.¹⁴⁶ When suggesting to the government that the introduction of his countrymen into New Zealand would be of benefit to the colony, especially in the Hawke's Bay, he also pointed out they would require financial support to thrive as they settled in, and as an inducement to choose New Zealand over the Americas.



Bror Friberg
Kristianstadsbladet

As well, some provinces were already discussing promotion of Scandinavian settlement, such as the unrealised Danish military settlement in Taranaki. In Otago the sober and hardworking nature of Norwegian and Swedish prospectors on the gold fields had not gone unnoticed.¹⁴⁷ Scandinavian woodsmen also proved their worth, recruited in the 1860s for milling operations on Banks Peninsula where they did well. Many also purchased land to settle, demonstrating a willingness to stay productively put that their gold mining brethren, hard-working and sober though they may have been, had not.¹⁴⁸

The Commissioners

In November 1869, the year Monrad returned to Denmark, two members of cabinet without portfolio were nominated as Commissioners to England; Francis Bell, and Isaac Featherston (still also Superintendent of Wellington).¹⁴⁹ They were to negotiate for military aid, a development loan, and investigate British emigration for the government, while details regarding implementation of the

¹⁴⁴ Untitled. Grey River Argus, Volume VII, Issue 476, 2 February 1869, p.2, [LINK](#), and; Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 159

¹⁴⁵ AJHR 1871 I D-03a p.6, and;

Sigvertsen, Ray. *Saga of Two Zealands*, (self-published, 1995), 13 and 39-40.

¹⁴⁶ Friberg, Bror Erik. *Manuscript* (unpublished, MTG m2007/54, 84000), page 1, and; Koivukangas, Ølavi. *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992), 7.

¹⁴⁷ Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 14.

¹⁴⁸ Several sawmills on the Banks Peninsular attracted Scandinavian labour. In just the Le Bons Bay area alone there were several such which drew Danes following the war with Prussia. Others came from Sweden, seeking simple economic opportunity. Most worked at a number of mills, cycling from one to the next as local forests were fed to the saw. When the land was cleared many stayed and purchased land to settle.

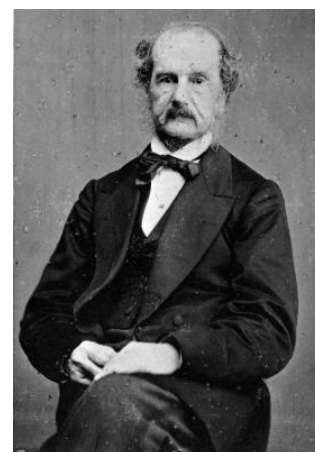
Ogilvie, Gordon. *Banks Peninsular: Cradle of Canterbury*, (GP Books, 1990), 127-9, and;

Mentioned also in Koivukangas, Ølavi *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992), 5.

¹⁴⁹ Assigned via the New Zealand Commissioners Act 1869.

Immigration and Public Works Act were sorted back home.¹⁵⁰ Fox later sent additional instructions to secure 'regular and systematic immigration' that would be 'allied with settlement', but the instructions were not specific, providing more of an overview of intentions and ideas to encourage migration. The details were left to the commissioners, to be finalised based on their findings.¹⁵¹

The strengthening of further migration was sought on the terms of New Zealand, without oversight by the British government, to ensure only suitable migrants and to keep England from flushing her rookeries into the colony. The poor were considered unsuitable due to the belief they were poor because they were unable, or unwilling, to work.¹⁵² Families were preferred, as they were considered less likely to move around and destabilise local labour markets like single men might, with single women being welcome to address a long standing gender imbalance.¹⁵³ It was suggested that unsubsidised immigration could be aided by benefits like land on deferred payment, easy repayment schedules for passage assistance and land purchases, and guaranteed employment on arrival to dissuade decamping before land was developed, a lesson taught by Albertland.



Dr Isaac Featherston
Alexander Turnbull
Library

¹⁵⁰ The matters they were sent to negotiate included the temporary provision of two regiments of imperial troops and a constabulary force to help prevent further Māori troubles, which was hoped would ease the trepidation of potential immigrants regarding their safety. In this, they failed. The Imperial government had already made clear its disinterest in bearing the expense of maintaining a military presence in New Zealand. The second matter was the securing of a loan for £2 million for rural road building, specifically through native controlled areas, also to improve colonial security. In this, they partially succeeded, securing £1 million.

AJHR 1870 A No. 9 / 9a / 9b / 9c, and;

New Zealand Commissioners Act 1869 (32 and 33 Victoriae 1869 No 59), and;

AJHR 1870 I A09c No 1 page 3-5 (Letter and Enclosure from Bell and Featherston to the Hon. W. Gisborne)

¹⁵¹ Instructions to the Commissioners Relative to Immigration. Wellington Independent, Volume XXV, Issue 3009, 21 June 1870, p.8 [LINK](#)

¹⁵² Fox would write 'it seems to me that the ranks of the unemployed represent the portion of the population least suitable for employment'

Instructions to the Commissioners Relative to Immigration. Wellington Independent, Volume XXV, Issue 3009, 21 June 1870, p.8 [LINK](#)

¹⁵³ Colonial New Zealand had not had a gender balanced society to that point, hindered further in the 1860s by the influx of men to the gold fields. By 1870 there were almost three men in the colony for every two women. 'RELATIVE PROPORTIONS OF SEXES', Results OF A Census of New Zealand, Taken for the Night of the 27TH February, 1871, Statistics New Zealand

A mid-1871 call for immigrants to Otago requested more single women (1,000) than agricultural workers (750) and married people (100 couples) combined.

AJHR 1872 I D01 No 1 (Memorandum for the Agent General, London, 30 August 1871), p.3

Single women were so desired in New Zealand that they would be granted free passage quickly during the Vogel scheme.

AJHR 1872 I D01 No 33 (Memorandum from Reeves, Public Works Office, to the Agent General in London, 5 June 1872, 44 and 48.

Meanwhile, requests for skillsets and quotas reached the Commissioners from provinces eager for labour, especially with it funded via the central government instead of their own coffers.¹⁵⁴ Hawke's Bay was quick to convey their needs. Impressed by the settlement at Karere, Ormond (provincial Superintendent) believed Scandinavians would be ideal for clearing the Seventy Mile Bush and opening land connections to Wellington and Palmerston.¹⁵⁵ He had already reserved areas for road and railway links through land purchased from Māori, including special settlement plans that included what would become Dannevirke and Norsewood.

Late 1870 Featherston and Bell departed London to investigate migrant potential from Scandinavia and Germany.¹⁵⁶ They were drawn by the volume of emigrants heading for North America, and wanted to assess their potential to meet the needs of New Zealand, such as in railway construction. In his report Featherston was effusive. He remarked on how well Scandinavians had done in America, making sizable remittances so their families could migrate as well. Much of this income was from clearing land for agricultural use, marking the immigrants as 'first-rate axe-men and sawyers', with plenty of other trades practiced during winter when agriculture was impossible. Featherston's praise went further, addressing other attributes: '[...] extremely honest, frugal, and industrious, and all are more or less educated [...] they seem to have great facility with the English language, and it's habits, manners, and customs resemble very closely our own countrymen, especially the Scotch.' The only negative raised was their tendency, when travelling in family or community groups, to bring the old and infirm with them. He considered the Norwegians and Swedes particularly viable, based on agricultural workers also having forestry, roading, and railway experience. Featherston also determined North America was popular not just because of cheap passage, but also the number of Scandinavians already present, providing in-situ support networks and knowledge of the destination. He identified an opportunity for New Zealand with the recent lessening of migration to North America, due to more recent 'America Letters' being less favourable regarding conditions there.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ AJHR 1872 I D-01, No. 1, page 3 (Correspondence from Gisbourne to the Agent General), detailing the requests of Otago for 1,950 farm labourers, dairymaids, and domestic servants, and the Hawke's Bay for 300 families and 100 single men from Scandinavia and the Western Highlands, bound for the Seventy Mile Bush.

¹⁵⁵ McDonald, Rob. *Dannevirke* 37-9.

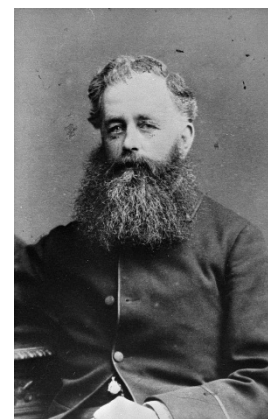
¹⁵⁶ They were prompted by the dearth of agricultural labourers departing England at the time; in 1869-70 nearly 200,000 emigrants left for America, but only around 1,600 were of an agricultural background.

¹⁵⁷ AJHR 1871 I D03a No 1 (letter from Featherston and Bell to the Colonial Secretary, and attachments, 9 September 1870) 5

The Palmerston experiment

In his September 1870 letter to the government, Featherston admits exceeding his authority. He secured agent representation in Europe without approval. And before details were settled of how the immigration scheme was to function, he selected and dispatched the first group of continental migrants without permission, and unbeknownst to the government.¹⁵⁸ He was concerned about missing the emigration season from Northern Europe (April to October), and considered passage subsidies and positive reports home by new migrants too important to future recruitment for the opportunity to be missed.

The first Scandinavians were recruited on promises of ten acres and plentiful government work. They hailed mainly from Odalen, a Norwegian agricultural region with a population increasingly pressed against the productive limits of marginal land. They sailed from Christiania aboard the *Northstar* in October, transferring in London to the *Celaeno*. They numbered 53 leaving Europe; 18 couples (all but one from Norway) and 15 children, but were 54 on arrival in Wellington in February 1871, thanks to a birth at sea.¹⁵⁹ The voyage was an uneventful but lengthy 131 days, which fortunately allowed time for arrangements, as no one was expecting them when they sailed.¹⁶⁰ Nelson and Otago were approached, but neither expressed interest in receiving them. Just as well, as Wellington was already making plans under provincial immigration agent Arthur Halcombe. It was Halcombe who decided each family would be allotted one of 60 newly surveyed sections in the Palmerston area. Each 20-acre allotment was to be held for two years, for purchase at 30 shillings per acre, later extended to five years at a cost of £1 (20 shillings) per acre, allowing more time to develop the land so it could support them. Those who paid within two years received an option to buy 20 acres more. Government costs needed to be reimbursed for passage (£14), transport to the Manawatū (£4), plus tools and four months supplies received on arrival (£10).¹⁶¹



Arthur Halcombe,
Manawatū District
Libraries

¹⁵⁸ Featherston would later write; 'In entering into these engagements we are aware that we have exceeded our instructions, which simply authorized us to make inquiries; but had we not done so, the journey to these countries would have been fruitless; and should it ultimately be determined to promote emigration from thence, the work would have had to be done over again under probably less favourable circumstances.' AJHR 1871 I D03a No 1 (letter from Featherston and Bell to the Colonial Secretary, and attachments, 9 September 1870) 6

¹⁵⁹ An infant known as 'Infant' in the arrival records, as was often the case. Some Scandinavian children spent their first year or more without a name. There were eight examples aboard just the *Hovding* and *Ballarat*.

¹⁶⁰ Page 2 Advertisements, Column 7, Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume 15, Issue 2014, 16 December 1870, p.2, [LINK](#)

¹⁶¹ AJHR 1871 I D03a No 14 (letter from Halcombe, Provincial Secretary, to the Colonial Secretary, 10 February 1870)

51 settlers took up sections near Palmerston, doubtless thrilled at the prospect of owning more land than expected, but less thrilled they now had to pay for it. The plan to place them as a group at Palmerston was well received, as they wanted to remain together and settle in Wellington province, probably due to the Monrad Karere settlement.¹⁶² This suited the government. It may have been hoped the otherness of the Scandinavians would bind them together, helping ensure they stayed put where labour was needed. Regardless, the new arrivals set to willingly (despite early setbacks), supported by government work on the Foxton-Palmerston dray road, then the tramway and railway that followed.

The Palmerston experiment was a 'remarkable success'.¹⁶³ What began with Featherston's overstep became a pilot programme satisfying both provincial and central governments that Scandinavian migrants were of sufficient ability and resolve to succeed. A lack of fluency in English was an impediment, but the settlers were considered very satisfactory based on their intelligence, education, physical robustness, relative youth, religious adherence, and willingness to work hard. Halcombe was of the opinion that they would be 'as valuable a group of settlers as the colony had ever seen'. It helped that the Norwegians had a forestry background as well as farming, so could fulfil the requirements of clearing land, developing it, and building infrastructure. Halcombe attested to their value in his report to Gisbourne: 'The Scandinavian settlements at Palmerston, Manawatū, were the first experiments in this mode of colonization. The result already produced gives fair promise of success, notwithstanding that these people had exceptional difficulties to contend with.'¹⁶⁴ It is less than eighteen months since the first party was taken up there. At that time there was no sign of settlement in their neighbourhood. The land on which they were placed was dense bush. Their first winter was the wettest ever known. For many months the only road leading to their location was impassable, and the only means of transport was by canoe, at great risk [...]. Yet now these people are, without exception, well satisfied and hopeful of their future. The married people, with only four or five exceptions, have built themselves good and neatly finished weatherboard houses, many with brick chimneys. Most of them have cleared small patches of ground, and they are now beginning to fall the bush extensively. [...] Considering the difficulties, more has, in my opinion, been done by these people than could have been expected, and a very valuable nucleus of a future population has been

¹⁶² AJHR 1871 I D03a, No 1, Enc 6 (telegram from G S Cooper to the Provincial Secretary, Dunedin)

¹⁶³ Summary for Europe and America. Wellington Independent, Volume XXVI, Issue 3292, 2 September 1871, p.2 [LINK](#)

¹⁶⁴ In reference to a flood destroying much of their luggage soon after arrival, and then some swampy sections being determined as unsuitable thereafter, requiring the relocation of four families. AJHR 1871 I D03a No 16 (Letter from Halcombe, Provincial Secretary, to the Colonial Secretary, sent also to Featherston, 17 March 1871) 15

fixed upon the soil.’¹⁶⁵ Halcombe would prophesise to Ormond; ‘I augur well from this of the success of other settlements [...]’¹⁶⁶

As the Hon. Hall of the Ministry Legislative Council commented in 1872; the government would ‘ten times sooner have Scandinavians, or a great many other nationalities, than loafers from the towns of the mother country - yet, if there are almost insuperable difficulties in the way of obtaining a sufficient supply of immigrants from the country districts in England, I think it was a wise and proper experiment, at all events, of obtaining Scandinavians in their place.’¹⁶⁷ This sentiment was supported by Ormond, then Minister of Public Works: ‘The small proportion of immigrants expected to arrive from Germany, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden will be a great advantage to the country. The method which the government has of settling these immigrants on the lands, is to put them in a district where the agricultural population of Great Britain would be almost lost. In the Seventy Mile Bush, and the bushlands of Manawatū and Masterton, where settlements of foreign immigrants is being carried out by the Government, it would be wicked to put down the agricultural labourer from Great Britain upon the land, he would have no chance of success [...]’¹⁶⁸

Te Tapere nui a Whatonga¹⁶⁹

The Seventy Mile Bush nestled along the Ruahine Ranges from the southern Hawke’s Bay to the northern Wairarapa. This was the forest that isolated Masterton, Palmerston North, and Napier from Wellington. It was a problem that the government wanted to deal with. And it was Rangitāne that the government needed to deal with to acquire it.¹⁷⁰

The first recorded colonial arrivals to the area were in the 1840s; traders, missionaries, and hostages just passing through.¹⁷¹ The first non-Māori to settle the area were runholders in the 1860s, leasing clearings such as Tahoraiti near what would become Dannevirke. Ironically, the first move

¹⁶⁵ AJHR I 1872 D01 No 1 (Memorandum from Gisbourne, Public Works Office, to Dr Featherson) 6

¹⁶⁶ AJHR 1872 I D16 (Report by Mr Halcomb, Immigration Officer) 3-6

¹⁶⁷ Parliamentary debates v12, Second Session of the 5th Parliament (July 25 1872) p.86

¹⁶⁸ Parliamentary debates v13, Second Session of the 5th Parliament (Sept 5 1872) p.128

¹⁶⁹ Lit. ‘The great domain of Whatonga’

¹⁷⁰ Through this swath of forest successive Iwi had swept southward almost cyclically over centuries, displaced by war, and displacing others in turn - Ngāti Hotu, Ngāti Tara, and Ngāti Mamoā, pushed south by Rangitāne, who were pressed in turn from the north by Ngāti Kūhungunu.

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 11-13, and;

Notes from Māori Land Court Minute Books; ‘Historical Notes from Tamaki-Nui-a-Rua’, compiled by McEwen (JPS, March 1946)

¹⁷¹ The trader Jack Duff in 1840, travelled from the coast to and through the Manawatū Gorge with Rangitāne guides, and Bishop Selwyn in 1842 travelled through the Gorge the other way, on his way to the Te Aute pa. In between was Frederick Hunt, a surveyor captured by Te Rauparaha and forced to travel with him through Tamaki nui a Rua (what would be Dannevirke) in an attempt to retrieve a young woman who eloped with a Ngāti Kūhungunu warrior.

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 14-5.

toward the transfer of land was by Rangitāne, pre-empting the government with an offer in 1859, and again in 1866. The government declined, seeing little value in 'wasteland' forest, although that value would be recognised soon enough.



Report by Mr Halcombe, Immigration Officer, map of planned settlements
AJHR 1872 I D16

The purchase process began in 1870, but suffered frequent challenges, including stolen equipment, Ormond's political opponents trying to influence Māori not to sell, unrealistic government timetables, and Rangitāne negotiators becoming aware that a railroad was planned.¹⁷² Some Rangitāne chiefs, led by Te Hirawanu, wanted to sell land they claimed in the Manawatū (including near Palmerston North) before they would sell land east of the Ruahines.¹⁷³ But the first purchase was successfully completed in June 1871 in a deal that included the areas of Tamaki nui a Rua (that would become Dannevirke) and Te Whiti-atara (that would become Norsewood).¹⁷⁴ It would be decades, and many purchases later, before the process was concluded.¹⁷⁵

The Vogel Scheme, 1871 - 1876

In April 1871 Featherston was formally appointed Agent General for New Zealand, a post he would occupy until his passing in 1876.¹⁷⁶ His duties included establishment of an agent network for migrant recruitment, shipping contracts for their transport, and sourcing railway materials.¹⁷⁷ He was also to ensure 6,000 German and Scandinavian migrants, and a 'large and continuous flow of emigrants from the United Kingdom'.¹⁷⁸ Later that year Bror Friberg was recruited to assist recruitment in Scandinavia. Halcombe, now leading the Wellington Immigration Office, selected three more sites in the Seventy Mile Bush to join Dannevirke and Norsewood along the proposed road. Friberg carried these plans to

¹⁷² McDonald, *Dannevirke*, 23, 27-30.

¹⁷³ While some did want to sell, others were hesitant due to the potential consequences to their territorial sovereignty, as an 1861 discussion between George Hamilton (a runholder leasing 13,000 acres at Mangatoro) and his friend Takamoana illustrates; *"We must ask you to refrain from making any new tracks or roads connecting your land through the forest with the lands of Europeans or others outside. This is our stronghold; it is inaccessible to European troops. If we go to war with the Europeans, which is now continually discussed, and we need to retreat from the open country, your roads, if you made any, would enable the soldiers to follow us; we must, therefore, absolutely forbid any road making."*

Quotation by Takamoana to George Douglas Hamilton, as recounted in the *Dannevirke Advocate*, 23 October, 1909, presented in McDonald, *Dannevirke* 26.

¹⁷⁴ The Purchase of the Seventy Mile Bush Block. AJHR_1871_I_D-07, p.5-7

¹⁷⁵ Summary of historical account, Rangitāne o Manawatū Claims Settlement Act 2016, Public Act 2016, No 100, and;

Summary of historical account, Rangitāne Tū Mai Rā (Wairarapa Tamaki nui-ā-Rua) Claims Settlement Act 2017, Public Act 2017, No 38

¹⁷⁶ It is not unlikely that he was sent to London, then permanently posted there, due to his being a staunch advocate for the continued empowerment of provincial government, which was not to the liking of Vogel or Fox, who were keen to see the central government pre-eminent.

¹⁷⁷ [Plant and rolling stock] AJHR 1872 I D01 No 21 (Letter from J. D. Ormond to the Agent General in London, 23 January 1872) 32, and;

[Railway specifications] AJHR 1872 I D01 No 6 (Memorandum from Gisbourne, Public Works Office, to the Agent General in London, 25 November 1871) 7-8

¹⁷⁸ AJHR 1872 I D01 No 13 (Memorandum from Gisbourne, Public Works Office, to the Agent General in London, 23 December 1871) 20-21

London, including a request for more Scandinavians; 300 families, 100 single men, and as many single women as possible.¹⁷⁹

In 1872 the government requested 8,000 more continental migrants for 1873, of which 2,400 were intended for the special settlements. Maddeningly, Featherston was initially told 'the Government are as yet unable to specify the exact terms which you will be authorized to offer to these intending immigrants'.¹⁸⁰ Details for sourcing these migrants were not settled until June 1872, in a letter specifying what became the standard passage offer; married persons and single men would pay £5 each, two children (under 13) could travel for free with their parents, and two more were permitted at £2 10s each. Those who could not afford this could sign promissory notes for twice the difference.¹⁸¹

By 1873 there were 177 agents in the UK.¹⁸² But the continent was less well represented; Of the 8,000 continental Europeans Featherston was to provide, he managed only 1,916.¹⁸³ To further boost numbers, Vogel introduced free passage. But this resulted in such an influx of British migrants that the colonial labour market became strained, and the nominal cost of passage was reinstated for continental migrants in 1874, and for the British from 1876.¹⁸⁴

In 1875 passage subsidies for continental Europeans ended. While over 100,000 people migrated under the scheme, government records account for only 7,340 continentals; 3,286 Scandinavians (1,968 Danes, 689 Norwegians, and 667 Swedes), 2,952 Germans, 298 Italians, 275 French, and 529 'other'.¹⁸⁵ The true distribution may never be known, as some from Scandinavia and Germany were recorded as 'Polish', Swedes and Finns sometimes as 'Russian', and some Danes became 'German' or 'Prussian' (and vice versa), due to the Schleswig Holstein situation, and the

¹⁷⁹ AJHR 1872 I D01 No 2 p.5

Friberg would be sent on to Scandinavia to serve as an agent for the New Zealand government there, but unfortunately found himself unable to pursue that role in an official capacity due to the licensing requirements of Scandinavian governments determined to protect their people from unscrupulous migration schemes.

¹⁸⁰ AJHR 1872 I D01 No 17 (Memorandum from Gisbourne, Public Works Office, to the Agent General in London, 20 January 1872)

¹⁸¹ (Earlier sailings saw single women and infants pay as well, albeit at a reduced rate, but eventually they would travel for free.) Immigration to New Zealand. Letters from the Agent-General. AJHR, 1873 Session I, D-02, 21-22, and;

[Single women] AJHR 1872 I D01 No 33 (Memorandum from Reeves, Public Works Office, to the Agent General in London, 5 June 1872), 44 and 48.

¹⁸² AJHR 1873 I D-02 p.16-18

¹⁸³ Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants*, 48.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 54.

¹⁸⁵ George Petersen suggests 3,327, Mike King suggests 3,294, while Dunick's more recent research accounts for the 3,268 stated in the main text. The Danish government accounts for only 1,521 of the 1,968 Danes recorded at the New Zealand end, as while all departures were logged, those changing vessels in London or Hamburg may have been incorrectly recorded as ending their journeys there. [Birkeland, Peter. *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Danes Worldwide Archives 1990) 16] The agent in Denmark; Mr Horneman, may also have been recording migrants as tourists to evade official scrutiny. [Burr, Val. *Mosquitoes & Sawdust* 4]

departure of many Danes from the port of Hamburg).¹⁸⁶ Complicating the count further are 500 Europeans who arrived in 1877-8, after the scheme concluded, but with contracts approved while it was active.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ [Swedes/Finns/Danes mislabelled] Scandinavians in Australasia. *Manawatu Standard*, Volume XLI, Issue 8335, 13 July 1907, p.5, [LINK](#)

¹⁸⁷ Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants* 62-90.

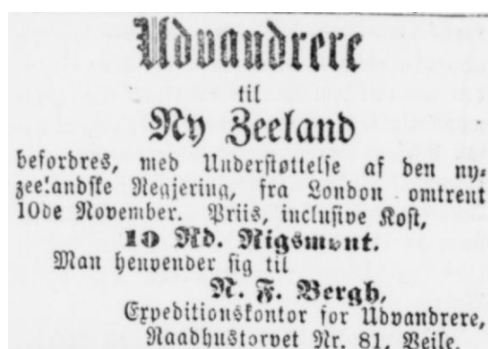
Chapter 4 – Recruitment, voyage, and arrival

The recruitment of Vogel's Scandinavians, and their voyage and arrival experiences

'The experiment of settling Scandinavians in the bush has been found to be a great success, whereas similar attempts in the cases of Englishmen have been for the most part failures. The government have, therefore, wisely determined to go to Scandinavia at once for a large number of immigrants, without waiting till they have exhausted the resources of Great Britain.'

Hawke's Bay Herald, editorial, 11 Nov 1871

In the 1860s, before Monrad's return to Denmark, the number of Scandinavians who even knew New Zealand existed was low, barring whalers and sailors with Pacific experience. Among rural Scandinavians, knowledge of the little colony would have been non-existent. For those who boarded ships bound for this farthest corner of the earth, their first encounter with New Zealand was likely via advertisement or recruiter.



*Advertisement for
Emigrants
Vejle Amts
Folkeblad, Issue 252,
20 October 1870,
Stats Biblioteket
(recorded as
30 October 1870)*

Emigrants to

New Zealand

Transported, with the support of the New Zealand Government, from London approx 10th November. Price including post,

10 Rigmont Rd.

You turn to

N. J. Bergh,

Expedition Office for Emigrants,
SiaadhuStorvet No. 81. Veile.

But Featherston's 177 agents were based in the United Kingdom.¹⁸⁸ Bror Friberg had originally been appointed as Scandinavian Immigration Agent, but was unfortunately unable to fulfil the role due to the financial bonds required in many European nations.¹⁸⁹ So in Denmark Bishop Monrad and one of his sons assisted, before the questionable Wilken Horneman was installed.¹⁹⁰ For Sweden and

¹⁸⁸ AJHR 1872 I D01a No 4, Letter from Featherston to Gisbourne, 15 November 1871, p.4, and; AJHR 1872 I D01a No 19, Letter from Dr Featherston to Gisbourne, 4 April 1872, p.23, and AJHR 1873 I D-02 p.16-18

¹⁸⁹ Evening Post, Volume VII, Issue 286, 11 January 1872, p.2 [LINK](#), and; AJHR 1872 I D01a No 23, Letter from Dr Featherston to Gisbourne, 22 March 1872, p.21-2, and; AJHR 1872 I D01a No 23, Letter from Dr Featherston to Gisbourne, 4 April 1872, p.24, and; For example; a £5,000 bond forfeited to the Swedish government, if emigrant hopes were not fulfilled. Provincial and Colonial. Cromwell Argus, Volume III, Issue 139, 9 July 1872, p.6 [LINK](#)

¹⁹⁰ Koivukangas, Ølavi. *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992) 6, and;

[Monrad] AJHR 1871 D03a No 1 Enc 1, Memorandum on Emigration p.6, and;

[Monrad] Birkeland, Peter *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Danes Worldwide Archives 1990) 15, and;

[Horneman recommended] AJHR 1871 D03a No 21, Morrison to Hon. Colonial Sec. p.18

[Horneman accused of charging migrants for what the colony was paying for] AJHR 1872 I D01b No 10 (letter from Dr Featherston to Gisbourne)

Norway Featherston contracted the shipping firm Winge and Co., with the Henderson Brothers taking over Sweden shortly after. Louis Knorr and Co. were contracted for Germany.¹⁹¹

Recruitment

While assisted passage reduced the ticket price to roughly equal to an Atlantic crossing, something extra was needed to make the little colony attractive compared to the better-known Americas. So, Featherston's European recruiters proffered income of six-seven shillings per day on guaranteed government contracts, compared to two shillings per day working as labourers in Scandinavia.¹⁹² Guaranteed income with squatter's rights and deferred payments for acres of cheap land must have seemed a godsend to poor tenant farmers and landless labourers.¹⁹³ And making the voyage possible for many was the ability to borrow residual passage costs via promissory notes.¹⁹⁴

But some of what the recruiters offered were just lies. These included 'nuggets of rich red gold' being abundant, and warm clothes not being necessary due to the mild climate.¹⁹⁵ Fruit was described as growing in abundance.¹⁹⁶ For those who would settle the special settlements, what was required to bring their land to a farmable state was also unmentioned.¹⁹⁷ While they were told clearing was required, they were not told of the dense ancient forest, likely leaving them assuming similarity to the lighter, open conifer forests common to Scandinavia. The extreme isolation of the proposed settlements and the consequent high cost of necessities was also not addressed.¹⁹⁸ Possibly no one thought of it. At the Norsewood Silver Jubilee in 1897, pastor Topholm spoke in a manner 'lacking in

[Horneman recording emigrants as 'tourists' to avoid government oversight] Val Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust: A History of Scandinavians in Early Palmerston North and Surrounding Districts ('Skandia II')* (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu, 1995) 4

¹⁹¹ AJHR 1872 I D01a No 10 Enc. 1, (Articles of Agreement) 13-14

¹⁹² Culliford, A. F. and R. I. Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School 1874 - 1949* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1949) 96

¹⁹³ Technically varying from 37 to 45 acres.

Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* (Diane and Terry Kitt, 2014) 69.

¹⁹⁴ [Although what was owed was doubled] Ibid. 20, and;

Andresen, Øystein Molstad. *Johanna's World* (VikingSevenses NZ Ltd, 2001) 18 and 21.

¹⁹⁵ [Nuggets of gold] Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 84, and;

[Warm climate] Mortensen 1

Anecdotally, Ngamoko was also known as 'Little Siberia' due to the harsh cold winds that would blow down off the Ruahines. High winds could reportedly blow horses off their feet.

¹⁹⁶ Mortensen 1, and;

Arnold, *The Opening of the Great Bush*, 411-2

To be fair, wild peaches grew almost uncontrollably near many settlements, both colonial and Māori, throughout the North Island until the early 1880s, when blight began to wipe them out. Regardless, there would have been none to be had deep in the Seventy Mile Bush.

¹⁹⁷ Keesing, Norma. *The Immigration of the Scandinavian People to the Hawke's Bay*. (Norma Keesing, 1993) 6 and 11

¹⁹⁸ Halford, Bert. *Norsewood District and School – Celebrating 125 Years 1872-1997*. (Norsewood Reunion Committee, 1997), p.2

Christian charity' on 'the hopes built by extravagant reports concerning the colony industriously circulated in the old country'.¹⁹⁹ But the recruiters were incentivised to gather as many migrants as possible, paid ten shilling per man or single woman who signed on.²⁰⁰ Suitability of the recruits was not rewarded.

An example encounter with a recruiter is relayed by Anders Ihle, patriarch of a Palmerston family. 'It was between July and September, 1870, that an agent advertised in a Norwegian paper for 18 strong families to emigrate to New Zealand. But what we had heard of this country made us doubtful. But the agent said "There now, you will find the Maoris a nice race of people", which proved to be quite correct. "And what are the conditions?" we asked. He said "It will cost you nothing and you will get 10 acres of land, your own freehold property." "And what sort of work are we to do?" "Oh, the same sort as you are doing in your own land - bushfelling, roadmaking, farming, bridge building, or anything you put your hands to. And you will have to sail from Christiania on October 5th, 1870 [...] for London. When in London, there will be another agent to look after you and take care of you. Any family can take two children. An interpreter will be arranged, for most of you cannot speak or understand the English Language."' ²⁰¹

In fairness, there would also be success stories to spur migration, the New Zealand's own 'America Letters'; Friberg carried several written by Palmerston settlers when he journeyed to Europe, and Monrad's writing on his New Zealand experiences may spurred the high proportion of Danes who made the voyage.²⁰² Christopher Ericksen (arrived aboard *England*), would relate; 'I came from Neas, a place in Norway; this is from twelve to thirteen English miles from Christiania [Oslo]. I have got friends out here who arrived last year [aboard *Celaeno*]. Four more of the emigrants came from the same place that I do.'²⁰³ A letter by an unknown author, one of the patriarchs who arrived aboard the *Celaeno*, was published in the Christiania periodical *Verdens Gang* in October 1871. It was more upfront about the realities, but still favourable overall.²⁰⁴

Some migrants travelled to New Zealand inadvertently. Keesing relates an anecdote of families expecting to reach America but boarding the wrong ship and reaching New Zealand instead,

¹⁹⁹ Article from the Bush Advocate, 24 September 1897, presented in Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 106.

²⁰⁰ AJHR 1872 I D01a No 19 and No 22 (letters from Featherston), 23-4, and; [Friberg received 10 shillings per man] Rachel M. Johnson, *From Norway with Love* (Rachel M. Johnson, 2006) 11.

²⁰¹ Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust* 11.

²⁰² Town and Country, Immigrants. Lyttelton Times, Volume XXXVI, Issue 3398, 5 December 1871, p.2 [LINK](#), and;

Monrad, D. G., *Old New Zealand* (Copenhagen: Reitzel 1870) [German version 1871], 66 pp.

²⁰³ Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into Certain Matters Connected with the Ship "England," and Correspondence with the Agent-General Thereon., AJHR, 1872 I, G-03, p28

²⁰⁴ Burr, *Early Manawatu Scandinavians* 12.

perhaps due to agents trying to make quota, or because the intended vessel was overbooked. Such was the case of the Rosvall family of Sweden; boarded on the wrong ship, they discovered their destination too late.²⁰⁵

The reality of voyaging from one end of the world to the other

After contracting to emigrate to New Zealand, the migrants were on their own. They needed to make arrangements for the possessions they could not carry with them; sale or transfer to family of property they owned or held rights to, and the handing to family of 'excess' children they could not take and still qualify for assisted passage.²⁰⁶ They needed transportation to the port of departure where they needed accommodation and food to sustain themselves until the voyage, which would prove problematic for some.

With that managed, what they may have thought was the hardest part of their migration would begin; the long voyage away from the only life they had ever known.²⁰⁷ Voyage accounts changed little between the New Zealand Company era and the Vogel scheme 30 years later. In the intervening decades vessels got larger; from below 500 tons average displacement to nearly 900.²⁰⁸ But the number of passengers also increased, meaning later migrants were left with the same tiny space endured by those who came before. The voyage was largely unchanged as well, taking 100 days on average to sail 24,000 kilometres from Europe; down the west coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope, across the southern Indian ocean, passing under Australia before reaching New Zealand. Faster steam vessels didn't start plying the route until after 1875, decades behind the Atlantic, due to a lack of coaling facilities. Ships on the route typically did not make landfall, leaving them only the

²⁰⁵ Keesing, *The Immigration of the Scandinavian People to the Hawke's Bay* 7, and; Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust* 7.

²⁰⁶ Klaudiane Peterdatter Birkegaard was the firstborn of Andreas Birkegaard and his wife Antonette. When Andreas and Antonette departed for New Zealand aboard the *Ballarat* in 1872, they choose to take their two youngest children with them. Klaudine was left behind in Denmark, in the care of her grandfather. She was only five years old.

Peck, P., *Descendants of Peter Andreas (Andrew) BIRKEGAARD (PETERS)* 'The Norsewood Cemetery and Settlers Genealogies Project' (accessed 23/08/23) [LINK](#), and; [Hardship waiting for the ship to sail] Øystein Molstad Andresen, *Johanna's World* (VikingSevenseas NZ Ltd, 2001) 65-6

²⁰⁷ This would not actually be the hardest part.

²⁰⁸ New Zealand Migrant Shipping (1861-1875) and (1839-1860). Drawn from records of the Computing Group at the New Zealand Society of Genealogists, placed in the public domain 1988. Accessed 21/07/2024

supplies they departed with.²⁰⁹ This could cause hardship, and contributed to the deaths of ten children aboard the second *Hovding* in 1873.²¹⁰

Accommodation was limited. Those who paid their way could expect a cabin above deck, although this was not certain, as some found on boarding.²¹¹ Families that contracted for assisted passage received bunks in the middle hold. Single men were bunked in a forward hold, with single women in an aft hold (with a matron to prevent impropriety). Bunks were stacked two high under a low deck, separated by panels or just canvas, constructs known as 'horse boxes.' In some cases, overbooked passengers might be housed in tents on deck; lucky in the tropics, less so when departing Europe at the end of winter or if encountering storms. The experience was crowded and stressful, reeking from limited ventilation and poorly washed bodies crammed into a tiny space, featuring damp bedding, plentiful vermin, and poor and monotonous fare.²¹²

With overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and poor diet, disease was an ever-present threat. Smallpox was especially feared, but its appearance aboard a migrant vessel heading to New Zealand was considered inevitable.²¹³ Smallpox vaccines were available, but could not provide complete protection, resulting in terrible consequences on several voyages.²¹⁴ To combat the risk of diseases reaching New Zealand, migrants were (supposedly) medically assessed; on departure this meant the ships doctor examining passengers during boarding, on arrival this meant a government inspector boarding to assess the passengers and discuss their state with the ships doctor. This usually resulted in approval to disembark. But sometimes it resulted in quarantine at a facility like Somes Island, where the sick would hopefully recover with treatment, vaccines could be administered if smallpox was present, and the illness would hopefully burn itself out, sometimes helped by migrant possessions being piled on the beach and set ablaze.²¹⁵ Many seeking a better life, and bravely sailing around the

²⁰⁹ Some may have stopped to provision at Cape Town (Millen, *Colonial Tears and Sweat* 19), but for most the voyage was made in a single sailing.

²¹⁰ Not stopping could cause hardship, and a subsequent lack of provisions may have contributed to the deaths of ten children aboard the second *Hovding* in 1873 (Described in wrenching detail in Andresen's *Johanna's World*, 61-88)

²¹¹ Ibid. 55, and;

Johnson, Rachel M. *From Norway with Love* (Rachel M. Johnson, 2006) 23-4.

²¹² Salted meat (beef or pork), gruels of oatmeal, onion or prune soups, dried beans, potatoes, and hard biscuits (and weevils). Dried fruit was a luxury, as was the occasional loaf of ship baked bread. New Zealand Heritage, vol 3, p.1046

²¹³ The Scandinavian Immigrants. Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 44, 22 March 1872, p.2 [LINK](#), and; The Small Pox. Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4541, 15 March 1872, p.3 [LINK](#) Immigration from a Financial Point of View. Timaru Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 1066, 29 June 1874, p.1 (Supplement) [LINK](#)

²¹⁴ Not including measles, diphtheria, cholera, scarlet fever, and other diseases; during the Vogel scheme period smallpox struck the *Shakespeare* (1871), *England* (1871), *England* (1872 - suspected), *Nebraska* (1872), *Douglas* (1873), *Surat* (1874), *Mongol* (1874), *Northampton* (1874), and *Zealandia* (1876).

²¹⁵ As was the fate of the English and Norwegian migrants aboard the *England* who ended up at Somes Island in March 1872 due to outbreaks of measles, diarrhoea, and suspected small pox.

world to find it, were caught up in outbreaks of disease that allowed them to see what would have been their new home, only to be buried at its shore.²¹⁶

Finally, there was the danger foremost in the minds of many making the voyage; shipwreck. Of the nearly 700 migrant vessels that attempted the voyage to Australasia in the nineteenth century, 30 would not arrive.²¹⁷ The most notorious was perhaps the *Cospatrick*. Sailing from Gravesend for Auckland on 11 September 1874, she sank off the Cape of Good Hope on 19 November. The ship caught fire, and with 200 tons of spirits aboard she burned quickly. Two boats were kept readied for use. The first was lowered but tipped when it reached the water, dropping the 80 women it carried into the sea where they drowned within arms reach of the ship. The empty boat drifted until a group of sailors swam to claim it, and from there helped aboard 30 people already in the water. The second boat was successfully deployed, carrying 32 more. The rest perished swiftly. Drifting, the little boats became separated in heavy seas, one being lost forever. The vessel *British Sceptre* found the other ten days after the sinking. By that time, it contained only the dead, and 5 withered cannibals in such poor condition that two died after their rescue. Of the 473 people who sailed aboard the *Cospatrick*, only three lived.²¹⁸ Stories such as these were not uncommon, except that many lost ships left no survivors at all, becoming 'due', 'overdue', 'looked for', and finally 'missing at sea', with the true horror of their end shared only among the dead.

It took considerable bravery to essentially burn down one's life and board a cramped vessel for an unpleasant and dangerous journey toward an uncertain future. Such an undertaking says much about the nature of the people willing to undertake it.

The *Ballarat* and *Hovding*

On 15 September 1872, two vessels dropped anchor in Corunna Bay, Napier. They had left different places at different times under different flags, but they sailed into a bay on the far side of the world within hours of each other.²¹⁹ The *Ballarat* departed Grave's End, England, on 15 June, and arrived carrying 300 British, one Norwegian, and 71 Danes, two more Danes than at departure due to two

Arrival of the Ship *England*, Evening Post, volume VII, Issue 333, 9 March 1872, p.2, [LINK](#), and; [The *Halcione* in July of 1873] Latest Southern News. Auckland Star, Volume IV, Issue 1084, 14 July 1873, p.3 [LINK](#)

²¹⁶ Three of Vogel's Scandinavians arriving on the *Halcione*, Gustave Jensen (19), Christine Jensen (36), and Maria Larsen (32), never made it further than the Somes Island quarantine facility, where their remains are buried to this day. Their story was not unique.

²¹⁷ Brenstrum, E. 'A hazardous passage', *New Zealand Geographic*, ISSUE 126, Mar - Apr 2014

²¹⁸ Millen, Julia. *Colonial Tears and Sweat* (Reed, 1984), 9-10, and; English Shipping. Auckland Star, Volume V, Issue 1501, 2 December 1874, p.2, [LINK](#), and; Total Loss of the *Cospatrick* by Fire. Four Hundred and Fifty-Seven Lives Reported Lost. Auckland Star, Volume VI, Issue 1533, 11 January 1875, p.2 [LINK](#)

²¹⁹ The *Ballarat* anchored at 10am, the *Hovding* at 5pm.

births. The *Hovding* departed Christiania, Norway, on 31 May, and arrived carrying 365 Norwegians and 11 Danes, four more Scandinavians than at departure due to five births and one death.²²⁰ Bror Friberg was also aboard; unable to recruit legally in Scandinavia, he returned to the colony to instead fulfil the role of government representative to the migrants.²²¹ There were oddities. As each family could travel with a maximum of two subsidised children (and four overall), there were some curious arrangements with smaller families quietly absorbing children from larger ones for the voyage.²²²



Fullrigger, Hovding
(b.1868, A. B. Bull (J. Jensen), Fagerheim,
Tønsberg, Norge),
Norsk Maritimt Museum [colourised]

The food aboard each vessel had been typical; two meals a day, first oatmeal gruel and hard biscuit, then either salt pork or beef, accompanied by potatoes, with the occasional serving of 'soup with prunes', a lifeline of vitamins and fibre for travellers of old.²²³ Water was stale and rationed, as neither vessel made landfall before reaching Napier.²²⁴

The *Ballarat* enjoyed an uneventful journey, barring two storms. The *Hovding* enjoyed a less peaceful voyage, suffering a severe storm and sighting land only twice along the way.²²⁵ Early in the voyage, a year old girl died of the bronchitis she had suffered from when her family boarded.²²⁶ A pitch fire also occurred that could have led to a *Cospatrick* situation, but was fortunately dealt with.²²⁷ There

²²⁰ McDonald, Rob. *Dannevirke : The Early Years* (Rod McDonald, 2002) 41.

²²¹ AJHR 1872 I D-01 No 23, and Enc 23, (Letter from Featherston to the Hon. Colonel Secretary, and enclosure from Friberg to Featherston) p.24-5

²²² Emanuel and Helena Frederickson did not wish to part with any of their six children, so when they contracted for passage aboard the first *Hovding* they enlisted the aid of August and Amalia Anderson, a childless couple, to bring young Oline and Samuel to New Zealand as their own. The same may have occurred with Betsy Engebretsen, for whom no emigration departure record exists under the Engebretsen name. However, a 'Betsy' did arrive with the family of Martin and Olava Pedersen, but after arrival she disappeared. Peck, P. Descendants of Peter Andreas (Andrew) BIRKEGAARD (PETERS), 'The Norsewood Cemetery and Settlers Genealogies Project' (accessed 23/08/23) – Assembled by a descendent of Emanuel and Helena, and; Norsewood Cemetery Project, Descendants of Johannes ENGBRETSSEN, Second Generation :: Notes - 5 (accessed 12/12/2024)

²²³ A dish still enjoyed by many Scandinavians today.

²²⁴ Mortensen 3-4

²²⁵ Shipping Intelligence. Hawke's Bay Times, Volume 19, Issue 1429, 16 September 1872, p.2 [LINK](#)

²²⁶ McDonald, *Dannevirke* 41.

²²⁷ Given the crowded and vermin infested nature of a migrant vessel's holds, fumigation was a regular occurrence. With the passengers gathered on deck, a pot or barrel of pitch would be taken to the hold and heated with a hot poker to release clouds of foul smoke. The idea was the vermin would choke and die, but the reality may have been more that the smell of pitch smoke distracted the passengers from their state. Unfortunately, the pitch in this instance caught fire. Several panicked passengers ran to the rail ready to leap, but a quick-thinking woman threw a blanket (no doubt of wool) over the barrel, which gave a quick-thinking sailor named Hans enough time to haul the lethal thing up from the hold and rush it over the side. Mortensen 2-3

was also a rumour that emerged, born of anxiety and corrupted understanding regarding what would happen after arrival; that the men would be sent to a distant part of the colony to work in the wilderness, while the unprotected women and children, isolated by their inability to speak English, would be taken as slaves.²²⁸

Landfall

By 16 September inspectors declared all aboard the *Ballarat* fit to debark, and the new arrivals were ferried to shore. A day later the *Hovding* passengers joined them. Ships boats were used for both, as Napier had no docks despite being a provincial capital accessible only by sea. Halcombe was present to greet them, and as full of praise for them as he had been for those of the *Celaeno*, declaring them 'well selected', the men 'workman-like' and 'hardy', and the single women 'far above the average of immigrants of that class', sentiments shared by the press.²²⁹

The arrival of two migrant vessel at the same time strained Napier's resources; the population leapt from around 2,200 to 3,000 in a day.²³⁰ Families and single women were housed in the Bluff Hill and Gore Brown Immigration Barracks. Single men were accommodated in Munn's Hotel.

The unmarried immediately sought employment. Weeks later Halcombe reported to the Minister of Immigration that all had successfully found it.²³¹ Labour was in demand, and the new arrivals being Scandinavian, not British, mattered little.

Hawke's Bay Times.

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1872.

The immigrants per *Ballarat* were all landed yesterday. The debarkation of those per *Hövding* has been going on all day, and the new arrivals have been conducted to the places assigned to them. The single women and a num-

ber of families have been taken to Gore Browne Barracks; the single men to Munn's old hotel; and a number of families to the Immigration Barracks. The day has been exceedingly fine, and the juvenile arrivals, rejoiced at their emancipation from ship-board, might have been seen frolicking on the hills near the Barracks. With the exception of one or two young children, who have suffered from the sea-voyage, the whole of the passengers have arrived in excellent health and spirits. The accommodation and arrangements for the comfort of the passengers have been good, particularly on board the *Hövding*, which fully bears out the high character given by Dr Featherston to the Norwegian emigrant ships. By advertisement the public are informed that servants may be engaged, according to priority of application, at the Immigration Barracks on and after 11 a.m. tomorrow.

²²⁸ Related by a Mrs Nielsen for the *Dannevirke Evening News*, 19/09/1922, presented in Culliford and Harrison, 75th *Jubilee Norsewood School* 128-9.

²²⁹ Quoted in McDonald, *Dannevirke* 42, and;

Part Report from Halcombe to the Minister of Immigration, 1 October 1872, presented in Diane and Terry Kitt, *Norsewood: a 'special settlement'* 59-60

²³⁰ Chapter 5. CENSUS OF NEW ZEALAND.—FEBRUARY, 1871.—NO. 3.

²³¹ Ten men found roles with the railway, and 38 of the 50 single women were employed within a week.

Telegraph from Halcomb to John Knowles (Undersecretary for Public Works), 26 September 1872, presented in *Norsewood: a 'special settlement'* 64, and;

Memo from Halcombe to the Minister of Immigration, 1 October 1872, *Ibid.* 59-60, and;

Koivukangas, Ølavi. *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992) 7

The only complaint was their inability with the English language.²³²

Into the bush

Led by Halcombe, eighty-four married men departed Napier on 20 September to establish Norsewood and Dannevirke. They travelled with Māori guides, and two wagons carrying possessions and government supplies. Some wives felt trepidation watching their men marched away, fearing the earlier rumours of separation and slavery were being realised.²³³

It was hard going. the men followed mostly the concept of a track, and every river and stream was unbridged. The Māori guides from Tahora-iti were essential. Even with their help, the 100km journey took three days.²³⁴ They spent their first night in Te Aute, the next in the Waipukurau Hotel stables, and the third in the Railway Hotel stables, eight kilometres from their destination, passing along the way the Māori pa at Takapau. They arrived at what would become Norsewood midday on 24 September, camping in a run-down barracks in Te Whiti clearing.²³⁵ Non-Scandinavian presence in the 'Scandinavian' settlements began early, with two tents; one containing the government 'store' of Frederick Drower (a storeowner from Waipukurau), and in the other two butchers; Harry Monteith and Angus McKay.²³⁶

On arrival Halcombe conducted a ballot to determine what 40 acre section each family would hold, while pushing for some to move on to Dannevirke, encouraging them with claims the land was better.²³⁷ In reality there was a shortage of surveyed Norsewood sections, with only 63 completed.²³⁸ Twenty-one families took up the Dannevirke offer, 13 from the *Ballarat*, and eight from the *Hovding*; 13 Danes, six Norwegians, and two Swedes.²³⁹ Friberg arrived shortly after, in time to translate a speech by Halcombe that assured them all of government support, with a store in each settlement

²³² Hawke's Bay Herald 17 September 1872, presented in Diane and Terry Kitt, *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 58, and;

Report by Halcombe to Minister of Immigration, 1 October 1872, presented in Kitt, *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 60

²³³ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 128-9.

²³⁴ Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 60-4.

²³⁵ Built by colonial troops fighting in the New Zealand Wars.

²³⁶ McDonald, *Dannevirke* 43.

²³⁷ He didn't know at the time, but he wasn't actually wrong; Dannevirke featured better drainage, less dense forest thanks to a recent fire, and rich stands of totara that would later pay dividends for the settlement.

²³⁸ Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4729, 21 October 1872, p.2 [LINK](#)

²³⁹ Recorded as 22 families in some sources, a 14th Danish family took one look and left again (the Birkegaards). Dunick records 13 Danish and eight Norwegian families made the move, as per a supporting article in the Waipawa Mail (1887), while McDonald and Christensen record 13 Danes, six Norwegians, and two Swedes, with another Danish family (possibly that of Anders Eriksen) arriving later. But grave markers at Dannevirke Settler Cemetery include Eric and Ingborg Person (husband and wife), arrived on the *Hovding* in 1872 from Varmland in Sweden with three children in tow, indicating that all three nationalities were present when the town was founded.

and work contracts four days per week, and a reminder to pay their promissory notes and land payments.²⁴⁰ They were assured work on the roads would begin swiftly.²⁴¹ But the arrival experience was grim, and they were left disillusioned at the differences between what the recruiters had promised, and what they were experiencing. Survey pegs in a dense and forbidding forest were a far cry from what they had left behind.

On 2 October the women and children, led by Halcombe, departed Napier by cart.²⁴² They also reached Te Whiti clearing in three days, but the barracks were insufficient, forcing some to sleep in the open. It was another week before the men had the first humble, roughcut, one-room shacks ready.²⁴³ Some of the women wept when they saw their new 'homes'; not much to compare to the tidy little cottages most would have left behind. Others wished themselves back in their homeland, or just laughed.²⁴⁴ There must have been a sense of having been thrown to the wilds.

Each family received two weeks food, seed potatoes, cabbage seeds, basic tools, and were then on their own. While the men started clearing brush and finishing their shacks the women played sherpa, moving supplies and possessions the eight kilometres from Te Whiti, shepherding children along the way. While carrying items like 100lb bags of flour, some no doubt carried heavy hearts as well. The forest must have seemed like a prison for their futures.²⁴⁵

Three weeks after the men arrived, the families headed for Dannevirke moved on, and Friberg with them.²⁴⁶ All the *Ballarat* families went, indicating some sense of community may have developed during the voyage. On arrival Friberg hosted a section ballot, although the families managed to arrange themselves along national lines; the Danes, in the majority, selected the east, leaving the Norwegians and Swedes the west.²⁴⁷ With only two tents between them, many families slept under canvas, logs,

²⁴⁰ McDonald, *Dannevirke* 42-3, and;

[Land payments.] Diane and Terry Kitt, *Norsewood: a 'special settlement'*, 69.

²⁴¹ Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1062, 22 March 1887, p.4 [LINK](#)

²⁴² Napier, Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 209, 3 October 1872, p.2 [LINK](#)

²⁴³ Multiple sources describe these as crooked structures just 10 by 15 feet, made of either punga logs or wedge split slabs from felled trees, rammed upright in rows in shallow trenches, with floors of dirt or strewn fern, roofs of stretched tarpaulin or angled slabs, and chimneys made of wood or punga sometimes lined with clay. Also described in one paper as 'picturesque huts', presumably by a reporter who saw them through some very rose-tinted glasses (Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4729, 21 October 1872, p.2, [LINK](#))

²⁴⁴ Mortensen 7

²⁴⁵ Cited from an unpublished thesis: Davidson, J. W. *Scandinavian Settlement in the Dominion*, (unpublished thesis, 1938, held by Victoria University), presented in Lyng, Jens Sørensen. *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne University Press, 1939) 162-3.

²⁴⁶ Cited from an unpublished thesis: Davidson, *Scandinavian Settlement in the Dominion*, presented in Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 163.

²⁴⁷ Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1062, 22 March 1887, p.4 [LINK](#)

or just sheets, until their little shacks were ready.²⁴⁸ One Danish family decamped back to civilisation immediately, tempted on the trek south by the potential of more prosperous settlements.²⁴⁹

The migrants recruited to break the Seventy Mile Bush had arrived, and Norsewood and Dannevirke, despite being nothing more than survey pegs, half-finished shacks, and wishful thinking, were now more than just marks on a map.

²⁴⁸ McDonald, *Dannevirke* 44, and;

[In Mauriceville as well] George Conrad Petersen, *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 33.

²⁴⁹ The Birkegaards; the only family from the *Ballarat* that did not settle in Dannevirke. Their immediate destination would not have been Hastings, which Mortensen described as being just a single hut at the time. McDonald, *Dannevirke*, 65

5 – Life in the Bush

Disappointments, departures, and developments

If they had known then what was ahead of them, in the shape of hardships of every description, I reckon they would have hesitated to face the bush.

Our Bush Settlements, Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1062, 22 March 1887, page 4

Never in the history of New Zealand was there more bitter disillusion or disappointment than that experienced by these people from Scandinavia. They had of necessity to face what lay ahead as they were anchored to the settlement by lack of money, a strange language and many children.

Hawkes Bay Digital Archives Trust, Norsewood, page 7

Now on their sections, the founders of Dannevirke and Norsewood had a miserable time of it. Initially rainy days and cold winds blowing off the Ruahine ranges ensured there was little comfort, even after bare-bones shelters were built.²⁵⁰ Other than what was received from the government, and the possessions they brought with them, the settlers had nothing but each other and their dreams of prosperity. Mortensen claims (from a child's perspective) that the people felt a sense of togetherness, like 'one big happy family'. Hardships were shared, as was the work; many slabhus shacks were built by multiple families labouring together.²⁵¹ But it was hard going.

The isolation from other people, especially colonials, limited contact between cultures. Storekeepers, then teachers, and occasional visits from policemen, doctors, and government representatives, were the only intrusions of the colonial majority.²⁵² Even the first preachers in the Bush were Scandinavian.²⁵³ But despite isolation, the binding effect of shared voyages and trials, and culturally homogeneous beginnings, these communities did not last long as bulwarks of Scandinavian culture.

²⁵⁰ Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4729, 21 October 1872, p.2 [LINK](#)

²⁵¹ Mortensen 16 and 20, and;

Andresen, Øystein Molstad. *Johanna's World* (VikingSevenseas NZ Ltd, 2001) 133, and;

Culliford, A. F. and R. I. Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School 1874 - 1949* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1949) 93.

²⁵² Store managers Drower and later James Allardice, then teachers such as F. W. Thompson, store owner J W Thompson, as well as a policeman and his wife present briefly at Christmas of 1872.

²⁵³ Abraham Honore of Denmark (visited the settlements from arrival), Edvard Nielson of Norway (visited the settlements from 1874), and Emanuel Fredericksen (arrived aboard the *Hovding*), performing some religious services

A hard start

The forest sections were not able to sustain the new settlers, and two weeks government rations could not feed them until the land could. The precariousness of their situation cannot be overstated. Many had spent all their assets on passage and supplies, some also needed to sustain themselves while waiting for their vessel to sail.²⁵⁴ Most owed a promissory note for the unsubsidised portion of their passage, plus a pound for haulage of their possessions from Napier, in addition to the £40 they owed for their land.²⁵⁵

To support them initially, credit was made available at the government stores in Dannevirke (a 10 x 8-foot shack) and Norsewood (a tent in Te Whiti clearing eight kilometres away). When the stores were open (Drower splitting his time between them and his Waipukurau store), the settlers could buy on credit food, additional tools, housewares such as camp ovens, and the one item the men could not work without; moleskin pants.²⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the isolation necessitated packhorses to ferry everything into the forest, making costs astronomical.²⁵⁷ Debt to the stores rose quickly.

Lessons taught by attempts like Albertland put to rest any expectation that settlers could subsist off the bush while converting it to farms. So, bringing truth to some recruiter promises, government contracts to build Vogel's roads were swiftly awarded. Work for the link from Napier to the Manawatū Gorge commencing from Norsewood on 27 October, and 14 November from Dannevirke. Before assembling into crews to tackle the forest, the men helped their families further prepare homes and land as best they could. In Norsewood over eight tons of potatoes were planted and 38 shacks built, some with multiple rooms. In Dannevirke two tons of potatoes were planted, and a number of homes prepared, some reported by Friberg as being 'very neat'.²⁵⁸

As the men began work on the road, their wives continued clearing ferns and scrub from around the larger trees on their sections.²⁵⁹ Wherever the ground could be sufficiently cleared more seeds and potatoes were planted. Seed for clover and grass were scattered in spaces that would not

²⁵⁴ Andresen, *Johanna's World* 65-6.

²⁵⁵ AJHR 1872 I D01 No 3 p6, and;

REPORT BY MR. HALCOMBE, IMMIGRATION OFFICER, AJHR 1872 I D16 p5, and;

Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1062, 22 March 1887, p.4 [LINK](#)

²⁵⁶ Andersen, Archibald Leonard. *Norsewood : the centennial story*. (A. L. Andersen, 1972) 14, and;

Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 94

²⁵⁷ In 1872 a 100lb bag of flour in the bush settlements was as much as 27 shillings, compared to 16-18 shillings elsewhere.

[Bush prices] Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 131, and;

Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 46, and;

[Mainstream prices] Page 3 Advertisements Column 3. Waikato Times, Volume I, Issue 30, 9 July 1872, p.3 [LINK](#)

²⁵⁸ Memo from Friberg to Ormond, 5 December 1872, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 68-69

²⁵⁹ The Scandinavian Settlements. Wairarapa Standard, Volume 2, Issue 101, 20 August 1873, p.2 [LINK](#)

support garden plots, in the hopes that animals would soon graze there.²⁶⁰ Older children helped, and no doubt the younger ones did their best, but some were just locked in the house until their mothers returned when it got dark.²⁶¹

The men worked on their sections whenever the roadwork allowed. Initially, this meant trudging home daily to see family and work in whatever light was left, eat, sleep, then leave next morning for the roadhead. But quickly the distance became too great, and the men would spend a period of four or five days in their crew camps, cutting deeper into the forest, before hiking back to their families and sections to fell the larger trees their families had cleared of ground cover.²⁶² The section work was urgent; downed trees and scrub needed to bake in the summer sun as long as possible to dry for the burn-offs to follow, and the settlers were supposed to clear 10 percent of their land annually to maintain their squatter's rights.²⁶³ They were on the clock, but the men spent more and more time away as the roads lengthened, and their debt to the stores mounted. The pay promised by the recruiters must have sounded generous.²⁶⁴ But the two shillings equivalent the men would have earned for similar labour in Scandinavia could have gone further.²⁶⁵ Much of what they were earning went to pay down debt for passage and consumables.



*Jigger boards in use
Taranua District Library*

By December the work was reported as progressing 'extremely well [...] with the exception of a few tradespeople, who have never done any outdoor work'.²⁶⁶ Unfortunately, while some of the Swedes and Norwegians potentially had forestry experience from seasonal work back Home, many

²⁶⁰ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 56-7.

²⁶¹ Shutting the kids in the house was a common practice unfortunately illustrated by tragedy. Mortensen relates how in the early or mid-1870s he helped a mother, visiting with friends, rush back to her burning punga whare to rescue three or four children still inside (page 12). As well there was the tragic death of a Mrs Jacobsen, who died of exposure while searching for a cow in July of 1885. Her husband was away working, and it was 2 days before her three children were found locked in the house, just before her body was located in the bush, only 150m away.

Telegraphic News. Temuka Leader, Issue 1367, 18 July 1885, p.2, [LINK](#), and; Petersen, *Forest Homes* 90-1.

²⁶² Ibid. 56.

²⁶³ Ibid. 58-9.

Although this may not have been a stringent requirement by the government, as by 1880 the average clearance on a Norsewood section may have been only 20 of 40 acres.

Norsewood. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5649, 30 March 1880, p.3, [LINK](#)

²⁶⁴ Memo from Friberg to Ormond 5 December 1872 presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 68-69

²⁶⁵ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 96.

²⁶⁶ Manawatu Gorge Seventy-Mile Bush. Wellington Independent, Volume XXVII, Issue 3673, 6 December 1872, p.2 [LINK](#)

others, particularly the Danes, were professionals with no labourer experience.²⁶⁷ While there are no occupations listed for the non-English speaking *Ballarat* migrants, occupations for those who arrived aboard the *Hovding* were recorded, and included many whose previous employment was unrelated to bush breaking or establishing farms; people not suited for their circumstances in the bush.²⁶⁸ Friberg had recruited mostly town-based tradesmen, rather than the rural labourers he was supposed to.²⁶⁹ He acknowledged that 'town mechanics and tradesmen, [...], do not understand to apply themselves to the bush'.²⁷⁰

There is no reason why a tailor could not have served as a farm labourer or forester at some point, being recorded as a tailor on arrival because that was the trade they plied when they signed their emigration contract. Although professional careers were often a lifetime commitment, mobility between economic sectors was common; Scandinavians migrating to New Zealand, and around their Home nations, being prime examples.²⁷¹ But it is likely that the Danish men of the *Ballarat*, and most of the men from the *Hovding*, had none of the forestry experience the government expected. They struggled. Friberg would note not long after the work began that their skills did improve quickly.²⁷² Many would have preferred a more comfortable life, plying a familiar trade in a developed town. But into the hands of these men were thrust axes and shovels; debt was their goad, land was their reward, and hard labour was needed to clear both.

²⁶⁷ During the initial period that the roadway and sections were being cleared it was said that Danes could be identified by the blood-stained bandages on their hands.

Norma Keesing, *The Immigration of the Scandinavian People to the Hawke's Bay*. (Norma Keesing, 1993) 20, and;

Petersen, *Forest Homes* 27.

²⁶⁸ Among those listed were; 20 farm labourers, 27 'general' labourers, two blacksmiths, a brewer, four carpenters, two chimney sweeps, seven joiners, a joiner/stonemason, a painter, a saddler, three shoemakers, two tailors, a dyer, a spinner, two weavers, a carpenter, three mechanics, two turners, and a tobacco manufacturer. 'Labourer' in this context also meant a person who made their living through the work of their hands. As such, the term 'labourer' should not be assumed to be a generalist worker able to turn their hand to any trade, nor one necessarily used to back breaking labour in rural or forest environments. Occupations are as listed recorded in the *Hovding* passenger list, but many were also prefaced with the word 'Labourer'.

²⁶⁹ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 97-98, and;

Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 44

²⁷⁰ Memo from Friberg to Minister of Lands and Immigration (William Fitzherbert), 29 October 1872, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 66

²⁷¹ Åkerman, Sune. 'Swedish Migration and Social Mobility: The Tale of Three Cities', *Social Science History*, Vol 1, No 2 (Winter, 1977)

²⁷² Three professionals began to ply their trades (tailor, and two shoemakers) almost immediately, with Friberg describing the tailor as 'weak'.

Memo: Friberg to Ormond, 5 December 1872, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 68

Settling in

By March 1873 the gardens began to yield.²⁷³ Vegetables and potatoes grown from what the government provided were mainstays, supplemented with additions the Scandinavians sourced themselves, like oats traded from local Māori.²⁷⁴ Food from the bush was valued, and helped keep store debt down. Bird hunting was commonplace using makeshift slings until guns became widely available, at which point wild pig joined the menu.²⁷⁵ There was fishing, eeling, and the gathering of wild eggs and honey, mostly by children.²⁷⁶ Trade with Māori was helpful, likely via the pa at Takapau.²⁷⁷ Around this time Drower's Dannevirke store came under the management (later ownership) of John Allardice, enabling Drower to focus on Norsewood, keeping both stores open more consistently.²⁷⁸ Unfortunately, by this time the families of Norsewood collectively owed their store around £1,100, and in Dannevirke around £30-50 per household.²⁷⁹ Friberg warranted each family spent £6 per month sustaining themselves with purchases, but monthly income fluctuated from £3 to £8, weather depending.²⁸⁰ The situation was not helped by Friberg demanding £1 per month per household to pay down promissory notes and the debt for their portage through the forest.²⁸¹ Some settlers were even accused of being spendthrift, allegedly buying whatever 'broken-down screws' and 'mangy curs' they could acquire from local Māori.²⁸² The horses were likely essential for transferring

²⁷³ Manawatu Gorge Seventy-Mile Bush. Wellington Independent, Volume XXVII, Issue 3673, 6 December 1872, p.2, [LINK](#)

²⁷⁴ McDonald, Rob. *Dannevirke : The Early Years* (Rod McDonald, 2002), 47-8, and; Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 79.

²⁷⁵ Some settlers apparently brought with them their own firearms, particularly those who'd served in the Danish army. Petersen, *Forest Homes* 63.

²⁷⁶ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 34-5, and;

Christie, P. 'Danish Yesterdays in New Zealand', *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Danes Worldwide Archives, 1990), 26-7, and;

Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehnendorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 44.

²⁷⁷ Details of contact between the Scandinavians and Māori are scarce in secondary sources, but there are primary sources which offer some clues, mostly brief indications of trade. Lehnendorf, writing of his own arrival in 1874 mentions staying at or near the Māori pa at Takapau, which was large, and with Māori travelling for miles to meet the migrants.

Ibid. 42-3.

²⁷⁸ McDonald, *Dannevirke* 52, and;

Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 94.

²⁷⁹ [Norsewood debt] Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 79, and; [Dannevirke debt] McDonald, *Dannevirke* 48-9.

²⁸⁰ Memos from Friberg to Ormond, 5 December 1872 and 6 March 1873, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 68-69

²⁸¹ McDonald, *Dannevirke* 48-9, and;

Alluded to as funds gathered by Friberg in a Memo: Friberg to Ormond, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 75.

²⁸² Nelson Evening Mail, Volume VIII, Issue 115, 14 May 1873, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

[Norwegians who settled in Dannevirke began buying horses from Māori around 1875] Johnson, Rachel M. *From Norway with Love* (Rachel M. Johnson, 2006) 76.

between the roadhead and home. But for most husbands returning from the road camps with jingling pockets, their first port of call was the store to pay down some of the debt their family had accumulated while they were away.²⁸³ It must have been frustrating.

Moving to 'piecework' contracts would alleviate the financial stress somewhat, offering payment per chain felled (typically £2) rather than per day, meaning a determined man could earn up to eight shillings daily.²⁸⁴ But many found themselves working six days a week to keep ahead of their debt, which allowed no time to prepare their land. Men might be two weeks or more at the camps, before returning to their sections. But as 1873 closed, with the road between Napier and Woodville nearing completion, the government contracts were ending. Petitions were submitted to Wellington, pleading for more work while the settlers prepared their sections to sustain themselves, but to no avail.²⁸⁵ The contracts ended, their farms far from ready. Fear of destitution and a desire to move upward economically were powerful motivations to migrate to New Zealand, but their situation now was a far cry from what they had been promised or had hoped for.²⁸⁶

Push factors

While difficult work, finances, and husbands separated from families and land all caused hardship, there were other factors at play. Despite the money spent, and debts accumulated at government shops, contemporary sources make it clear that the standard of living was miserable.²⁸⁷ In his reminiscences Mortensen described no dissatisfaction as 'we lived and were not unhappy [...] the tastes and habits of our people were simple in those days [...]'. But he arrived in the bush as a child of ten, so his idea of a good standard of living differed from that of the adults, used as they were to neat cottages and community amenities. A counterpoint is offered by contemporary Lehndorf (arrived 1875 with the *Fritz Reuter*). He mentions a sense of bitterness toward the government for the hardships endured by migrants forced into the bush, while colonial runholders enjoyed swaths of flat, clear, land.²⁸⁸

²⁸³ They didn't always manage. In 1878 'various Scandinavians' were sued for amounts between £20 and £100 owed to a business in Norsewood. There were not many businesses in Norsewood at the time.

The Credit System. Waipawa Mail, Volume I, Issue 26, 11 December 1878, p.2 [LINK](#)

²⁸⁴ [7-8 shillings] Andersen, *Norsewood : the centennial story* 14, and; [8-9 shillings] Petersen, *Forest Homes* 27.

²⁸⁵ McDonald, *Dannevirke* 49-50.

²⁸⁶ The settlers of Dannevirke probably felt particularly aggrieved, as Friberg is alleged to have offered them an inducement of 5 years government work to support their settlement so far from civilization.

Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1062, 22 March 1887, p.4, [LINK](#)

²⁸⁷ Ibid. p.4 [LINK](#), and;

The Norsewood Disaster, Star (Christchurch) Issue 6190, 19 March 1888, p.2, [LINK](#)

²⁸⁸ Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 47

Lack of time to work sections meant farms were not being developed, and robbed many of the opportunity to build better homes to live in. Some spent years in punga whares and slabhus shacks as a result.²⁸⁹ Furniture was whatever could be knocked together from local timber.²⁹⁰ Cooking was done over an open fire with pots, pans, and camp ovens.²⁹¹ Water for washing and hygiene was an issue until wells were dug, as creeks were inconveniently far for most.²⁹² The only abundant resource was firewood, but with chimneys of punga or wooden slabs 'sealed' with clay, house fires were commonplace. Mortensen recollects two such fires in the opening years of Norsewood.²⁹³ And then there was hunger. When rivers ran high the wagons could not get through, and shops were not replenished. The women would wait all day, until, as darkness fell, they trudged home with empty sacks, lighting their way with bottled candles.²⁹⁴ The higher standard of living in Napier, and on the farms passed during the trek into the forest, must have made an impression.²⁹⁵

There was certainly frustration over availability of medical care, and the consequences of not having it. Friberg had quickly requested medical support from the government, as two young children passed away within weeks of arrival in the bush.²⁹⁶ Anna Jacobsen passed on 2 December, leaving 5 children in the sole care of their father.²⁹⁷ Christmas three weeks later saw the death of Karrie Svendsen during childbirth.²⁹⁸ Five more people died in early 1873 from a condition labelled 'low

²⁸⁹ Even in 1882, at least six years after the last vessel from Scandinavia had arrived to disgorge its migrants into the bush, one-room shacks were still in use on multiple sections.

A Scandinavian Interior. Waipawa Mail, Volume 5, Issue 417, 13 September 1882, p.3 [LINK](#), and; Some took even longer. In 1885, after 11 years living in a slabhus, the Lehndorf family (arrived aboard the *Fritz Reuter* 1875), were finally able to build a proper house.

Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 43

²⁹⁰ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 75 and 93, and;

Arnold, R. *The Opening of the Great Bush 1869-1881*, Victoria University of Wellington (1971), 402.

²⁹¹ Mortensen 9, and;

Andersen, *Norsewood : the centennial story* 15.

²⁹² Ibid. 15.

²⁹³ Mortensen, *Reminiscences*, 10 and 12

²⁹⁴ Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 45, and;

The importance of the efforts of the women cannot be overstated, especially when the men were away; they kept the family together, and cleared and tended their garden patches. Later they would tend to livestock, milk cows, spin and sew, and put 'courage back into dispirited and unemployed men.'

Andresen, Øystein Molstad. *Johanna's World* (Viking Sevensseas NZ Ltd, 2001) 121

²⁹⁵ Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1062, 22 March 1887, p.4 [LINK](#)

[Amusingly, one of the settlements passed by the settlers on their way into the bush was Hastings; just a single house at the time]

²⁹⁶ Hilda Pettersen (6 months) and Maren Israelsen (1.5 years), as reported by Friberg in his Memo to the Minister of Lands and Immigration on 31 October 1872, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 66.

²⁹⁷ Memo from Friberg to Ormond, 5 December 1872, Ibid. 68, and;

Hovding Passenger Manifest

²⁹⁸ Christmas Supplement - Dannevirke Evening News, 20 December 1926, presented in Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 98

fever', likely typhus or diphtheria.²⁹⁹ Jorgen Gronback broke his leg soon after arrival, and Olaus Norby crippled his foot with an axe building his shack. He was left unable to work.³⁰⁰ The women and children became so sickly overall that Friberg reported their plight directly to the government, again pleading for aid.³⁰¹ None came. So Friberg sourced from Waipawa an English doctor (Doctor English) at £5 per visit. This arrangement did not work for either Dr English or the settlers; the price was exorbitant for struggling migrants, and insufficient for the doctor to make a round-trip of up to 65 kilometres, featuring unbridged rivers. As well, given someone had to reach him to inform him he was needed, he may simply have arrived too late to be useful. The arrangement did not last long. Friberg then sourced a Dr Saunders to visit the settlements weekly, for a household weekly subscription of 2½ shillings. Again, the arrangement did not last, ending in April 1873.³⁰² By mid-1873 Palmerston North had a government doctor, and it was thought one could be placed with the Mauriceville settlers.³⁰³ But no such arrangements were made for Dannevirke or Norsewood, despite the early deaths.³⁰⁴

The lifestyle was not only arduous, but dangerous, and not just from the axe-work which injured and killed many.³⁰⁵ The environment was a hazard, with people disappearing into the bush

²⁹⁹ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 80

³⁰⁰ [Jorgen] Johnson, Rachel M. *From Norway with Love* (Rachel M. Johnson, 2006) 57, and; [Olaus] Memo from Friberg to Ormond, 5 December 1872, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 68

³⁰¹ Memo from Friberg to Minister of Lands and Immigration, 31 October 1872, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 66

³⁰² Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 69, and; Andersen, *Norsewood : the centennial story* 15-6.

³⁰³ Local & General. *Wairarapa Standard*, Volume 2, Issue 100, 16 August 1873, p.2 [LINK](#)

³⁰⁴ In November of 1872 Ormond sourced a man by the name of Marshall to settle in the bush, on the basis that he could conduct church services and run the school, as well as having 'an elementary knowledge of medicine'. However, there is no record of his arrival.

Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 80

A doctor arrived in 1875 aboard the *Fritz Reuter* (named Gradman, sometimes Goodwin or Graham), but was so reluctant to be involved in medical matters his qualifications were questioned. Presumably he was not useful.

Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 320

³⁰⁵ Some examples:

[Tree felling; injury in Norsewood] *Telegraphic*. *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Volume XXI, Issue 6361, 22 September 1882, p.2 [LINK](#)

[Tree felling; caught by branches in Puketoi] *Untitled*. *Woodville Examiner*, Volume 1, Issue 76, 3 June 1884, p.2 [LINK](#)

[Log preparation; broken leg in Norsewood] *Second Edition*. *Daily Telegraph (Napier)*, Issue 4277, 13 April 1885, p.3 [LINK](#)

[Log preparation; slipped axe in Dannevirke] *Dannevirke*. *Waipawa Mail*, Volume XVII, Issue 2959, 19 August 1893, p.2 [LINK](#)

[Tree felling; crushed by windfallen tree in Pahiatua] *Inquest*. *Bush Advocate*, Volume XII, Issue 1752, 26 September 1899, p.4 [LINK](#)

and not coming back unless found by settler and Māori search parties.³⁰⁶ But threats to entire communities emerged repeatedly in summer, when the men were home and the weather was dry, and they would perform the most intense work required of them; seasonal burn-offs. Logs were sectioned, rolled together, piled with brush and scraps left drying over summer, and set ablaze.³⁰⁷ The danger was immense, and since fire did not work to a schedule, monitoring was 24-hours. Such care was not always sufficient. An unexpected wind change could bring disaster, not just to the property of the family conducting a burn but to their neighbours as well. As early as 1874 there were multiple uncontrolled burn-offs; one in Waipawa that took the life of one boy and injured another, while at the same time another raged out of control near Waipukurau. The smoke from these and other blazes hung over the Hawke's Bay province like the sword of Damocles; a seasonal reminder of the threat they represented.³⁰⁸ The fires, despite the occasional swathes of destruction they seared through people's lives, were a necessary but untrusted companion of the bush settlements for decades.³⁰⁹



*Mangahei after a fire (CS Kilford)
Dannevirke Museum*

This was a period of tremendous risk and disruption to communities, all across New Zealand, detailed in Rollo Arnold's *New Zealand's Burning*.³¹⁰ Through December 1885 and January 1886 especially, drought driven fires terrorised the bush; emerging at Makaretu, Takapau, Makotuku, Te Aute valley, Makaretu again, Waipawa, Norsewood, Ormondville, Matamau, and Woodville, before the last erupted near Dannevirke. Heavy mid-January rains finally put the fiery hydra down. These would not be the worst; 1888 would be the year that nearly saw Norsewood destroyed. A burn-off lit on 16 March saw the majority of Norsewood lost in a single gale-driven firestorm. Livestock perished, homes were lost, and crops destroyed. Only six of 40 buildings survived of the town centre. Incredibly, no one

GREAT FIRE AT NORSEWOOD

WAIPAWA, March 17.

A terrible calamity has happened at the Seventy-Mile Bush. Norsewood, a village settlement, was destroyed, being swept away by fire. Dwellings, churches, school, and public hall are destroyed. The settlers are ruined and in great distress.

*Press, Volume XLV, Issue 7018,
21 March 1888, Page 3*

³⁰⁶ [Anders Faer; lost, then Marius Christoffersen and Niels Andersen; rescued] McDonald, *Dannevirke* 62, and; [Anna Jacobsen; deceased, and Mrs Assarsen and son; rescued] Petersen, *Forest Homes* 90.

³⁰⁷ Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 45

³⁰⁸ Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri. FRIDAY, 20th FEBRUARY, 1874. Hawke's Bay Times, Issue 1552, 20 February 1874, p.122 [sic], [LINK](#)

³⁰⁹ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 56-7.

³¹⁰ Arnold, Rollo. *New Zealand's Burning : The Settler's World in the Mid 1880s* (Victoria University Press, 1994)

died, but what did not burn was (again) saved only by a sudden deluge.³¹¹ The Hawke's Bay Herald commented; 'The dread of bush fires is the one great source of anxiety with the settlers'.³¹²

The risk was a necessary evil for clearing and enriching the land. No other tool sufficed. And burn offs were not the only fiery problems, as chimney and household fires were commonplace. Just before Christmas 1873 a Norsewood house fire spread to destroy three houses and their contents, with two more damaged, and multiple potato plantations lost.³¹³

Staying mobile

Within Norsewood there was significant internal mobility, with several families playing musical chairs with their land. Ole Gundersen moved from section 15 to 14, after the previous owner, Hans Pedersen, left the bush. Emanuel Frederickson moved from 18 to 15, liking the former Gundersen section more than his own. Edward Hansen moved from 24 to 38, from where Karl Olsen moved to 37, from where Edward Christoffersen moved to 1, from where Anders Ericson had also departed the bush. Ole Torkelsen and Peter Gundersen swapped sections 5 and 35. Theodore Andreasen and Frederick Wahl moved from their original sections (39 and 47) to those vacated by the departing Lauritz Igeldsen and Andreas Gundersen (9 and 4).³¹⁴ For many the grass remained greener somewhere else.

By September 1873, faced with hardship, debt, and professional opportunities elsewhere, nine Norsewood families had already abandoned their sections, even though government contracts were still available at the time. Six went to Napier, one to Waipawa, one to Nelson, and one to destinations unknown.³¹⁵ The patriarchs of these families were all professionals and tradesmen.³¹⁶ In Dannevirke, in addition to the family that took one look and turned back to Napier the year before,

³¹¹ Terrible Bush Fires. Daily Telegraph (Napier), Issue 5172, 17 March 1888, p.3, [LINK](#) and;

Destructive Fires. Waipawa Mail, Volume XI, Issue 2112, 17 March 1888, p.2 [LINK](#)

³¹² From the East Coast to the West. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 4087, 10 January 1878, p.2 [LINK](#)

³¹³ Nullius addiclus jurare in verba magistri. Hawke's Bay Times, Issue 1538, 1 January 1874, p.66 [sic], [LINK](#) and;

[Petersen casually refers to the periodic loss of houses, outbuildings, and fences.] Petersen, *Forest Homes* 57, and;

Christian Petersen of Norsewood (relayed via the Dannevirke News in 1932 as part of the Diamond Jubilee) who lost three houses to fire during his time in Norsewood.

Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 145

³¹⁴ Record by Friberg on 'Return of abandoned, or interchanged sections at Norsewood and Danevirke, 70 Mile Bush', 6 January 1875', presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 78.

³¹⁵ Naturalisation records indicate that those Scandinavians who left the bush were likely to settle in communities that already had a Scandinavian presence. This is explored in the next chapter of this thesis.

³¹⁶ From Norsewood (*Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 70) – A. Ericson (cabinetmaker), A. Gundersen (painter), N. Hansen (joiner/cabinetmaker), M. Andersen (carpenter), H. Pedersen (cabinetmaker), A. List - likely referring to A. Hansen (bricklayer), C. Johannesen (weaver), J. Nilson (weaver), J. Berntsen (dyer), and; from Dannevirke J. Nilsen aka Y. Nielsen (labourer). Three would later return to Norsewood.

three families had quit, followed by another in 1874.³¹⁷ Friberg reported that more would follow from the Bush if they could find employment elsewhere.³¹⁸ The lure of a more civilised life plying a trade in a colonial town proved stronger for some than remaining with fellow Scandinavians to struggle in the bush.³¹⁹ Some professionals did establish themselves locally with Friberg's help; a tailor worked for clients in Waipukurau, and two shoemakers served the settlements directly.³²⁰ But by late 1874 only 53 families remained in Norsewood, and in Dannevirke 17.

Ending the isolation

Once the initial road contracts ended, the local situation became untenable. The men still in Dannevirke and Norsewood were forced to travel elsewhere for work; packing their tools and heading out, becoming 'swaggermen'. From Norsewood some went to Napier for work on the railway creeping south, some went south for work on the road creeping north from Mauriceville, and others went to Palmerston North and Wanganui seeking any work at all.³²¹ From Dannevirke they worked on the Woodville/Takapau road, and in Waipukurau on the new tramline there. Some would now spend months from home.³²² They saved every shilling, returned to clear sections, conduct burn-offs, and pay down debt.

Fortunately for Norsewood, and Dannevirke especially, contracts for railway sleepers materialised. The vast totara stands of Tāmaki-nui-a-Rua swiftly became a wall of cut timber 12 feet high and two miles long lining the main road, giving Dannevirke the nickname 'sleepertown'.³²³ The

³¹⁷ From Dannevirke – A. Nilsen, C. Jensen, and H. Mortensen (in 1874). Christian Jensen also left in 1873, but may also have Anglicised his name to Charles Johnson, the 'new' owner of Section 11 in Dannevirke. The family that left without settling their section would have been the Birkegaards.

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 65, and;

Diane and Terry Kitt, *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 70.

³¹⁸ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 76

³¹⁹ Friberg, collecting monthly payments towards passage and transport costs, was reported to have informed the settlers that they would not be permitted to make payments towards their land until they'd made good on these other debts owed to the government.

Official Souvenir Programme Booklet (Norsewood Centennial Committee, 1972), 16.

³²⁰ Memo from Friberg to Ormond, 5 December 1872, presented in *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 68 and 314.

³²¹ Citation from an unpublished thesis: Davidson, J. W. *Scandinavian Settlement in the Dominion*, (unpublished thesis, 1938, held by Victoria University), presented in Lyng, Jens Sørensen. *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne University Press, 1939) 163, and; Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 78-9 and 81.

³²² Some would spend up to 4 months away at a time.

Ibid. 146, and;

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 49-50.

³²³ Ibid. 51.

men blessed with totara on their land were able to work locally, and make clearing progress to boot. At a shilling per (accepted) sleeper they were essentially getting paid to clear their sections.³²⁴

For many the forced mobility of the swaggerman existence would persist for years.³²⁵ The search for work, arduous labour if successful, then the trudge back home to work their land until the money ran out must have been a challenging existence. But during periods when they travelled seeking work, they would have made contacts within the settlements they visited, potentially laying the groundwork to support moving away from the bush, and into colonial communities.³²⁶

In April 1874 the overland link between Napier and Wellington (via the Manawatū Gorge and Palmerston North) was completed. But without bridges or the option for freight carriage it offered little advantage to the settlements.³²⁷ The isolation continued, especially as roads within the settlements, and between sections, remained undeveloped.³²⁸ In 1877 the road between Masterton and Woodville was completed as well. While these roads made it easier for swaggersmen to get about, their completion marked the true end of the government road contracts. Further developments were funded, slowly, by local Road Boards paid from local rates.³²⁹ Despite swaggersmen, railways, and sleeper production keeping the settlements afloat, the mid-1870s were not period of growth or progress.

Then in 1878 the Napier railway reached Kopua, eight kilometres from Norsewood.³³⁰ Originally intended to pass through the settlement, the route was adjusted in 1875. This left

³²⁴ Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1063, 24 March 1887, p.4, [LINK](#), and; Supply of Sleepers, Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 8330, 17 August 1882, p.1 [LINK](#), and; WAIPAWA COUNTY COUNCIL, Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5684, 10 May 1880, p.2 [LINK](#)

³²⁵ At least until railway work and sawmills offered closer options.

Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 81.

³²⁶ Alluded to in 'Past, Present, and Future Dannevirke', Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1066, 31 March 1887, p.4, [LINK](#)

³²⁷ Carrying primarily passengers and mail, the coach service that began shortly after was unsuited to moving cargo, and had to both ford and be ferried over every river between Napier and Palmerston North, twice over the Manawatū River alone; fording it east of the Ruahines, and then being ferried over it once it had passed west through the Manawatū Gorge.

Vaughan, Charles J. 'Chronology Dannevirke-Norsewood District' *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 3

³²⁸ Roads around town centres and out to individual farms were very late in coming, with the 'want of roads' being described by one reporter visiting the bush in 1879 as 'the cardinal evil of the settlements, [that] tells with fatal effect against the energy of the people.'

Maraketu Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume I, Issue 67, 3 May 1879, p.2, [LINK](#)

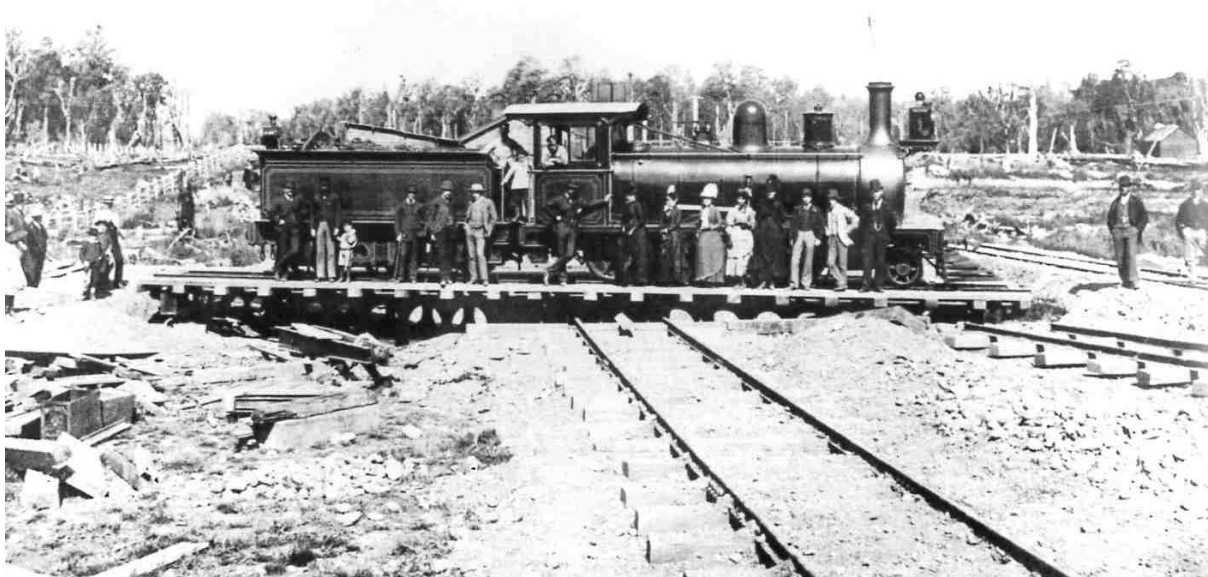
³²⁹ Rates were slow to come in, so the road boards could only progress their work slowly. Even into the 1880s there were farms within just 'a couple of miles of the village that had no access except by a bush track.' *Norsewood 1872-1972 : Official Souvenir Booklet*, 16

The poverty of the area and Road Board were also on full display in 1880, when floods destroyed sections of the road the settlers had struggled so hard to build, and the local council proposed simply abandoning it. Only a grant from the colonial government made repairs feasible.

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 71.

³³⁰ Some local histories would place this date in late 1877 (Lyng, *The Scandinavians* p.163, Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* p.81, and Andersen, *Norsewood : the centennial story* p.21), but while

Norsewood eight kilometres from the nearest station, and the Railway Hotel a hotel with no railway. Nevertheless, Norsewood products could now reach outside markets, and it cost less to buy locally as goods no longer spent days being portaged through the bush. Dannevirke was still bracketed by unbridged rivers until 1880, and did not see the railway arrive until 1884 (after a two-year pause due to a colony-wide downturn). Ironically, the line that was to have passed the town was instead rerouted through it.³³¹ And wherever the railway touched; opportunities emerged, and colonial New Zealanders began to pour into the bush.



*Locomotive on the Dannevirke turntable
(the forests in the background likely would not last long)
Hawke's Bay Museum*

the infrastructure had been largely completed by the end of that year, and may have seen use, it wasn't until 25 January 1878 that the line and stations were officially opened.

Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 4096, 21 January 1878, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 4099, 24 January 1878, p.3, [LINK](#)

³³¹ Petersen, *Forest homes* 41-42 and 58-59

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 67, and;

Our Bush Settlements. Past, Present, and Future Danevirke. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1066, 31 March 1887, p.4 [LINK](#)

6 - New arrivals and mixing communities

Changing demographics and the end of Scandinavian hegemony

During the 1870s the only numerically significant arrivals in the bush were more continental Europeans, though of Dannevirke and Norsewood only the later benefited. The second *Hovding* arrived 1873 carrying 240 Norwegians and 25 Swedes, some bound for Norsewood, and some the new settlement at Makaretu.³³² The *Fritz Reuter* arrived 1875 carrying 221 Danes, 44 Swedes, ten Norwegians, 95 Germans, 37 Prussians, and a handful of others. Of these arrivals some chose the settler lifestyle, becoming the founders of Takapau, while others (35 families) settled in Norsewood.³³³ The Friedeburg also arrived 1875, carrying seven German families that settled in the Bush.³³⁴ In October 1876 Friberg wrote Ormond that 'During the last 15 months the number of occupied sections in Norsewood has risen from 53 to 121, [...] Danevirk [sic], whose 19 sections are occupied remained more stationary in every respect.'³³⁵

Attempts had been made to promote forest settlement to colonial New Zealanders, but few responded, even once the same cheap land offers on deferred payment enjoyed by the migrants became available. Sections near Dannevirke and Norsewood were being advertised from 1873.³³⁶ But they were not popular. In 1875, 35 sections were offered in Dannevirke at 30 shillings per acre; six sold. The next year 11 more sold, but at 15 shillings per acre, 5 less than the Scandinavians were paying. Most of the buyers were speculators; only one took up residence.³³⁷ Land being purchased then lying undeveloped was an unfortunately common occurrence.³³⁸ One reason colonials were

³³² Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* (Diane and Terry Kitt, 2014), 75.

A point of interest is that this was a different ship of the same name. The first *Hovding* arrived in 1872, and seems to have been condemned and dismantled after her return to Europe. The second was a vessel of the same name that, after delivering migrants in 1873, found her way to Australia, where she eventually ended her service in Darwin as a coal-hulk, until being bombed there by the Japanese in 1942.

³³³ Ibid. 80-2.

³³⁴ Ibid. 45-7.

³³⁵ Memo from Friberg to Ormond, 24 October 1876, presented in *Norsewood* 86.

³³⁶ [Blocks coming available for sale] Local & General. Wairarapa Standard, Volume 2, Issue 135, 20 December 1873, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

[Norsewood and Danevirk blocks for sale] Wanganui Chronicle, Volume XVIII, Issue 2640, 14 January 1875, p.4, [LINK](#), and;

[Waste Lands Board opening Seventy Mile Bush sections available for deferred purchase applications] Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XX, Issue 3861, 1 March 1877, p.2, [LINK](#)

³³⁷ A Scandinavian named Rasmussen.

McDonald, Rob. *Dannevirke : The Early Years* (Rod McDonald, 2002) 54, and;

Johnson, Rachel M. *From Norway with Love* (Rachel M. Johnson, 2006) 76

³³⁸ [The 'unsolvable' issue of speculation in cheap government land sales]. Cheap Land and Wholesale Alienation. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5086, 27 May 1878, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

[Speculation in Hawke's Bay] Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5003, 29 January 1878, p.2, [LINK](#)

reluctant to become residents was lack of infrastructure; isolation made economic success challenging, making the enticement of cheap land a hollow one.³³⁹

There had been some presence of non-Scandinavians in the special settlements since establishment, with businessmen like Drower, Allardice, and Mackay providing essential services.³⁴⁰ Colonial teachers also came (and went) from 1873-4. But colonials settling in the bush were rare. By 1880 Dannevirke boasted a total of ten families and single men of non-Scandinavian origin.³⁴¹ In Norsewood, the larger community with over 120 occupied sections, only four non-Scandinavian families held sections within the boundaries of the original 1872 settlement, with another partly subleased to a non-Scandinavian tenant. There was one British owner among the sections sold in 1875, and three more purchased sections from the original 1872 owners between 1876 and 1880.³⁴² Norsewood was not just larger than Dannevirke, it had a higher proportion of Scandinavians to boot.

The colonial deluge

Meanwhile, landward of Napier was the barrier forest that, bizarrely, could not be effectively harvested for timber, forcing the provincial capital to import enormous quantities.³⁴³ But once the railway reached Kopua, the sawmilling industry exploded. During the 1880s there were over a dozen mills operating at any one time near Norsewood.³⁴⁴ In Dannevirke sawmills also began to appear after

Hans P. Jensen was forced to abandon his land due to ill health, but petitioned the Wasteland Board for it back in 1878. Evidently, he was successful, as in 1888 he was named in a local pest destruction notice. Between abandonment and return, no one else wanted his land badly enough to buy it from the government.

Waste Lands Board. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5261, 20 December 1878, p.2, [LINK](#)

³³⁹ Untitled. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XX, Issue 3855, 22 February 1877, p.2, [LINK](#)

³⁴⁰ In 1887 Allardice was described as '...the first, and for a long time, the only Britisher who had settled down for good among the Scandinavians.'

Our Bush Settlements [Dannevirke]. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1063, 24 March 1887, p.4 [LINK](#)

³⁴¹ *Dannevirke Borough Sixtieth Anniversary 1892-1952* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1952), 18.

³⁴² From the sections of the 1872 settlement – 1: Bibby, 11: Creamer and Gribbie, 34: Burt, 50: Youngman, from the 1875 expansion – 87: Mathieson, and from Post 1875 section surveys and sales – sections 92+99+100: Buckland and Rhodes, and 163: Browne.

Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 88-125.

³⁴³ Export and Import of Timber, Flour, and Grain. AJHR, 1879 Session II, H-25, p2-3;

Imports to Napier (sawn timber)

Sawn timber (half year to 30 June 1878) = 76,425 feet

Sawn timber (half year to 30 June 1879) = 25,000 feet [as local mills became active]

Imports to Napier (timber of other kinds)

Other timber (half year to 30 June 1878) = 106,875 feet

Other timber (half year to 30 June 1879) = 51,000 feet [as local mills became active]

Exports from Napier (timber, any kind)

Half year to 30 June 1878 = 0 feet

Half year to 30 June 1879 = 0 feet

³⁴⁴ Andersen, Archibald Leonard. *Norsewood : the centennial story*. (A. L. Andersen, 1972) 49, and; Kopua Sawmills. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5107, 20 June 1878, p.3, [LINK](#)

the railway in 1884, remaining a backbone of the local economy into the early twentieth century.³⁴⁵ By 1885, of the rail freight carried north to Napier, 58 percent was milled timber.³⁴⁶

Here the demographic trajectories of the two towns began to diverge more notably, as the 1884 railroad and mills arrival into Dannevirke brought something the near miss of the railroad in 1878 had not for Norsewood; rapid population growth. In 1881 the population of Dannevirke (within Woodville riding) was 128, with 308 for Norsewood.³⁴⁷ But in the five years to 1886 Norsewood grew by 13 percent, to 348, while Dannevirke tripled in size to 392.³⁴⁸ Much of this growth across both settlements was colonial migration, not just Scandinavians having children. By 1891 Dannevirke boasted a population of 838.³⁴⁹ In 1892 the town then became a Borough, responsible by 1896 for 1,415 people.³⁵⁰ That year all of Norsewood Riding held only 1,043.³⁵¹

Scandinavian movements

Dannevirke and Norsewood also diverged in the willingness of the original Scandinavians to stay put. While ten families departed Norsewood due to early hardships, the town saw an influx of Scandinavians (and other Europeans) in 1873 and 1875 via the second *Hovding* and the *Fritz Reuter*. Dannevirke saw only a handful of new Scandinavian settlers arrive during the 1870s; the families of Dalby, Skoit, Rasmussen, and Christiansen.³⁵² Hans Halvorsen (1883), Emanuel Fredriksen (1884) and Ole Christoffersen (1886) also moved to Dannevirke from Norsewood.³⁵³ An 1887 article in the *Waipawa Mail* is illuminating. The author thanks the 1872 pioneers of Dannevirke, especially the six

³⁴⁵ Danevirke Steam Sawmills. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 6792, 26 February 1884, p.1, [LINK](#), and; Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1066, 31 March 1887, p.4, [LINK](#), and; Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 81-2

³⁴⁶ Arnold, Rollo. *New Zealand's Burning* (Victoria University Press, 1994), 39

³⁴⁷ As Highway Districts, Dannevirke held 253, and Norsewood 1,046.

Chapter 26. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN COUNTY RIDINGS. CENSUS OF NEW ZEALAND 1881

³⁴⁸ Chapter 26. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN COUNTY RIDINGS. RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND taken for the night of the 28th March 1886

³⁴⁹ Chapter 17. POPULATION OF COUNTIES, RIDINGS, AND ROAD AND TOWN DISTRICTS. RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND 5th April, 1891.

³⁵⁰ Dannevirke Borough Sixtieth Anniversary 1892-1952, Dannevirke Publishing Company (1952), and; Chapter 17. POPULATION AND DWELLINGS IN BOROUGHES, RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND taken for the night of 12th April 1896

³⁵¹ Chapter 16. POPULATION OF COUNTIES, RIDINGS, ROAD AND TOWN DISTRICTS, RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND taken for the night of 12th April 1896

³⁵² McDonald, *Dannevirke* 64.

³⁵³ DIA Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948 for; Fredericksen, Emanuel 39-205, 17/06/1884, p123, and; Christoffersen, Ole 21-149, 07/06/1886, p74

families who, through the intervening 15 years, had stayed. The other 15 had already moved on.³⁵⁴ That year, 1887, Norsewood boasted over 100 families of Scandinavian origin.³⁵⁵

Official records show something of the movements of these founding families, via the naturalisation of their patriarchs. Of the 21 arrivals who founded Dannevirke, 10 naturalisations have been identified with certainty.³⁵⁶ A clear majority (six) had left by the time they became citizens. Jakob Bak had moved to Norsewood (naturalised 1876). Two naturalised in Napier; Hans Mortensen (1884) and Anders Nilsen/Nielsen (1899), both fishermen. Christian Yensen had moved to Makaretu (1893), and Anton Nilsen (1885) and Christian Larsen (1890) were in Palmerston North.³⁵⁷ Four remained in Dannevirke.³⁵⁸ Andreas Birkegaard, who rejected settling in Dannevirke with the other *Ballarat* families, naturalised in Hastings in 1909.

Of the patriarchs who founded Norsewood, a higher proportion stayed; the 46 records identified show a third (16) had left by the time they naturalised. These included Edvard/Edward Hansen (1882) and Hans Olsen (1884) in Waipukurau, Edward A. Laurvig (1876) in Two Mile Bush, with Hans Petersen (1881) and Antonius/Anton Hansen (1884) in Makaretu. Johan Nilsen (1893) was in Eketahuna. Emil Olsen (1884) lived in Napier. Anders Larsen (1881) was in Ashley Clinton. Anders Eriksen and Nicolai Hansen (both 1885), and Johannes Blom (1893) were in Palmerston North. Hans Andersen (1899) was in Mauriceville. Martin Andersen (1885) was in Clive, and Johan Berntsen (1908) lived in Petone. Hans Halvorsen (1883), Emanuel Frederiksen (1884) and Ole Christophersen (1886) were down in Dannevirke. Records show that a good number of original 'settlers' and 'farmers' had taken up other trades again, especially outside Norsewood; cabinetmakers, ministers, fishermen, tailors, bricklayers, bootmakers, dyers, and store owners. The other 30 tracked all naturalised in Norsewood.³⁵⁹

Many of those who naturalised after they left with their families gravitated to communities with a Scandinavian presence, such as Napier (where many single migrants settled), and Palmerston North (where the *Celaeno* migrants settled). Few moved to communities with little Scandinavian presence. This indicates a desire to live among those they found familiar, but also a lack of trepidation about living in colonial communities. This would have had an effect on assimilation among those that moved, as migrant families that remain mobile are more likely to shed their cultural heritage, become

³⁵⁴ Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1062, 22 March 1887, p.4, [LINK](#)

³⁵⁵ Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 88-125.

³⁵⁶ Some naturalisation records have been discounted from this thesis as the level of uncertainty regarding who they pertained to was simply too high for confidence.

³⁵⁷ DIA Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948, see records in Appendix 4 - Naturalisations

³⁵⁸ Anthon Borentzen (1876), Hans P. Jensen, Hans Haworsen/Halvorsen, and Berndt Amundsen (1883), with Emanuel Frederiksen and Hans Jensen (1884)

³⁵⁹ DIA Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948, See records in Appendix 4 - Naturalisations

fluent in the native language and cultural practices, and disappear in terms of cultural distinctiveness.³⁶⁰

At the same time, the number of Scandinavians in the bush diminished more than ownership of sections and presence of families indicates. Many children who arrived in the bush with their parents (or who were born there) left to find work once old enough. Not an uncommon phenomenon for the children of migrants, especially when living in rural or less affluent communities; such movement is closely associated with material success.³⁶¹ Petersen would describe the phenomenon simply as young men moving away, following the receding forest line as the mills did their work. Others left for the dairy cooperatives that began to appear in the 1880s. At the same time, young women were actively sought as domestic servants in other communities.³⁶²

WANTED, a strong Scandinavian Girl
as general servant; one who can
milk preferred.—Apply to Mrs Peters, Rose-
neath, Taradale. 559

Page 3 Advertisements Column 7. Hawke's
Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 50423, 27 April
1878

Colonial impact on the bush communities

It could be argued that Norsewood remained 'not-English' for a longer period than Dannevirke. Both began with strong community bonds forged through shared heritage and struggles in an alien land, but Norsewood was refreshed (twice) with culturally familiar people (although mostly Danes, not Norwegians). Meanwhile, the more mixed Scandinavian heritage of Dannevirke was never meaningfully refreshed, and the founding families evaporated, making the community less unified in identity. But ultimately, when colonials began pouring in, both communities quickly became demographically dominated by mainstream New Zealanders.

An aspect of colonial impact in Norsewood and Dannevirke can be seen through their presence, then dominance, in business and governance. A selection of businesses collated in Norsewood: A Special Settlement demonstrate that even with a strong initial Scandinavian presence, a colonial majority quickly dominated the town centre.

While the first bakery was recorded at the home of Frederick Wahl in 1873, James Heron's bakery appeared in Norsewood village in 1886, two years before Wahl's relocated there.³⁶³ Four

³⁶⁰ Higham, J. 'Integrating America: the Problem of Assimilation in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1 (Fall 1981), 8.

³⁶¹ Hatton, Timothy. "The Immigrant Assimilation Puzzle in Late Nineteenth-Century America", *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol 57, No 1 (1997) 34-62

³⁶² Petersen, *Forest Homes* 119, and;

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 63, and;

Keesing, Norma. *The Immigration of the Scandinavian People to the Hawke's Bay*. (Norma Keesing, 1993), 24.

³⁶³ Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 312.

Scandinavians provided smithing services from 1872; P. Gundersen, Ole Olsen (Berger), H. Pedersen, and A. Lundgren. Four more continental smiths arrived with the *Fritz Reuter*.³⁶⁴ In 1886 they were joined by John Munro, in 1893 by Henry Lean, and later by J. Collinge, D. Grant, and the Palmer and Devlin partnership, all by 1900. By the First World War there was only one smith with a Scandinavian family name; Christian Pettersen, amidst Sutherland, Cameron, Minte, Rickett, Grant and Barclay, Collinge, Tucker, and Collins.³⁶⁵ Many trades were not represented at all until colonial New Zealanders introduced them, including dressmakers and gent's outfitters, hairdressers, music teachers, and solicitors, to name but a few.³⁶⁶ The colonials helped change the character of the settlements by adding features not present before, propelling them from rough bush encampments surrounded by scattered sections, to developed rural towns.

In community administration the pattern is also clear; what began as Scandinavian organisations swiftly became colonial ones. This was despite demonstrated interest from the migrants in political involvement, something they lacked in their old Home and were clearly invested in; in April 1873, just six months after arrival, around 50 men from Norsewood applied for entry onto the electoral roll, over 85 percent of those eligible from the town.³⁶⁷

The School Committee for Norsewood formed in 1878, and was initially stacked with Scandinavians. The only data for that year is for the Chairman, A. Levy, but in 1880 the Committee included Levy, the Reverend Sass, F. Wahl, A. Andersen, O. Nordbye, E. Olsen, and H. Beuk (a Dutchman). Subsequent Committees were Chaired by a succession of Scandinavians; Levy, Sass, Pettersen, Ericksen (twice), and Fredericksen, until 1901, when D. H. Grant assumed the role. Thereafter the position was held largely by alternating colonials and Scandinavians, with only English names in the Chair for decades after 1925.³⁶⁸

In Dannevirke the first seven-man School Committee was elected in 1879, Chaired by James Allardice, with five (of six) Scandinavian members.³⁶⁹ But at the elections of 1884, not one Scandinavian won a post; every member was of colonial descent. In 1888-9 one Scandinavian (J. Hendersen) served, the others all being colonials, plus a German in 1888.³⁷⁰ The Dannevirke Town

³⁶⁴ Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 80.

³⁶⁵ Ibid. 313-4.

³⁶⁶ Ibid. 322-6.

³⁶⁷ Otago Witness, Issue 1116, 19 April 1873, p14, [LINK](#), and;

New Zealand Mail, Issue 106, 26 April 1873, p14, [LINK](#)

³⁶⁸ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 47-8.

Vaughan, Charles and Brian Thomsen and Percy Ridge, *Norsewood School Centennial March 1974* (1974), 25.

³⁶⁹ B. Amundsen, Anton Berntson, Neils Andersen, E. Persen, Ole Christophersen, G. W. Lines, and J. Allardice *School Diamond Jubilee 1936, Official Souvenir* (Taranaki District, 1936)

Dannevirke Borough : Sixtieth Anniversary (Dannevirke Borough Council, 1952), 17, and;

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 56.

³⁷⁰ San Francisco Route. *Bush Advocate*, Volume I, Issue 43, 14 August 1888, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 72.

Board was established in 1885, with Matthew Hendersen as Chair, and H. Carlson, J. Younghusband, V. Rasmussen, Jacob Bak, and G. Wratt as Commissioners. But until Dannevirke Burrough was established in 1892 there were four Chairmen (all British) and 12 Commissioners (three Scandinavian, of which two either anglicised or permitted to be anglicised their names in the official record; Jacob Back / Bak, and Olaf Carlson / Carlsen). In 1892 Angus Mackay (butcher and twenty-year settlement veteran), was elected the first Mayor. His Council was made up of five people, and only one; Olaf Carlson of the former Town Board, was Scandinavian.³⁷¹

The colonials brought to the special settlements a majority population, administrative dominance, essential services, and daily contact with their very English language and culture. But it was not just their presence that influenced Scandinavians to become more like the majority that surrounded them; there were other factors at play such as a failure of cultural anchors, and enticements to be more 'English'.

³⁷¹ *Dannevirke Borough : Sixtieth Anniversary* (Dannevirke Borough Council, 1952) 7-10 and 23-24

7 - Religion

The role and failure of religion in anchoring Scandinavian cultural identity

Who amongst [the Scandinavians] had forgotten the day when mother took them by the hand and, for the first time, led them to the little village church, close beside which slumbered their ancestors of generations as far back in time as records were preserved of them; or the day of 'confirmation' when in front of the congregation they had avowed their faith in the Lutheran creed and before God pledged themselves always to lead decent Christian lives; or in the case of those who were married, the day when kneeling at the altar they had taken the holy vow of matrimony.

Lyng, *The Scandinavians*

Religion is a common touchpoint for cultural identity. Kuldkepp stated of Scandinavian migrants everywhere: 'Community leaders, especially pastors, would often play a significant role in preserving the national heritage.'³⁷² Travuchis describes how the Lutheran Church in the Americas made deliberate efforts to maintain Scandinavian identities there.³⁷³ And Koivukangas considers religion the strongest attempt by the Scandinavians of New Zealand to retain their cultural heritage.³⁷⁴ But the reality in New Zealand seems less coordinated. For Vogel's migrants the binding power of religion began failing as soon as their ties Home were weakened by distance. The late introduction of the Lutheran Church to New Zealand meant other options had to be explored, with a religious schism then helping push Scandinavians into the arms of other congregations. The dispersal of Scandinavians from the communities they founded, and the disinterest of their children, were hurdles the Church could not overcome.

Vogel's Scandinavians were mostly Lutheran with some Wesleyan Methodists among them. Unfortunately, pre-arrival religious affiliations are obscure; how many were Lutheran or Wesleyan is not easily answered.³⁷⁵ On arrival, recording of church affiliation was not a concern for colonial

³⁷² Kuldkepp, Mart. 'Emigration and Scandinavian Identity'. *Introduction to Nordic Cultures*, 181-94 (University College London, 2020) 185.

³⁷³ Travuchis, *Pastors and Immigrants*

³⁷⁴ Koivukangas, Ølavi. *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992) 9.

³⁷⁵ Family histories, such as in the work of Val Burr, offer certainty regarding some individuals by describing church membership, but the details are lost for many people whose descendants didn't carry that knowledge forward from their forebears.

Burr, V. A. (1995). *Mosquitoes & Sawdust: A History of Scandinavians in Early Palmerston North and Surrounding Districts (Skandia II)*. (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu), 1.

authorities; Christian seems to have been good enough. But non-Lutherans were likely not numerous, the Wesleyan church being a recent arrival to Scandinavia.³⁷⁶

Regardless, migrants arriving aboard the *Ballarat* and *Hovding* found no Lutheran churches or priests to greet them. After months of sailing, weeks in barracks, treks through the bush, and sleeping rough, they found in their new settlements no religious support other than what they brought with them. The absence of Lutheran priests as spiritual advisors was keenly felt.³⁷⁷ Elsewhere, particularly Canterbury and Otago, Scandinavian Wesleyans would find places in English parishes, and Lutherans in Nelson had German Lutheran pastors. And with pastors in Scandinavia also serving as government officials, the settlers of the Bush may have felt leaderless too. But maintaining a connection to God was never in question for most. Little wonder that the founders of Dannevirke and Norsewood turned to whoever they could for spiritual support. And in the absence of the Lutheran Church, it would be the Presbyterians and Wesleyans that were there for them.

Early religion in the new settlements

The Danish missionary Abraham Honore was among the first to answer the spiritual needs of the new settlers.³⁷⁸ Born 1821, he joined the North German Missionary Society before travelling to New Zealand to serve as missionary to the Māori at 27.³⁷⁹ When Vogel's Scandinavians started to arrive, Honore was fifty. Despite this, he would saddle his horse and head east to the new communities; first Palmerston North, then through the Gorge into the Seventy Mile Bush, travelling as far north as Napier.³⁸⁰ For years he was the only ordained clergyman the settlers knew. By 1877 he was living in Palmerston North; their first local pastor. Although not Lutheran, his efforts were welcomed. He delivered sermons in tents, clearings, and slabhus shacks, before farmhouses became the norm. But his occasional visits were insufficient. Between them bush settlers were largely without religious service. Children went unbaptised for years. Some from remote properties simply did not get baptised

³⁷⁶ Introduced by Ole Peter Petersen, a sailor who converted in America before returning to Norway in 1851. Not being funded by government, the fledgling Wesleyan Church struggled financially, limiting reach, as did the requirement for adherents to interface with government functions through their local Lutheran parish. As such, Wesleyan migrants were probably not numerous, although it is not unreasonable to assume that the proportion of Wesleyans was higher among the migrants than it was back Home, with Lutheran church dominance helping push non-Lutherans from Scandinavia.

³⁷⁷ Both Lyng in *The Scandinavians* (173) and Petersen in *Forest Homes* (95-96) reference a sense of religion missed.

³⁷⁸ Lyng, Jens Sørensen. *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne University Press, 1939) 173.

³⁷⁹ Although born in Denmark to Huguenot parents, he is likely to have been from a more German dominated part of Schleswig-Holstein, as according to his obituary the language he spoke in his home and when performing private devotions was German, not Danish.

³⁸⁰ Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust*, 134.

at all. And all too often the settlers had to bury their dead in unconsecrated ground, without a priest to comfort the living and ease the deceased on their way.³⁸¹

Norsewood had more consistent spiritual support, but also non-Lutheran. Born 1834 in Sweden, Emmanuel Fredriccson immigrated to Norway, becoming a Methodist lay preacher in the new Wesleyan Church. He arrived with the 1872 *Hovding*, and settled with his family in Norsewood. He held services wherever possible, mostly in homes, later in the town school (where he briefly served as school master). He also took to the bush to minister to people on distant sections, when possible. As the community incorporated more colonials, he worked to bring English-speaking Wesleyans together with Norwegian ones, despite their linguistic differences.³⁸² As with Honore, Emanuel could not consecrate ground, but he did lay the groundwork for Edvard Nielson.

Nielson was a pastor from Sor-Odal parish in Odalen, Norway, who emigrated with his family in 1874. He was probably inspired by Sor-Odalen contemporaries emigrating to New Zealand, such as those aboard the 1871 *Celaeno*, and the *Hovdings* of 1872 and 1873.³⁸³ He settled in Palmerston North, and was accepted into the New Zealand Wesleyan Church in 1875, becoming Home Missionary to the Scandinavian Mission.³⁸⁴ Many Scandinavian Lutherans joined his services; a sizeable proportion of his congregation, based on the number in Palmerston North.³⁸⁵ Sermons in a language the Scandinavians could understand would have been appreciated, despite not being Lutheran.³⁸⁶ From 1875 he began traveling, like Honore, providing services for churchless Scandinavians in Wellington, Masterton, Norsewood, and Napier repeatedly.³⁸⁷

SCANDINAVIAN SERVICE.

THE Rev. Edw. Nielsen and Mr. Otter Christoffersen will conduct Divine Service (in Scandinavian) in the Wesleyan Schoolroom, Dixon-street, on Sunday next, 17th instant, at 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m.

Page 3 Advertisements Column 2 Evening Post,
Volume XVI, Issue 271, 15 November 1878

³⁸¹ Petersen, George Conrad. *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 96-7.

(While lay preachers of the Wesleyan Methodist faith can consecrate ground, they require prior permission from the Conference to be able to do so.)

³⁸² Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* (Diane and Terry Kitt, 2014), 410.

³⁸³ It cannot be assumed that because some of the arrivals aboard a vessel like the *Hovding* had 'Odalen' recorded as their point of embarkation, that every migrant from Odalen was recorded. The enormous number of 'Interior late Christiania' embarkation points may reference literally anywhere in Norway, and many migrants had no 'Embarkation' details recorded at all. Still more from Odalen would have departed through Hamburg, and may even have been recorded as German.

³⁸⁴ Wesleyan Conference. Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXXI, Issue 5459, 28 January 1875, p.3, [LINK](#)

³⁸⁵ When he began in 1874 there were less than 200 people in Palmerston North proper, and just over 100 in the nearby Scandinavian camp.

³⁸⁶ Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust*, 134.

³⁸⁷ Local and General. Wairarapa Standard, Volume 4, Issue 280, 8 May 1875, p.2, [LINK](#), and; Wesleyan Church. Wanganui Chronicle, Volume XVIII, Issue 2904, 13 November 1875, Page 2, [LINK](#), and; [English settlers to the Seventy Mile Bush would also appreciate his home visits, building on the work of Fredericksen.] Arnold, Rollo. *The Opening of the Great Bush, 1869-1881: a Social History of the Bush*

For years the settlers had no churches to pray in, and only lay preachers of non-Lutheran sects to sporadically tend their needs as Christians.³⁸⁸ It was six years after foundation before the first Lutheran pastor set foot in the bush, years late for the Lutherans settled there.

The Lutheran Church arrives

Jørgen Enoch Georg Sass was not thinking of religion when he emigrated to Australia in 1873. Hailing from Olstrup, Denmark, the 19-year-old was just another youth seeking economic opportunity. But his long voyage from Europe was stricken with sickness. Over 50 passengers aboard the *Reichstag* died of typhoid fever, and more, Sass included, became ill. Sass was deeply affected by the suffering, and the bodies consigned to the deep. By his arrival in Queensland, he had experienced an awakening, and sought spiritual instead of material enrichment. He was taken under the wing of Reverend Christopher Gaustad, a Norwegian Lutheran already in Queensland. Sass worked alongside Gaustad, and in 1877 was Ordained by the German Lutheran Synod (Queensland). In 1878 Sass travelled to New Zealand, having heard of thousands of Scandinavians with no Lutheran minister to tend them. He may have also been prompted to leave Australia by the baseless accusation, or ill-timed revelation, that he had converted to a Plymouth Brethren Calvinist sect, an accusation that became an uproar in 1876 as he was opening a Lutheran church in Nikenbah.³⁸⁹ He relocated to Brisbane, and either repented, or hid his mistake, to earn ordination. In a sense, trouble would follow him to New Zealand, at his own invitation, leading to the 'Lutheran Schism' which divided the faith in New Zealand and weakened its influence over the Scandinavians.



Georg Sass
Manawātū District
Library

Nevertheless, his arrival was celebrated by Lutherans who had spent six years making do. He recalled; 'The rumour of my arrival went like wildfire from one settlement to the other, and, regardless

Settlements of Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Wellington. (Diss. Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, 1971), 625.

³⁸⁸ From around mid-1873 the teacher F. W. Thomson, assigned to the Norsewood School by the colonial government, may have also assisted with burials and other religious needs, but provision of his services is not well documented, nor his denomination.

Culliford and Harrison, 75th *Jubilee Norsewood School* 12, and;

There was also an 1877 visit by the Anglican Bishop of Auckland to Norsewood, where he performed a number of confirmations.

Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XX, Issue 3916, 26 May 1877, p.2, [LINK](#)

³⁸⁹ Petersen, Bodil, fl 1984 : *Translations of items from the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church collection, handwritten notes received from J H Skovmoes, grandson of Pastor Sass* (NAT LIB, MS-Papers-10955), and; Lyng, *The Scandinavians*, 138

[Christensen would disagree, describing Sass as solely motivated by religion.]

Typescript translation of Mads Christensen's History of the Scandinavian Church in New Zealand (Christiansen Family Papers, MS-Papers-2243-03) 8

of what day in the week it happened to be when I arrived at a place, the settlers crowded to the meetings in numbers defying the capacity of any private house. It was a strange sight towards evening to see men and women turning up, each armed with a candle in a broken bottle, so that after the service they might find their way back over the muddy bush track. Young men with beards, and married women, presented themselves to be 'confirmed', and mothers brought their children from long distances to be christened.'³⁹⁰ But Sass had problems to overcome, the first being he could not be everywhere at once; a problem that would haunt the Church persistently.

He settled in Norsewood, from where his services were in high demand.³⁹¹ Like Honore and Nielsen before him, he held services in homes, schools, and also English churches.³⁹² But he struggled, tending to Palmerston North and Napier as well. Distance, rough terrain, and bridgeless rivers meant that despite youthful vigour he was unable to consistently meet the needs of his flock. Napier and Makaretu received services monthly, and even Dannevirke received them fortnightly, despite proximity to Norsewood.³⁹³ To help fulfil Church duties to its scattered congregations he invited his friend and mentor, Gaustad, to New Zealand. Gaustad accepted. He arrived in July 1880, settling in Palmerston North.³⁹⁴

Initial successes were marked. Lutherans left the Wesleyan Church in numbers, demonstrating that for many it had been a service of convenience. In March 1880 the Norsewood congregation under Sass was around 500, from 120 families, while Nielsen's Wesleyans numbered around 100 from 20-30.³⁹⁵ The Wesleyan Scandinavian Mission, during successive annual Conferences, recorded attendees dropping from 710 in 1879 to 400 in 1880, then 320 in 1881. This decline was possibly assisted by Nielsen distributing an (allegedly) unpopular pamphlet comparing Lutheranism to Catholicism.³⁹⁶ But simultaneously there was entrenchment of some away from the Lutheran faith, with full Wesleyan members rising from 73 to 100, and Wesleyan bush preachers increased from one to three to meet increasing demand.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁰ Quoted in both Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 174, and Petersen, *Forest Homes* 96

³⁹¹ In one instance Sass baptised seven children from two families in a single event, using a wash basin balanced on a stool as the baptismal font.

Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 174.

³⁹² *Christensen Family Papers* 10, and;

Advertisement (in Danish) for a Lutheran service to be held in the Presbyterian church in Palmerston North; Advertisements Column 3. Manawatu Times, Volume IV, Issue 43, 29 May 1880, Page 3, [LINK](#)

³⁹³ *Christensen Family Papers* 8-9

³⁹⁴ Manawatu Times, Volume IV, Issue 59, 28 July 1880, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

Kitt, *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 415.

³⁹⁵ Norsewood. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5649, 30 March 1880, p.3, [LINK](#)

³⁹⁶ *Christensen Family Papers* 17

³⁹⁷ Recorded respectively in the *Minutes of the Annual Conference* (1880) p.11, (1881) p.6, and (1882) p.13. Also in the 1882 *Conference* record is an expansion of the Norsewood site (p.17)

The second problem Sass struggled with was lack of funds, which strangled construction of Lutheran churches. Support was limited to whatever parishioners, struggling themselves, could provide. In 1879 a humble Lutheran chapel was erected in Makaretu, using £72 gathered from the community.³⁹⁸ Napier was next, building a Lutheran church by 1881.³⁹⁹ But the Norsewood Lutheran church was completed in March 1882, two years after the local Wesleyan church, something that must have galled Sass.⁴⁰⁰ That year Gaustad would oversee the building of a church in Palmerston North. In Mauriceville, three years after the Wesleyan church was completed there, a modest Lutheran church joined it in August 1884, built entirely by volunteers. It is notable that the Napier church was funded by loans, some funding for the Norsewood church was provided by 'generous members of the Church of England', the Palmerston North church was privately owned by Danish and Norwegian settlers (not by the Church itself), and construction of the Mauriceville church relied on volunteer labour.⁴⁰¹

While the Lutheran Church was not unique in having difficulty sourcing financial support, the Wesleyans (and later-comers the Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Salvation Army) had larger and better funded organisations in New Zealand they could call upon.⁴⁰² It was the Wesleyan Church, not local congregations, which funded their churches in Norsewood and Mauriceville.⁴⁰³ The Lutheran Church was just not as well equipped, despite contemporaries operating in Christchurch, and a German Lutheran presence in Nelson since 1849.⁴⁰⁴ Unlike in Europe, the New Zealand Lutheran Church was not an arm of government, had no economically mature parishes to collect taxes from, and had no lands providing rent. The funds needed to raise a church in the bush had to be sourced from struggling settlers. The Danes were notable in their unwillingness to finance the Church directly.⁴⁰⁵ Volunteer labour provided in Mauriceville, the loan in Napier, and Church of England funds

³⁹⁸ Christensen (p.11) records a 'church' being present in 1879, but this was a tiny chapel; a modest structure with log walls, no pulpit, and planks in place of pews to seat only 100 people.

³⁹⁹ Quoted from Reverend Sass, presented in Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 85.

⁴⁰⁰ [Norsewood Church tendered] Tenders, Waipawa Mail, Volume 3, Issue 284, 1 June 1881, p.3, [LINK](#) and; [Norsewood Church completed] Kitt, *Norsewood: a 'special settlement'* 415, and; [Palmerston North church built] Burr, *Mosquitoes and Sawdust*, 135.

⁴⁰¹ [£50 grant by the Church of England] Ormondville. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXII, Issue 7071, 24 January 1885, p.4, [LINK](#)

The Palmerston North church was owned on a shareholder basis by Viggo Monrad (one of Bishop Monrad's sons), and 28 others. *Memorandum of agreement (1882) - Vigo Monrad, Carl Frantzen, Berger Sorensen and Carl Anders*. (Ries Family Papers, MS-Papers-2272-15)

⁴⁰² In 1879 and 1880, the assessed 'Contingency Fund Returns' for the Scandinavian Mission for 1880 and 1881 respectively would be set at 0 pounds, 0 shillings, and 0 pence, an indication of how little money was available from the community to support the Mission. The only other Circuit rated for such a low income was Motueka. *Minutes of the New Zealand Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1879), p.32

⁴⁰³ Norsewood Church, 150 pounds, and Mauriceville Parsonage, 200 pounds (*Minutes* 1880) p.16, and; Norsewood Church fitting out, 100 pounds, and Mauriceville Church, 150 pounds (*Minutes* 1881), p.18

⁴⁰⁴ [Lutheran church in Christchurch well established] Town & Country. Lyttelton Times, Volume XXXIX, Issue 3840, 14 May 1873, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁰⁵ *Christensen Family Papers* 17

in Norsewood were necessary for those churches to have been built at all. Worst was the experience of the Napier congregation, who found the residual of £350 too much debt for 30 families to handle during the depressed 1880s. The Church itself had nothing to contribute. The congregation went into dissolution, and their church was sold.⁴⁰⁶

To address the lack of funds and shortage of priests, Sass travelled to Denmark in 1883, where he successfully petitioned for sponsorship by the Indre Missionen (Danish Inland Mission).⁴⁰⁷ During the nine months Sass was away, Gaustad ministered to as many congregations as he could, increasing his profile among them. Unfortunately, the success of Sass in Denmark, and Gaustad's increased presence with congregations in New Zealand, would lead directly to the Schism.

Obnoxious dissent

Outside of money and manpower shortages, there were other issues. Wesleyan influence had been significant in the years without Lutheran stewardship. Despite the reversion of many to Lutheranism, Nielsen had prompted a number of people to convert permanently. Sass wasted little time before launching vitriolic attacks, denouncing Wesleyan practices as an 'obnoxious form of dissent', provoking bitterness between the Churches.⁴⁰⁸ Nielsen (and others) responded by comparing arrogant, demanding, and obnoxious Lutheran ministers with more tolerant English Churches. In June 1881 Sass doubled down with his publication *Evangelisk Luthersk Maanedsskrift* (Evangelical Lutheran Monthly), an attempt to also tie together the scattered congregations he was responsible for.⁴⁰⁹ In the Monthly he warned his flock to hold their children away from Methodist Sunday schools, and of the dangers of falling into the clutches of the other sects 'eating about them like flies', which did not go down well with the Wesleyans.⁴¹⁰ During an 1881 visit to Mauriceville, Gaustad waxed lyrical in unengaging religious theology, and denounced those who had left the Lutheran faith as 'traitors and perjurers'.⁴¹¹ The attitude of the Lutheran Church may explain why some former Lutherans never went back.

Responding after Sass made his plea to the Inland Mission, Pastor Mads Christensen arrived in New Zealand in 1886. His reminiscences illuminate much of the early development of the Church,

⁴⁰⁶ *Christensen Family Papers* 11

⁴⁰⁷ Kitt, *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'* 415, and; Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 175.

⁴⁰⁸ Mauriceville. *The New Zealand Wesleyan*, No 3, Vol XI, 1 March 1881, p.70 [LINK](#)

⁴⁰⁹ *Christensen Family Papers* 16

⁴¹⁰ *The New Zealand Wesleyan*, No 10, Vol XI, 1 November 1881, p.253, [LINK](#)

⁴¹¹ *The New Zealand Wesleyan*, No 6, Vol XI, 4 June 1881, p.137, [LINK](#), and;

Arnold, *The Opening of the Great Bush*, 627, and;

Reprinted from the *Christmas Supplement, Dannevirke Evening News, 20 December 1926*, presented in Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 98.

and another serious hurdle it faced, this one psychological. He observed that those settled in established colonial communities had 'no interest or concern' for the Church.⁴¹² They aligned themselves with English sects, while others appreciated 'unrestrained living' with no church to guide them at all.⁴¹³ Among those in the Bush were many under the impression that the Church would never reach New Zealand, joining the Wesleyans because of this, most returning to the Lutheran fold after Sass arrived.⁴¹⁴ But others were indifferent to the Church, to the point they would not assist with the provision of services. There were even some who outright hindered others accessing the Church.⁴¹⁵ Christensen does not give specifics, but it is easy to imagine settlers refusing to allow use of their homes for services, or prevented family members from attending. A conscription or an ill-timed levy may have soured them on the Church trying to re-enter their lives. There were also issues with some congregants; Danes from Schleswig-Holstein with no love for an old German trained priest, or his young disciple ordained by the German Synod in Queensland.

Overall, the situation Christensen describes contrasts with Sass' glowing recollection of his reception, although the two reminiscences are not mutually exclusive. But in his writing Christensen also describes a key point of difference between New Zealand and Scandinavia; back Home, affiliation with the Lutheran Church was a necessity. In New Zealand 'religion was something about which people could please themselves', which allowed the indifferent to ignore the Church, and empowered the anti-religious (or just anti-German) to actively hinder it. The Danes in particular were considered quite 'flexible' in their practice. Although some Scandinavian Wesleyans may have been such before they arrived, these issues may help explain why the Wesleyans retained so many after the Lutherans arrived.

The Schism

The Lutheran Schism occurred after Sass returned from Denmark. His success with the Mission led to their treating him as senior to Gaustad, appointed Sass Director of the Mission in New Zealand, despite his not having formal Church training, and Gaustad's longer service, greater experience, and successes in Queensland. Gaustad felt Sass must have disregarded his work in New Zealand, stealing recognition. The senior priest felt even more slighted when Sass offered to share the Missions £100 annuity.⁴¹⁶ The rancour between them grew until their friendship dissolved, followed by their ability to work

⁴¹² *Christensen Family Papers* 4

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* 7

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.* 17

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.* 6

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.* 14

together.⁴¹⁷ Their antipathy evidently spilled into their relationships with their congregations as well, with the Norwegians mostly siding with their countryman Gaustad, and the Danes mostly with their countryman Sass. Likely influenced by Sass, the Palmerston North congregation became estranged from Gaustad, and in 1884 dismissed him. In 1885 the two pastors met in Norsewood to publicly discuss their disagreement, an event Gaustad used to convince more of the congregation there to his banner. He subsequently visited other communities, rallying more to his cause.⁴¹⁸ His pointing out to the Danes that Sass had been ordained by the German Lutheran Synod, and was thus a German Lutheran, may have had an impact, although since Gaustad had trained in Germany this may have driven some Danes from the Church altogether. Indeed, some Danish families, such as that of the devout Knud Jensen of Palmerston North, removed themselves from the Church completely during the Schism.⁴¹⁹ In 1886 the Makaretu congregation split along largely national lines, with Gaustad preaching in the church, and Sass relegated to the school. Things became so fraught Sass petitioned the Mission for reassignment to Australia, arguing that Scandinavian migrants continued to arrive there, no longer the case in New Zealand. He was unsuccessful.

Congregations became further disappointed with the lack of services, as both pastors were trying to reach as many as they could, without coordination. Once again, the Mission was petitioned for aid. Two priests were found willing to commit to the colony; the prior mentioned Mads Christensen, and Hans Madsen Ries.⁴²⁰ Ries also arrived in 1886, settling in Norsewood, where he was ordained by Sass who then relocated to Makaretu.⁴²¹ But the rancour in Norsewood was so intense that even with a new pastor the congregation actually shrank. Ries being an outspoken supporter of Sass probably did not help.⁴²² Christensen arrived later that year, but his reception by his assigned Eketahuna parish was lukewarm. Interest in the Lutheran faith there had waned.⁴²³

In 1888 much of Norsewood burned, including the Lutheran church and Manse occupied by Ries.⁴²⁴ The settlement recovered, but the Schism came to a head at Christmas that year when the replacement church was to be consecrated. Gaustad, incensed that Sass had been publicly accusing

⁴¹⁷ Christensen describes them both as being of irritable and fiery temperament, but is clearly a proponent of Sass, and treats him gently in other parts of his writing.

⁴¹⁸ 'The moral effects of the teachings and practices of infidels and freethinkers.'

Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1004, 2 November 1886, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴¹⁹ Burr, *Early Manawatu Scandinavians*, 30-1.

⁴²⁰ Added to the list of officiating ministers under the Marriage Act.

TOWN & COUNTRY. New Zealand Mail, Issue 756, 27 August 1886, p.20, [LINK](#)

⁴²¹ *Christensen Family Papers*, Part II, 1, and;

Certification of Ordainment of Pastor Ries by Pastor Sass (1886), from the Ries Family Papers (NAT LIB, MS-Papers-2272-15)

⁴²² *Christensen Family Papers*, Part II, 4

⁴²³ Ibid. 3

⁴²⁴ [The Wesleyan parsonage would also burn, but the Wesleyan church would survive.]
The Bush Fires. Hawkes Bay Herald. Volume XXIII, Issue 8005, 19 March 1888, p.2, [LINK](#)

him of not actually being a Lutheran Minister (despite Gaustad being responsible for Sass' ordainment in Queensland) became aware of the planned ceremony.⁴²⁵ So, Gaustad arrived ahead of time with a gathering of his own supporters, and began his own consecration. Sass and Ries were unwilling to interrupt. The next day, the Sunday service conducted by Sass and Ries had to be performed in a nearby hall, as the church was denied them. A meeting the following evening was interrupted by Gaustad and his followers, and became so heated the police were called to intervene.⁴²⁶ In the months following, Ries (without even a key), remained unable to access the church where Gaustad's followers, now the majority, held sway. Ries instead conducted services in his rebuilt Manse for what became known as the 'little flock', while dealing with a call by the congregation majority for his resignation.⁴²⁷

Gaustad's active role in the Schism largely ended in 1890. He travelled to Europe that year, and instead of having another Lutheran attend his congregation in the town of Halcombe, he asked the Wesleyan pastor Nielsen to assist, which did not sit well with his flock. During Gaustad's absence they petitioned Sass, and he was happy to minister to them as best he could, given the distances involved. On his return months later Gaustad was furious. He denounced Sass, which also sat poorly with his congregation, and for which they dismissed him.

But the damage had been done. The bad blood fostered between Gaustad on the one hand, and Sass and his supporters on the other, would persist for years.⁴²⁸ An unknown number of Danes like Knudsen, especially those from Schleswig Holstein with no love for 'German' priests, simply left. It is difficult to quantify the damage done to the Lutheran Church as a bastion of Scandinavian cultural identity by it splitting in two, but it would not have helped at a time when other sects were increasingly active in the Bush, following after colonial settlers.

With the addition of Ries and Christensen in 1886, followed in 1888 by J. J. Legath (unordained, based in Makeretu assisting Sass), there were more Lutheran priests than ever before. But the migrants and their children continued to disperse as they willed, causing more communities to need Lutheran services. Palmerston North without Gaustad was in need of a pastor; a role Sass fulfilled by moving there in 1888, purchasing the church from the collective that built it. The town of Halcombe was added to his circuit, despite Gaustad's presence, along with Featherston and Carterton (quarterly

⁴²⁵ [Sass impugning Gaustad] Kitt, *Norsewood Special Settlement*, 422.

⁴²⁶ *Christensen Family Papers, Part II* 6

⁴²⁷ Ibid. 5-6, and;

Kitt, *Norsewood Special Settlement*, 424-5.

⁴²⁸ Although the thunder of the Schism would die away, Gaustad remained a pastor and was still in communication with Ries in 1897 when he confirmed he would attend the Konvent meeting in Norsewood that year, but only if he had a chance to conduct services there as well. The reply of Ries is not recorded. Letter from Gaustad to Ries, December 1897, Ries Family Papers, MS-Papers-2272-34

services), and Wellington and Mauriceville, both with to monthly services. There were still too many communities for Lutheran ministers to serve effectively.⁴²⁹

An attempt at unity, and a loss of identity

The Evangelisk Lutherske Imanuel Konvent of New Zealand (Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Convention) was established in 1889 to try and prevent the recurrence of events as occurred in Norsewood the year prior, and bind the congregations together by each having a voice in shared governance. But already the Church had stalled. New Lutheran migrants weren't arriving as they had, and no missionary work to bring new blood into the fold had been conducted, in part also a casualty of the lack of priests.⁴³⁰ Two more priests were recruited (Petersen in 1894 and Topholm in 1895), while Ries appealed again to the Mission during a visit to Denmark, bringing more money for new churches. But as Sass himself would allude, it was not enough.⁴³¹

From 1891 another change further divorced the Church from being a bulwark of Scandinavian identity; services began to be conducted in English. This was due to the presence of children who could not speak the languages of Scandinavian parents, and English-speaking spouses of Scandinavian worshippers.⁴³²

Sass thought the Church was struggling and had a problematic future, that schools used by the Scandinavians were not 'thriving' due to migrant children speaking only English, and 'neglecting the language of their ancestors'. Sass would muse; 'Whether the Lutheran creed is able to survive the loss of language, and permanently add to the spiritual values of the new-born nation in the Pacific is a question I do not venture to answer.'⁴³³ By 1893 Wesleyan Scandinavians also came to consider Norwegian an encumbrance among congregations conversant in English, and also introduced English services. The Scandinavian Mission then amalgamated with English Methodist circuits. Nielsen retired in protest.⁴³⁴ That year Sass travelled to Denmark to report to the Mission on the work in New Zealand, and while there accepted a position as pastor of the Free Church. He returned to New Zealand only to collect his family, and say his goodbyes.⁴³⁵

⁴²⁹ *Christensen Family Papers* 10 and 12, and; Application from Lutherans in the Taranaki for a Pastor (1892), from the Ries Family Papers (NAT LIB, MS-Paper-2272-22)

⁴³⁰ *Christensen Family Papers* 10

⁴³¹ Relayed in Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 176

⁴³² *Christensen Family Papers, Part II*, 12, and; Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust*, 137.

⁴³³ Relayed in Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 176

⁴³⁴ Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust* 137.

⁴³⁵ Petersen, Bodil, fl 1984 : *Translations of items from the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church collection, handwritten notes received from J H Skovmoes, grandson of Pastor Sass* (NAT LIB, MS-Papers-10955)

Competition

While the Lutheran Church was tearing down the middle, other sects were entering the increasingly mixed settlements. In Norsewood and Dannevirke the Mormons began actively recruiting around 1880-1 under Elder Sorensen from America.⁴³⁶ A few converted and emigrated to Utah, igniting a brief but baseless scare; that settlers on unproductive land were leaving in numbers to sail as Mormon converts to America, with two ships allegedly lying off Napier for the purpose.⁴³⁷ William Cowie, Right Reverend Bishop of the Auckland Anglican Church visited Norsewood in 1877 and performed ten Confirmations, an event that drew candidates from as far as 35km away.⁴³⁸ In the 1880s the Anglicans arrived to stay, with Norsewood services held by Reverend Robertshaw (visiting from Woodville) around 1881, then by other travelling Ministers from 1888, with a church constructed in Dannevirke that year.⁴³⁹ Catholics began services in 1881 via visiting priests such as Father Ahern (Waipawa), and others rotating through from Napier. The first Catholic church in Dannevirke was built in 1892, with the first fulltime priest assigned in 1897.⁴⁴⁰ The Salvation Army began operations in 1888 under Captains Andrew and Barraball, gathering enough converts to build their own hall in 1891. By 1902 Norsewood also enjoyed the presence of Reverends Wills and Webb of the Brethren, who by 1904 had built a Gospel Hall. Presbyterians began holding services in Dannevirke school from 1885, raising a church in 1895.⁴⁴¹ They reached Norsewood in 1903, where George King established a Home Mission Station, building a church in 1905.⁴⁴²

In 1892 a Waipawa Mail correspondent lamented: 'At present there are so many religious societies working in Norsewood, that it is quite difficult for people to know what is the right. The

Rather anticlimactically Sass would return at least once, posing for a picture with many of the surviving settlers in Dannevirke around the year 1908. The image is held in the family file for Hans Peter Jensen, in the Dannevirke Gallery of History. The photo of Sass with six other Lutheran priests included at the end of this chapter was likely taken during this visit.

⁴³⁶ Divine Services To-Morrow. Daily Telegraph (Napier), Issue 2982, 15 January 1881, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴³⁷ [Mormons at work] The Wairarapa Daily. Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume 3, Issue 738, 8 April 1881, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

[Rumours of ships] McDonald, Rob. *Dannevirke : The Early Years* (Rod McDonald, 2002) 64

⁴³⁸ Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XX, Issue 3916, 26 May 1877, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴³⁹ [CoE at Woodville] Auckland Star, Volume XII, Issue 3397, 20 June 1881, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

[CoE church] Notes Abroad. Daily Telegraph (Napier), Issue 5213, 7 May 1888, p.3, [LINK](#), and;

[Travelling ministers/Norsewood Church] Diane and Terry Kitt, *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 403

[Norsewood CoE services] Bush Advocate, Volume I, Issue 7, 22 May 1888, p.2 [LINK](#)

[Norsewood CoE presence] Waipawa Mail, Volume XVI, Issue 719, 9 February 1892, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁴⁰ *St Joseph's Parish Dannevirke ; Celebrating 100 Years of Faith 1898-1998*, p.16 and 18

[Their numbers increased proportionately faster than the population, indicating either successful missionary efforts or Catholics from outside the region entering at a higher rate than non-Catholics.]

Arnold, *The Opening of the Great Bush*, 629

⁴⁴¹ Kitt, *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 401-414

⁴⁴² Andersen, Archibald Leonard. *Norsewood : the centennial story*. (A. L. Andersen, 1972) 106-111, and; Halford, Bert. *Norsewood District and School – Celebrating 125 Years 1872-1997*. (Norsewood Reunion Committee, 1997) 4

Roman Catholic Church has got a branch here; the Wesleyan, the Lutheran, and the English Church are also established here. One would think that this would be enough for a small place like Norsewood, but no! A few months ago the Plymouth Brethren worked up a small congregation amongst us. Now the Salvation Army have come and they are hard at work to win soldiers for their Army. Last week one of the Seventh Day Adventist missionaries was sent over to us from America. We wonder: "What will be the next? When will people learn that 'Unity is strength?' and that 'Schism' is ruin to Christianity."''⁴⁴³

A failure to grow, and eventual diminishment

As Lutheran numbers dwindled compared to Scandinavian numbers, the plan of Sass and Ries to revitalise the Church by building more churches and sourcing more pastors from Scandinavia, reveals a flaw in their thinking on what the Church was to the migrants, and illuminates why their plan could not have succeeded. They assumed the presence of the Church in the life of a Scandinavian migrant was an inevitability, as it was back Home.

Welcomed effusively, Sass arrived six years too late to connect meaningfully with the children, especially with them often busy aiding the family subsist to be able to attend Sunday (or any) school.⁴⁴⁴ He failed also to reconnect with many who drifted to other faiths, or were enjoying having no religion at all. Christensen himself admitted that missionary work was 'not well pursued'.⁴⁴⁵ This may have been because Sass did not have time due to the widely spread congregations he was serving. But it could also have been because Sass had never needed to work as a missionary before. He had never needed do more to find a congregation than open the door of his church. To the average Scandinavian, membership in the Church was a habitual expression of culture; something they did because they had always done it, been raised to it, and seldom (if ever) considered other options because they had no reason to. Back Home, Church membership was almost a matter of Law.⁴⁴⁶ But in New Zealand they had options, and for years had been forced to explore them if they wanted any religion in their lives at all. And as their yearning for Home eased over time, many were no longer as enamoured of their old Church, not needing the sense of connection it gave to a Home they missed less and less.⁴⁴⁷ While old adherents slowly fell away from disinterest or death, new adherents were not brought in to fill the gaps.

⁴⁴³ Norsewood. Waipawa Mail, Volume XVI, Issue 719, 9 February 1892, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁴⁴ Mirroring the findings of Travuchis, in that Lutheran priests arrived too late in Minnesota to 'reconnect' with their migrant flocks as well as they had hoped. Travuchis, *Pastors and Immigrants*, 22.

⁴⁴⁵ *Christensen Family Papers* 10

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid. 6

⁴⁴⁷ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 87.

The Schism between Gaustad and Sass also weakened the Church, and the divisive and dismissive treatment by Sass of those who left even temporarily doubtless had an impact on the appeal of returning to the fold.⁴⁴⁸ So too did his approaching the Inland Mission for help; intended to revitalise the Church, his choice of benefactor may also have kept people away, the Mission being 'dour' and 'pietistic', with a love of high-minded theology and lengthy pontification.⁴⁴⁹ This would not have resonated with struggling settlers as much as more down-to-earth colonial sects did, presenting their creeds through simpler clergymen less enamoured of abstract religious theory.⁴⁵⁰ The lack of appeal may have been especially felt by the younger generation, who mostly associated with other sects during the Lutheran absence. And thanks to the mixed communities that they lived in, there were ample options for worship available within just a few years of Sass arriving.⁴⁵¹

Dispersal of the Scandinavian population was also a factor, as people drifting away from where the Lutheran Church had built churches and circuits for its priests.⁴⁵² It is telling how much a problem this was that in 1897 Ries wrote to the Minister of Railways to request a rail pass that would allow a Church representative to ride for free, so they could tend their scattered flock. He was politely declined.⁴⁵³

The diminution as older adherents passed and younger ones found other Churches can be tracked in census data. In 1886 there were 5,917 Lutherans in New Zealand, both Germans and Scandinavians.⁴⁵⁴ Ten years later, in 1896, there were 15 Lutheran churches, including eight built with support from the Inland Mission. But they served only 5,538 congregants.⁴⁵⁵ By 1906 that number had wilted to 4,856, then 3,530 by 1916.⁴⁵⁶ In the late 1870s, as Sass restored Lutheranism to the

⁴⁴⁸ Mention should be made of the studies on 'Amerika Letters' performed by Theodore Blegen of the University of Minnesota, which included the observation that the 'immigrants apparently wanted the substance of the churchly tradition without some of its social and cultural accretions'.

Review by Kenneth Bjork: *Land of Their Choice: The Immigrants Write Home*. Edited by Theodore C. Blegen. (The University of Minnesota Press, 1955), presented in *Minnesota History*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Mar. 1956) 31-3

⁴⁴⁹ The New Zealand Wesleyan, No 6, Vol XI, 4 June 1881, p.137, [LINK](#)

⁴⁵⁰ Mauriceville. The New Zealand Wesleyan, No 3, Vol XI, 1 March 1881, p.70 [LINK](#)

Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 87.

Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 179-80.

⁴⁵¹ In Minnesota there was considerable concern amongst the Lutheran clergy of migrants defecting to other sects as '... they find other religions more conducive to their own advancement and less troublesome to their spiritual life.'

Travuchis, *Pastors and Immigrants*, 22.

⁴⁵² Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 87-8.

⁴⁵³ Letter from the Minister of Railways in reply to Ries (1897). From the Ries Family Papers (NAT LIB, MS-Paper-2272-34)

⁴⁵⁴ RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND taken for the night of the 28th March 1886, see Chapters 39, 42, and 49

⁴⁵⁵ Koivukangas, *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings* 9, and;
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS. RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND taken for the night of 12th April 1896

⁴⁵⁶ Chapter 28. RELIGIONS.—INCREASE OF THE PRINCIPAL DENOMINATIONS. RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND TAKEN FOR THE NIGHT OF THE 29th APRIL, 1906, and;

Scandinavians, his Church ministered to 1.36 percent of the population. By 1926 it would minister to a meagre 0.23 percent; 2,736 Lutherans, through ten churches that shared seven ministers.⁴⁵⁷ By 1938 the only congregation 'thriving' was in Palmerston North. Services were conducted in English, to a mostly non-Lutheran congregation.⁴⁵⁸ Presumably local Protestants found the church geographically convenient.

The Lutheran Church fell away as an anchor of identity for the Scandinavians of New Zealand, mostly with the passing of generations, the movement to more attractive/practical sects, and a mobile population that did not seem to consider proximity to a Lutheran church a priority. The Scandinavians were increasingly willing to attend whatever church was convenient, ever more likely to not be Lutheran as they dispersed from their settlements, where other Churches were being established. For children of the settlers this was especially the case, as homesickness, habit, or nostalgia, would not prompt them to feel any need to belong to the Lutheran faith over any other.⁴⁵⁹ Writing in 1939, Lyng observed; 'It is quite evident that the stout-hearted apostles sent out from Denmark, who gave their best and served the Scandinavian immigrants in New Zealand so well, have been fighting a losing battle all along.'⁴⁶⁰



Lutheran Pastors (and years of arrival)

*Georg Sass (1878) [front centre left]
Mads Christensen (1886) [front far left]
Hans Ries (1886) [front centre right]
Johannes Legarth (1888) [front far right]
George Bjelke-Petersen (1894) [rear centre]
Kristian Topholm (1895) [rear right]
Diane and Terry Kitt, Norsewood, p418*

This photo was taken during a later visit by Georg Sass to New Zealand, likely in 1908.

Chapter 37. General Results. Religions.—Numbers and Proportions at Successive Censuses. REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE POPULATION OF THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND TAKEN FOR THE NIGHT OF THE 15th OCTOBER, 1916.

⁴⁵⁷ Number of Officiating Ministers, THE NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR-BOOK, 1926, and;

Wanganui Chronicle, Volume LXXXIII, Issue 19493, 18 January 1926, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

Christensen, Dorte "'O Lord, Guide My Feet". The Danish Church in New Zealand', *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Danes Worldwide Archives, 1990) 33-35, p.43

⁴⁵⁸ Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 177.

⁴⁵⁹ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 87

⁴⁶⁰ Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 177.

Chapter 8 – Education and the English Language

The education available in the bush, and the introduction, then dominance, of the English language

Vogel's Scandinavians actively sought education for their children, and almost all sought to learn the English language. Education was duly provided by the colonial government, not just to benefit the children, but to deliberately ameliorate an undesirable foreign identity and replace it with a more 'English' one. Despite a slow start, education and the English language were delivered, each a blow to the cultural uniqueness of the migrants; making their children more colonial and fit for 'English' society, and lessening the alienness of the settlers as they took up the English language. A change the migrants largely accepted.

Education in the colony

The New Zealand education system in the early nineteenth was a mixed affair, without much central government involvement. Churches provided most education, together with private schools. Both were user-pays, but through the 1847 Education Ordinance church schools received government financial support for education for Māori, as long it was provided in English.⁴⁶¹

Under the 1852 Constitution Act each of the newly created provinces became responsible for education on their patch. This was coordinated through newly formed provincial Education Boards, each with its own system for governing and financing schools, generally via grant or performance-based capitation. All provincial governments prioritised availability of schooling.⁴⁶² But each managed provision differently; some used levies, others direct fees. Overall, provision remained uneven, with rural areas mostly underserved.

The Nelson provincial Education Act passed in 1856; establishing what became known as the 'Nelson model'. Not wanting to re-invent the wheel, schools across the province were managed using

⁴⁶¹ It has been suggested that the intent of Governor Gray was to promote assimilation of the Māori through this policy, something that would see echoes in the Seventy Mile Bush some years later. The Native Schools Act of 1858 would also continue this funding of Mission schools offering education in English for Māori children. However, the perspective of the below cited ignores the efforts made by Māori to have their children educated in English for the advantages that English fluency offered.

Office of the Controller and Auditor-General, 'Education for Māori: Context for Our Proposed Audit Work Until 2017' (2012) 16

⁴⁶² This may have been due to literacy rates among New Zealand's Pakeha citizens being quite low, as was likely their attendance rates since in many provinces school fees were paid directly, and attendance was not compulsory. Around 64 percent of the colonial population were functionally literate, with another 11 percent able to read a little but not write. Approximately 25 percent were completely illiterate. STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1860. TABLE SHOWING THE CENTESIMAL PROPORTIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES RESPECTIVELY AND OF THE TOTAL (EUROPEAN) POPULATION OF NEW ZEALAND ABLE OR UNABLE TO READ OR WRITE, IN DECEMBER, 1858.

the Nelson School Society system.⁴⁶³ Funding for schools was gathered from a provincial household levy of £1, supplemented by 5s for each of the first four children per family. Māori were exempt. The Act uniquely featured 'fee free' education for children up to 12 years, with evening schools for older children who had missed earlier opportunities. The Board of Education provided School Inspectors, with elected Local Committees managing schools and appointing teachers.⁴⁶⁴ The model was well-funded and efficient, with no economic penalty for children attending, since the money was not charged directly for their attendance.⁴⁶⁵

By contrast, less populated and developed Hawke's Bay province had no taxes, funding governance purely via land sales, leaving education to the Church and private schools. This made education in Hawke's Bay not particularly available or affordable, with many children not receiving any.⁴⁶⁶ This would not suit the Scandinavians, nor a government wanting to make them less Scandinavian.

Education for the Scandinavians

The central government considered migrant schooling a necessity; education was needed for the formation of well-rounded and capable intellects of good character. It was also hoped that provision of schools would help foster a positive tone to letters Home, in turn enticing more immigration. It was assumed the new arrivals would feel a greater sense of being 'surrounded by the accompaniments of civilisation [as in] the old country', and not abandoned to struggle in a green prison if schools were available for their children.⁴⁶⁷ Instructions to Featherston in October 1871 made clear that education for European migrant children was a priority. The government was 'anxious that the moral and religious well-being of the immigrants should be provided for from the commencement, [...] you are authorized to afford whatever encouragement may be necessary to induce a schoolmaster to accompany each party of immigrants. I am given to understand that a carefully selected schoolmaster would, in addition to his ordinary scholastic duties, supply the place of a clergyman until the immigrants have settled down, and are able to invite one to come out to them.'⁴⁶⁸ Unfortunately, this

⁴⁶³ At the time the Society was overseeing an expanding number of quite successful secular schools Dakin, J. 'The elementary schools of early Nelson 1842-1856: A case of community development.' *Journal of the Nelson and Marlborough Historical Societies*, 1(2), (1982), 12-13.

⁴⁶⁴ Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XIV, Issue 105, 29 March 1856, p.4, [LINK](#)

⁴⁶⁵ It could be argued that a child in school was a financial penalty to their family anyway, as they were thus not available to help on the farm or in the family business.

⁴⁶⁶ Vaughan, Charles and Percy Ridge and Brian Thomsen, *Norsewood School Centennial March 1974* (1974) p13

⁴⁶⁷ Grigg, A. R. (1973). *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian immigration, 1870-1876*. (Dissertation, BA (Hons), University of Otago), 95-6.

⁴⁶⁸ AJHR 1872 I D-01 No 3 (Memorandum for the Agent General, London), 4.

was a tall order. The first arrivals to the Seventy Mile Bush brought only one teacher; to Mauriceville, and only briefly.⁴⁶⁹

The availability of education in Hawke's Bay was concerning to Scandinavians used to 'free' education back Home, and who enjoyed a (debatably) decent rate of literacy.⁴⁷⁰ In Scandinavia education was compulsory to age 12, delivered by the Lutheran Church.⁴⁷¹ Confirmation into the Church was essential for passage to adulthood, and dependent on education provided by local churches. Education was necessary, expected, and commonly available.⁴⁷² Even as they arrived, Vogel's migrants were clear about wanting schooling for their children, especially in 'English and the common rudiments of education'. They expressed hope that the government would provide.⁴⁷³

With no teacher aboard the *Ballarat* or *Hovding*, local educators were needed, and for new settlements new schools were needed too. Since Norsewood and Dannevirke were in Hawke's Bay they were subject to the Hawke's Bay user-pays system; not well suited to settlers of limited means.⁴⁷⁴ A charge of £1 per household was deemed necessary for new schools, which the Scandinavians were not positioned to pay. As the settlements were economically 'unrateable', the construction cost was agreed would be borne by the central government. Education was preferable to ignorance, and there were hearts and minds to win for those letters Home. The government would also pay for teachers for one year, and 'defray all other costs of education', after which the Scandinavians would be locally responsible, just like the rest of the province.⁴⁷⁵

Interest in education for the Scandinavians, and that financial constraints would not prevent it, was not just about children having greater opportunities, or promoting chain migration. There was a minimal sense of threat provoked by the aliens now nestled within the colony, and no explosion of nativism (although negative editorials were not unknown). Despite the lack of nativism, the colony did seek to encourage assimilation.⁴⁷⁶ As Mohl has addressed in 'Cultural Pluralism vs Cultural Relativism',

⁴⁶⁹ Arthur Petersen, arrived aboard the *England* and settled in Mauriceville, was formerly a professional soldier. He departed after less than a year due to the excessive hardships of New Zealand forest life. Petersen, George Conrad. *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 84

⁴⁷⁰ As described by Featherston in his report after visiting Norway in early 1871. A counterpoint to this would be the settlers of Mauriceville; Norwegians who arrived aboard the *England* in 1871. As Petersen relates in *Forest Homes* (35-6), their literacy was quite poor.

⁴⁷¹ Markkola, Pirjo. 'The Long History of Lutheranism in Scandinavia. From State Religion to the People's Church', *Perichoresis*, Vol 13, Issue 2 (2015), 7.

⁴⁷² Standing at the altar of the village church, families seated below, they would recite catechism and Lutheran precepts at the prompting of the local pastor until becoming confirmed in their faith, almost as important a milestone as baptism, and still practiced today.

⁴⁷³ [Scandinavian migrants in the camp that pre-staged Mauriceville] Masterton. Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 274, 19 December 1872, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁷⁴ Vaughan et al, *Norsewood School Centennial*, 13.

⁴⁷⁵ Happy Hawke's Bay! New Zealand Herald, Volume X, Issue 2810, 30 January 1873, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁷⁶ Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 94-5.

public schools offering a national curriculum also offer a nationalisation of those attending them; acculturation to the expectations of the nation and majority culture.⁴⁷⁷ Government intention was to reduce the distinctiveness of Scandinavian identity, and the threat it may have posed to the 'Englishness' of the colony, somewhat at odds with the original intention to have the Scandinavians taught by their own. But between instructions to source a Scandinavian teacher and the arrival of the migrants months later, the plan to establish schools in the Bush became bound up with the intention to have migrant children not just learn English, but become 'English'. It was expected they would learn the language and culture, weaning them from their mother tongue while introducing them to 'English' ideas and concepts; way of life, politics, and behavioural norms, thus ensuring the children would grow up loyal citizens of the colony, and not strangers to it.⁴⁷⁸

Early efforts⁴⁷⁹

At the end of 1872, an English language primer was prepared by the Hawkes Bay Times for the Scandinavians, intended also as a text for their future schools. Whether the primer was deployed is not easily answered.⁴⁸⁰ But schools for Dannevirke and Norsewood were being planned by November 1872, under management of the Provincial Engineer's Office. Days after a tender was published for their construction, an advertisement for teachers appeared; middle aged women preferred.⁴⁸¹ The offer may not have been very enticing; another appeared seeking teachers for both settlements in April 1873.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁷ Mohl, R. A. 'Cultural Assimilation vs Cultural Pluralism', *The Educational Forum* (March 1981), 323-330

⁴⁷⁸ Cited from a Hawkes Bay Herald report, 30/10/1872, presented in Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration*, 98. [Issues dated 1871-76 are missing from the National Library Papers Past archive]

⁴⁷⁹ Unfortunately, some information regarding the establishment of schools in the Seventy Mile Bush has been lost. In 1888 the school at Norsewood was destroyed by fire, taking with it the records it housed at the time. In 1931 the infamous Napier earthquake and subsequent fires claimed many of the Education Board records held for the Hawke's Bay province, including for both Norsewood and Dannevirke. Some records have survived elsewhere, such as the Norsewood School Log Book for 1886-1947, rediscovered just prior to the 1974 production of the Norsewood School Centennial.

Culliford, A. F. and R. I. Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School 1874 - 1949* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1949) 3

⁴⁸⁰ Although no doubt a useful document, a price of 1 shilling would have made it less attractive.

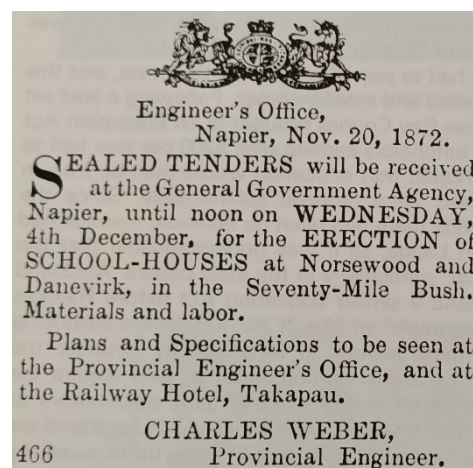
Hawke's Bay Times, Volume 19, Issue 1499, 6 December 1872, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁸¹ Vaughan et al, *Norsewood School Centennial*, 13

⁴⁸² Vaughan, Charles J. 'Chronology Dannevirke-Norsewood District' *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished) 3

School contracts were awarded early 1873, with construction due for completion by March. Progress was slow, likely due to the isolation, and local labour preoccupied building roads. The Dannevirke school, a basic 'slab whare', was finished around April, with Norsewood sometime between April and July.⁴⁸³ Teachers were found willing to relocate, and the opening of the schools was welcomed by both communities; Dannevirke in June with 26 children on the roll, and Norsewood, in July, boasting 45.⁴⁸⁴ However, not everything was smooth sailing.

Dannevirke School was initially staffed by Ida Jorgensen, who arrived June 1873 with her family, approximately three months after the school was completed.⁴⁸⁵ She seemed a perfect fit; a Danish migrant from Palmerston North, previously in America long enough to become fluent in English. But poor health forced her resignation in November. The school remained closed for over a year with no replacement. Both matters were likely due to the teacher's residence; a windowless 'small room (or porch) without a chimney attached to the school house [...] utterly unworthy of the name of a dwelling'.⁴⁸⁶ It is likely that Jorgensen (and family) lived partially within the school itself, a 15 by 10 foot shack, with a dirt floor and gaps in the walls from warping green timbers.⁴⁸⁷ It was 1875 before another teacher was secured; Mrs Coveney. She solved the accommodation problem by boarding at the Tahoraiti hotel, journeying to and from the school on horseback until a chimney and lean-to were added.⁴⁸⁸ In 1878 a replacement was built, a luxurious 30 by 18-foot building with plank walls, a fireplace, and an actual floor.



*Hawkes Bay Herald, 21 November 1872
(reprinted in Norsewood School
Centennial March 1974, p.14)*

⁴⁸³ Vaughan et al, *Norsewood School Centennial*, 14

⁴⁸⁴ Matthews, Kay. *Behind Every School : The History of the Hawke's Bay Education Board* (Hawke's Bay Education Board, 1988), 137 and 139.

⁴⁸⁵ [Also known by the anglicised 'Johnson'] McDonald, Rob. *Dannevirke : The Early Years* (Rod McDonald, 2002) 52.

⁴⁸⁶ Report of Inspector of Schools (William Colenso), Council Paper, H. B. Provincial Council, 1874-75, presented in McDonald, *Dannevirke*, 52.

⁴⁸⁷ Dannevirke North School Centennial 1873-1973 p3

⁴⁸⁸ Dannevirke Borough Sixtieth Anniversary 1892-1952 (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1952) 17, and Dannevirke North School Centennial 1873-1973 (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1973) 3-4, and; Rachel M. Johnson, *From Norway with Love* (Rachel M. Johnson, 2006) 71-2

*The first school in Dannevirke
Dannevirke North School
Centennial 1873-1973, p.3*



Norsewood School is murkier in its early history. Completed in mid-1873, it was described as too tall, with no fireplace, and green timber walls that warped to produce gaps.⁴⁸⁹ There was also no residence, but this did not dissuade one F. W. Thompson from serving from 1873 to perhaps 1877, although his tenure is not agreed in all sources.⁴⁹⁰ His commitment to the community was such that he 'learned Scandinavian' (doubtless Norwegian) to better teach his pupils.⁴⁹¹

While education was consistently available in Norsewood from 1873 and Dannevirke from 1875, there were issues. The first teachers, Jorgensen and Thompson, each spoke a Scandinavian language, which delayed uptake of English by the children. Friberg commented on this to Ormond in 1873, reporting little progress.⁴⁹² But Ormond visited Norsewood and 'Danevirk' a few months later in 1874, to inspect the schools, and was impressed by the children translating English lessons into Norse, and vice versa, despite the Dannevirke school apparently being without a teacher at the time.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ Vaughan et al, *Norsewood School Centennial*, 15

This is somewhat at odds with the description provided in Culliford and Harrison's *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* (page 15), given as being walled in corrugated iron, with a wooden lean-to. But it seems unlikely that the first build would feature materials such as corrugated iron that would require portage into the bush.

⁴⁹⁰ [1874-1877] Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 36, and;

[1873-1877] *Norsewood School Centennial* (1974) 24, and;

[1873 onwards] Andresen, Øystein Molstad. *Johanna's World* (VikingSevenseas NZ Ltd, 2001) 140

[1873 seems the more likely figure for commencement given the school was completed around the middle of that year at the latest, while Ormond visited the schools of both Dannevirke and Norsewood in January of 1874 and reported good progress.]

Local, and General News. *Wanganui Chronicle*, Volume XVII, Issue 6301, 28 January 1874, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁹¹ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 12, and;

Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 98.

⁴⁹² McDonald, *Dannevirke* 52.

⁴⁹³ Local, And General News. *Wanganui Chronicle*, Volume XVII, Issue 6301, 28 January 1874, p.2, [LINK](#)

From 1875 support for the schools transitioned from central government to the province, meaning the end of subsidies and introduction of fees. Although the 1873 Hawke's Bay Education Act, supported by the first provincial tax there, saw fees of one shilling per child per week, even this made consistent attendance too costly for many.⁴⁹⁴ Attendance was sporadic, with Provincial Inspector William Colenso remarking that for Norsewood it was typically less than half the enrolment. This would have been the case for Dannevirke as well.⁴⁹⁵ There were even challenges just reaching the schools; with no roads between sections, paths to the schools had to be marked with axe cuts on trees.⁴⁹⁶ It took three hours for some to reach their classrooms, traversing up to eight kilometres of bush.⁴⁹⁷ In bad weather the journey could become perilous, with tracks described as 'strings of mudholes between clearings', and what roads were present becoming impassible in winter.⁴⁹⁸ But the primary reason many children skipped class was the need for their labour.⁴⁹⁹ Older children worked, or helped by minding younger siblings as parents toiled. In fairness, low rates of attendance were common throughout the colony; only 39 percent of children attended regularly at the time.⁵⁰⁰

In 1876 the provincial governance system was abolished. Under a central government now responsible for all education the 'Nelson Model' became the 'New Zealand Model' via the 1877 Education Act. While this meant costs for primary education were met by the state, and attendance for children aged seven to 13 was compulsory, attendance at the forest schools remained intermittent (although increasing over time).⁵⁰¹ As well, communities were growing, and no longer boasted children from just Scandinavian homes, but colonial ones as well. By 1882 both Dannevirke and Norsewood schools were overcrowded.⁵⁰² By 1885, when future politician Harry Combs first attended Mokotau School near Norsewood village, he sat in a classroom with Norwegians, Swedes, British, and Māori, under a teacher he described as 'Norse'. She was likely Norwegian, but she taught the children only in English.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁴ Andersen, Archibald Leonard. *Norsewood : the centennial story*. (A. L. Andersen, 1972) 18, and; Petersen, *Forest Homes* 86.

⁴⁹⁵ [Colenso's lament] Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration*, 98.

⁴⁹⁶ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 15

⁴⁹⁷ Hawke's Bay Education Board. *Waipawa Mail*, Volume 2, Issue 112, 8 October 1879, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁹⁸ Petersen, G. C. *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand*. (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 85.

Hawke's Bay Education Board. *Waipawa Mail*, Volume 2, Issue 112, 8 October 1879, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁴⁹⁹ [Priorities for the children] Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 118, and; *Typescript translation of Mads Christensen's History of the Scandinavian Church in New Zealand* (Christiansen Family Papers, MS-Papers-2243-03) 5

⁵⁰⁰ [Low attendance reported by Colenso] Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 98.

[Colony wide attendance rates] Vaughan et al, *Norsewood School Centennial* 15

⁵⁰¹ Many children were working from the age of ten; boys did farmwork or were already learning a trade, girls performed domestic work (at home or for others)

Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 118.

⁵⁰² Hawke's Bay Education Board. *Daily Telegraph* (Napier), Issue 3547, 21 November 1882, p.2 [LINK](#)

⁵⁰³ Combs, Harry. *Growing up in the Forty Mile Bush* (Halsted Press, 1951) 12 and 14

The value of a second language

Gordon, in his research on the New Zealand accent, determined 'the way we speak tells people who we are and where we come from and where we want to belong, and that's important - it is part of our identity.'⁵⁰⁴ And while school attendance suffered, especially initially, settler interest in learning English was high. There was never a risk of them being economically locked into a 'linguistic ghetto', where they would be limited to buying, selling, and providing and receiving services only to other Scandinavians because of a communication barrier that prevented meaningful interaction with the businesses and interests of the majority.⁵⁰⁵ There were too many pro-English language pressures being applied to a population that was too small for economic self-sufficiency.

For the men especially there was the necessity of dealing with English-speaking storemen, working on roads and railways under English-speaking supervisors, sometimes working shoulder to shoulder with English-speaking roadcrews, and later an ever-increasing number of English-speaking neighbours, as well as the necessity of conversant English when travelling as swaggermen.⁵⁰⁶ Some Scandinavians even managed road contracts, employing Scandinavians and English-speaking colonials alike.⁵⁰⁷ As early as May 1872, during the establishment of Mauriceville, ignorance of English was tapped as a significant obstacle to Scandinavian migrants getting jobs outside their settlements, as domestics in towns, or stockmen on sheep stations.⁵⁰⁸ And there was also the utility of Scandinavians using English amongst themselves, with a common second language holding value for conversing with neighbours not of the old country.⁵⁰⁹

Simultaneously, there was no stigma to retaining Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish in the home. Despite public life increasingly demanding English, a sense among the migrants that their

⁵⁰⁴ Gordon, E. 'The New Zealand accent: a clue to New Zealand identity?' *NZ Education Journal*, 23 (2009) 53

⁵⁰⁵ Blau, Francine D. 'Immigration and Labor Earnings in Early Twentieth Century America.' *Research in Population Economics* 2 (1980): 21-41, and;

Hannon, Joan U. 'Ethnic Discrimination in a Nineteenth Century Mining District: Michigan Copper Mines, 1888.' *Explorations in Economic History* 19, no. 1 (1982) 28-50

⁵⁰⁶ [English and Scandinavian crews] Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration*, 99.

Most of the supervisors on the road contracts were English, and it would be a fair bet to say that individuals such as Alexander Munro and Samuel Begg (responsible for some of the Mauriceville / Dannevirke crews) did not have any fluency with Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian.

Petersen, *Forest Homes* 33.

One exception to English supervisors and contract holders was Neils Andersen, arrived aboard the second *Hovding* and settled in Dannevirke before moving to Palmerston North in 1879 or 80. He arrived with no knowledge of English, but learned it swiftly enough to become a supervisor himself.

Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 98.

⁵⁰⁷ Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 98.

⁵⁰⁸ Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 97, 27 May 1872, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁵⁰⁹ Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehdorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 45

identity was threatened, or needed to be protected, does not seem to have been a factor. On the contrary, for some there was a sense that deliberately adapting to English-speaking population was preferable. As Niels Anderson remarked to his family soon after arrival; 'we desperately need a school. A school is essential. Without it our children will not become good New Zealand citizens!' His friend Ole agreed: 'The ones about to be born must know the language of their new country'.⁵¹⁰

Most settlers actively sought to learn English, and did so however they could. One push was via the children themselves, requested through their schools to teach English to their parents.⁵¹¹ Allardice, managing the Dannevirke store, encouraged his customers to learn English, and taught them whenever opportunity arose. Following her arrival in Norsewood South with her husband, Mrs Thompson taught English to migrant children three times a week, alternating between Norsewood and Garfield. Her intention was for the children to teach their parents to make purchasing easier from her husband's store.⁵¹² A young Ole Ericksen, son of Ole Ericksen (thus known as 'Young Ole'), was 14 when he arrived in 1873 aboard the second *Hovding*, but he learned English quickly, and was in great demand by settlers needing help with the language.⁵¹³ Johanna Christiansen arrived 1873 aboard the second *Hovding*, then lived two years in Napier as a domestic servant, before settling in Norsewood. She would gather people from throughout the town for evening English lessons. Her sessions were well supported; Friberg provided English newspapers, and slates and chalk were loaned from the school by Thompson.⁵¹⁴ Casual uptake through contact with English-speaking co-workers on road and rail projects, employers/supervisors, and while on trips into larger settlements for business or shopping would also have exposed the settlers to conversational English. E. A. Laurvig of Dannevirke recalled learning English from a workmate ('Tom') while they worked on the roads.⁵¹⁵ His experience would not have been unique.

But there were holdouts not interested in learning the English language. One such was Randi Finnsdatter, who arrived aboard the second *Hovding* in 1873. She was an outlier who adamantly refused to learn English. "I'll speak Norwegian to my dying day. No members of my family will enter my house and babble away in that strange language." Her Norwegian born daughter Johanna would counter; "We must learn their language [...] Our children will marry them and what will become of us then? Outsiders! [becoming] increasingly isolated and lonely the older we get." Johanna's words were prophetic. In later decades, when Randi's grandchildren visited, they were unable to speak with her,

⁵¹⁰ Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 57.

⁵¹¹ The example provided is for Mauriceville, but the practice was likely common across all the bush settlements. Petersen, *Forest Homes* 85.

⁵¹² [Teaching] Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 10, and; [Arrival] Kitt, Diane and Terry. *Norsewood : a 'special settlement'*, 324 and 329

⁵¹³ Andersen, *Norsewood : the centennial story*, 132.

⁵¹⁴ Andresen, *Johanna's World* 139-40.

⁵¹⁵ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 98.

having no shared language.⁵¹⁶ In the Norsewood School 75th Jubilee there is a recollection of the Golden Jubilee that marked the 50th anniversary of the settlement, where mention is made of ‘a few’ of the surviving settlers for whom English was ‘still an unknown tongue’. How many is unfortunately unrecorded, but does indicate that there were multiple settlers (including Randi) who never had any interest in learning English.⁵¹⁷ Randi herself, babysitting during Johanna’s English lessons, tried to teach her grandchildren the proper Odalen dialect.⁵¹⁸

With the English language available and being adopted, erosion of the dominance-by-default of Scandinavian languages in the Bush began. It started with the addition of words; the Scandinavians had no descriptor for the shacks they were building and living in, so incorporated an English term for wooden slab with the common Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish word for house, producing ‘slabhus’.⁵¹⁹ The majority became bilingual rapidly, retaining native languages for home use and conversations with friends, yet more than willing to use the English language to engage with English-speaking colonials.

The children may have developed English no faster than the adults; School Inspector Colenso lamented in late 1875 that ‘[the children] do not use English at all when out of school – in play and at home they use only their mother tongue [...] I scarcely see, as things are now, how they are ever to learn to speak English [...]’⁵²⁰ But this seems more related to a lack of opportunities to use English outside of school at the time, rather than active resistance. A report by Halcombe in mid-1873 points the direction the Bush settlements were moving: At that time the little town of Palmerston North was more mixed than either Dannevirke or Norsewood, boasting 108 Scandinavians alongside 193 colonials.⁵²¹ Halcombe remarked that conversational English was readily used by Scandinavians ‘firmly established as permanent settlers, and [...] thoroughly identified with the English settlers.’

Pressure to conform

There was no government interest in creating ethnically homogeneous schools for the minorities in New Zealand; they were all ‘English’ schools intended to turn children into ‘English’ adults. Some schools just happened to have pupils that started less English than others.

⁵¹⁶ Andresen, *Johanna’s World* 138-9

⁵¹⁷ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School* 114

⁵¹⁸ Andresen, *Johanna’s World* 139

⁵¹⁹ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 131

⁵²⁰ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 12.

⁵²¹ Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 1st March 1874, Table XIX, and; Immigration Office Special Settlements, 73/645 - 75/623, Halcombe to Immigration Office, 17 May, 1873, presented in Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 99.

As the bush schools grew there were two more factors in play with the Scandinavian children. In Dannevirke this was the influx of colonials, and in Norsewood mixed European arrivals, followed then by colonials. Many students arriving with new families (especially in Norsewood) could not speak to each other in their native tongues; German, Polish, Hungarian, and English. English may simply have been the accessible common tongue that the children could share.

The second factor is the balance between need for group inclusion versus identity as an individual. Children typically want to belong and not stand out enough to be considered outsiders. This includes their manner of speech. As Gordon summarised: 'Children have a powerful desire to fit in and not to sound different'.⁵²² This would have affected the growing vocabularies of the children, and been a goad to master English rather than just enduring it in the classroom, especially as native English-speakers continued to arrive. Even the choice of food to take to school could have impact on fitting in; a French naturalist visiting the Bush in 1882 received some delicious cake, braided and fried by his Scandinavian hosts. On departure he showed it to some local colonial children, who mocked it thoroughly. He remarked: 'That coarse ridicule of everything new is exquisitely English'.⁵²³

In 'English' schools in an 'English' colony, taught by English-speaking teachers amidst increasing numbers of English-speaking pupils, the pressures to be 'English' mounted for the children. How much these pressures motivated them to adopt language and cultural expressions to match the majority is speculative, but seems certain to have had an effect. Hirshman, in America's Melting Pot Reconsidered, described the assumption that immigrants or their children were eager to shed their heritage as patronising.⁵²⁴ But as María Torres-Guzmán described in *Sociocultural Contexts of Language and Literacy*; 'children become literate in the cultural image represented by their school'.⁵²⁵ For the Scandinavians, this certainly seemed the case.

English becomes dominant

The timeline of how much and how quickly communication among Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes was replaced by English is hard to quantify. Each family had different experiences in work, education, and society that modified persistence of old languages in the home, compared to the English they began using in public. The paring of language from Scandinavian identity began gently, with the addition of English words and use of English in public, something most migrants, the government, and colonial majority all welcomed. English was a language most Scandinavians seemed comfortable using

⁵²² Gordon, E. 'The New Zealand accent: a clue to New Zealand identity?' *NZ Education Journal*, 23 (2009) 48

⁵²³ A Scandinavian Interior. *Waipawa Mail*, Volume 5, Issue 417, 13 September 1882, Page 3

⁵²⁴ Hirshman, Charles 'America's Melting Pot Reconsidered', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9 (1983) 397-423, p.397

⁵²⁵ Torres-Guzmán, M. E. 'Language, Culture, and Literacy in Puerto Rican Communities', *Sociocultural Contexts of Language and Literacy*, Routledge (2004) 117

to supplement their own. Some mapping of the progression of English usage is possible through local and family histories. But it is apparent the primary break was between generations, dependent on whether a Scandinavian language was used in the home, or if a new spouse was English, which would have reduced the likelihood of a non-English language being taught to the children.

Scandinavians in Dannevirke ‘spoke English fluently’ by 1881, meeting the public facing need for the language in less than a decade. This is with ten families and single men from ‘English’ backgrounds being present by 1880.⁵²⁶ In religion, Lutherans began phasing in English services from 1891, due to attendance of children and spouses who knew only English.⁵²⁷ In 1893 Wesleyan services in Norwegian were replaced for congregations more comfortable with English.⁵²⁸ Pastor Sass recalled in his memoirs that the languages of the settlers were dying from the second generation ‘speaking only English’, and ‘neglecting the language[s] of their ancestors’. ‘Already now it is only spoken by the old colonists, and as these pass put, and the intermixture with Britishers becomes more profound, it disappears altogether.’⁵²⁹ But this observation seems to assume that the children were avoiding learning the languages of their parents, as opposed to not being taught them at all.

It is more difficult to quantify how rapidly Scandinavian languages were lost among those who settled in colonial communities, but with less use for it outside the home, and many marrying non-Scandinavians, it must have diminished at least as rapidly. Lyng refers simply to the Scandinavians who settled in cities assimilating into the English-speaking population quickly.⁵³⁰ It would have been an economic necessity.⁵³¹ Burr’s writing makes clear that native languages among Manawātū Scandinavians persisted for the first generation, but were not common to the second. In some,

⁵²⁶ *Dannevirke Borough Sixtieth Anniversary 1892-1952* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1952) 18

⁵²⁷ Christensen 12, and;

Burr, Val. *Mosquitoes & Sawdust: A History of Scandinavians in Early Palmerston North and Surrounding Districts* (‘Skandia II’) (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu, 1995) 137.

⁵²⁸ Arnold, *The Opening of the Great Bush*, 628, and;

Burr, *Mosquitoes & Sawdust*, 137.

⁵²⁹ Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 176

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.* 182-3, and;

[Supported by Johanna of Johanna’s World earning an English Grammar qualification during her first two years living in Napier prior to her move to Norsewood. She regarded learning English as critical for the migrants.] Andresen, *Johanna’s World* 126.

[As a contemporary example; two men who arrived aboard the *Friedeburg* in 1875 had no success in employment, travelling from Napier to Wellington and back again during that year. The New Zealand Herald attributed their failure to find work to a lack of English.]

New Zealand Herald, Volume XII, Issue 4361, 4 November 1875, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁵³¹ Hatton, Timothy. ‘The Immigrant Assimilation Puzzle in Late Nineteenth-Century America’, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol 57, No 1 (1997) 34-62, and;

Blau, Francine D. ‘Immigration and Labor Earnings in Early Twentieth Century America.’ *Research in Population Economics* 2 (1980): 21-41, and;

Hannon, Joan U. ‘Ethnic Discrimination in a Nineteenth Century Mining District: Michigan Copper Mines, 1888.’ *Explorations in Economic History* 19, no. 1 (1982) 28-50, and;

Rho, D. and S. Sanders, ‘Immigrant Earnings Assimilation in the United States: A Panel Analysis’, *Journal of Labor Economics*, Vol 31 No 1 (2021)

perhaps most families, the use of the old languages remained among those who learned them in Scandinavia, but they did not pass them on once in the colony.⁵³² Even among Scandinavians settled in communities initially stocked with their countrymen there are anecdotes of deliberate aversion to drawing children and grandchildren into old identities that did not fit as well with the majority. When Graeme Jensen corresponded with historian Val Burr in the 1980s, he recalled time spent with his grandfather Christian (arrived 1874 aboard the *Humbolt*). Graeme asked his grandfather to teach him some Danish. Christian refused, replying; 'New Zealand is a British Country – we must be like them and speak English.'⁵³³ A 1929 quote from an unnamed Norsewood settler offered a bleak perspective: 'The Norwegian language is dying out here. Even the children do not understand it. Only a few of us are left to take an interest in Norway and anything Norwegian.'⁵³⁴

The war of 1914-1918 would also have an effect; a profound one by multiple accounts. Both Petersen, writing of Seventy Mile Bush Scandinavians, and Burr, writing of Manawatū Scandinavians, make the point that during the war Scandinavian languages were deliberately curtailed by those still using them, likely because to a majority population with limited exposure to German the words of Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian may have sounded suspiciously alien at best, and outright Teutonic at worst. Burr relays further words from Christian Jensen, who had a pronounced accent and was conscious of ill-feeling toward 'foreigners' during the war (especially 'German' Danes from Schleswig-Holstein). He would tell visitors 'Here you must speak English! No Danish or German here!'⁵³⁵

Only English

There came a time in every household when the language spoken in private changed to match that spoken in public. But records to illuminate when this happened are not common.

For a Scandinavian marrying an English spouse the use of English in the home was necessary. There was little need for children in such a household to be taught both languages, especially with one having little utility. Rachel Johnson collated the history of her family in 'From Norway with Love', from their arrival aboard the first *Hovding* and settlement in Dannevirke with their three children (two born in Norway, and one aboard ship). Around 1880 they moved to a forested section outside Palmerston North, nine children in tow (including another six New Zealand born). In this new home Norwegian was deliberately suppressed, even between parent and child. The intention was to strengthen English fluency, especially for the children. Norwegian became a language only for the parents' bedroom,

⁵³² Burr, Val. *Early Manawatu Scandinavians (Skandia I)*, revised edition. (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu, 1999) 26.

⁵³³ Burr, *Early Manawatu Scandinavians* 32.

⁵³⁴ Koivukangas, Ølavi. *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992) 9.

⁵³⁵ Burr, *Early Manawatu Scandinavians* 31-2.

where Niels and Anna could speak with more intimacy than their command of English permitted. The children, including those born in Norway, all spoke English in the home, and Norwegian only occasionally.⁵³⁶ Some elements of the language did survive, after a fashion. Harold was Norwegian born, arriving in New Zealand as a boy of four. He married another Norwegian after moving to America, before returning to New Zealand with his new family. Here they had a daughter, Sigrid, who would bear her own daughter; Rachel, the family historian. Sigrid would remind Rachel to never forget her heritage, something Rachel clearly took to heart. When Rachel was a child Sigrid sang to her in Norwegian, teaching her the old songs Sigrid had learned when she was a child. But when Rachel sang them to her own children in turn, she did not understand the words.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁶ Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 109.

⁵³⁷ [Referring to 'lilting Norwegian' as 'their language'] Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 5-6.

9 - Scandinavian Publications in New Zealand

The failure of Scandinavian writing for cultural transmission in New Zealand.

In New Zealand there were no opportunities for Scandinavian authors to propagate their cultural heritage. While Scandinavian books reached New Zealand among migrant possessions, they were not plentiful. Many family collections were just a bible and book of psalms. Some collections in places like Norsewood were destroyed (1888), while others scattered with the families that owned them. Children of Scandinavian parents received less education in the written versions of Scandinavian languages than they did the spoken ones, leaving them unable to engage with the limited Scandinavian writings available.

Scandinavian literacy

Scandinavians in the 1870s were considered literate. Mostly. Featherston reported high literacy rates following his 1870 Norway visit; 'all being more or less educated : for education is compulsory, and all are obliged to undergo an examination at about sixteen years of age for confirmation [...]. If they fail to pass the examination, confirmation is refused, and they are obliged to attend the schools until they have attained the required standard, and until confirmed they cannot marry, and are subject to other disabilities.'⁵³⁸ While Featherston was referencing Norway specifically, similar systems were practiced in Sweden (since 1842), and Denmark (from 1814).

Attesting to this literacy; in the 1870s newspapers across Europe were the principal mode for news dissemination, official pronouncements, opinion sharing, and advertising. In Sweden a typical newspaper published 2-3 times weekly, four pages each, churned out on hand-cranked presses. Laws restricted printing to cities to facilitate government monitoring, requiring local publications be produced in cities, then shipped to where they were sold. And sold they did. Despite bottlenecking from old censorship laws, Swedish newspapers multiplied from 84 in 1860 to nearly 150 by 1880, serving a population of 4.6 million, with multiple papers in most cities.⁵³⁹ Denmark was similar, from 42 publications in 1849 to around 90 by 1880, serving a population of two million.⁵⁴⁰ Norway hosted

⁵³⁸ AJHR 1871 I D03a, No 1, Enc 1 (Memorandum on Immigration from the NZ Commissioners), p.5

⁵³⁹ Gustafsson, K. E. and P. Ryden, *A History of the Press in Sweden* (NORDICOM Gothenburg University, 2010) 98-9

⁵⁴⁰ As presented in 'The story of the national newspaper collection, The Royal Danish Library' accessed 16/09/2024, and History of Danish Newspaper Publishing, Danish Newspapers in the Library of Congress (undated) accessed 16/09/2024

around 65 by 1880, serving 1.9 million people.⁵⁴¹ Enough Scandinavians were literate to make newspapers a burgeoning business.

One counterpoint is Mauriceville, founded by Norwegian settlers in 1871. Petersen contends their literacy was so poor they were functionally illiterate. Many relied on their postmaster (Alexander Dreyer) to prepare their letters, and read to them letters received from Home.⁵⁴² There was also a notable lack of books present.⁵⁴³ Possibly, being from a remote and impoverished part of Norway (Odalen), they lacked access to Church education due to distance, or just prioritisation of their children's time.⁵⁴⁴ Whatever the reason, the Mauriceville settlers seem unique among Vogel's Scandinavians for their illiteracy.

Scandinavian publications brought to New Zealand

It has been posited that Scandinavian migrants did not bring much writing with them from Home, but this may be an overstatement. Petersen is clear that the settlers of Mauriceville brought very little literature. Lyng mentions multiple Scandinavian language libraries in Australia (even an import book club), but none in New Zealand.⁵⁴⁵ Andersen mentions no literary tradition among Norsewood settlers; parents did not teach the written languages of Home to their children, and had few publications to share with them anyway.⁵⁴⁶ But some publications did make it to New Zealand: In 1875 a 'Scandinavian literary society' was established in Wellington.⁵⁴⁷ Four years later, a Scandinavian Society (possibly the same literary society) was located on Taranaki Street, hosting a Scandinavian library and newspaper selection.⁵⁴⁸

In the Bush, however, options were limited. In 1879 a library was established in Ashley Clinton, with the press declaring beneficial the addition of Scandinavian books for local schools, implying a lack at the time. Whether any were obtained is unrecorded.⁵⁴⁹ There was also a collection of Scandinavian

⁵⁴¹ As per the collection held by the Nasjonal Biblioteket (Aviser/Newspapers), accessed 16/09/2024

⁵⁴² Purportedly a Dane from Slesvig, he was suspected of being a secret Prussian due to a facial scar that could have been from a duel. He was not well regarded.

Petersen, George Conrad. *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 35-6.

⁵⁴³ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 114.

⁵⁴⁴ This last point would be duplicated later among the children of Dannevirke and Norsewood, who spent much of the time they could have been in school (when there was a school to attend) attending instead to the family farm as a matter of economic necessity.

Ibid. 84 and 88, and;

Andersen, Archibald Leonard *Norsewood : the centennial story*. (A. L. Andersen, 1972), 18.

⁵⁴⁵ Lyng, *The Scandinavians*, 52 and 56-7.

⁵⁴⁶ *Reviewed Work: Norsewood. The Centennial Story. A history of the district of Norsewood by A. L. Andersen.*

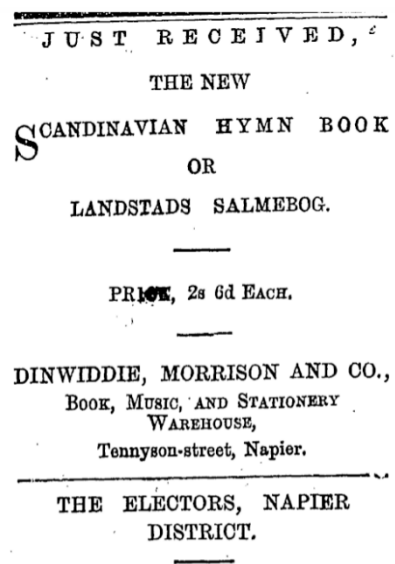
Review by: Hughes, S. F. D., *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (AUTUMN 1977) 499-502

⁵⁴⁷ Local And General News. *Colonist*, Volume XVII, Issue 1973, 30 September 1875, p.3, [LINK](#)

⁵⁴⁸ *New Zealand Times*, Volume XXXIV, Issue 5734, 15 August 1879, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁵⁴⁹ *Maraketu Settlements*. *Waipawa Mail*, Volume I, Issue 67, 3 May 1879, p.2, [LINK](#)

language newspapers at the Junction Hotel around 1882. Whether locally published in New Zealand or Australia, or actually from Scandinavia, is unrecorded.⁵⁵⁰ There was a collection of Scandinavian publications in the Norsewood home of J. Englebritsen, until its destruction in the fire of 1888.⁵⁵¹ ‘The Club and Scandinavian Library’ were also lost in the fire, although whether this was the Working Men’s Club and library, or the Working Men’s Club and Englebritsen’s library, is unclear.⁵⁵² Pastor Ries maintained a collection also lost in the 1888 fire; while digging a hole to shelter it near his home he was distracted by the need to save a neighbour from theirs, and lost everything before his books could be buried. Based on their mention as ‘a heavy loss’ it was likely a substantial collection for a small town.⁵⁵³ Others had their own modest collections, such as Niels Anderson’s family who carried a small selection of books from Norway.⁵⁵⁴ These references to small collections mesh well with the presence of Scandinavian publications from the 1870s and 80s currently held at the National Library.⁵⁵⁵



Some attempts were made to import publications from Scandinavia, but do not seem to have meaningfully added to the literary tradition of the migrants in New Zealand.

Page 3 Advertisements Column 1. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5359, 18 April 1879

Scandinavian publications in New Zealand

Being largely literate, and appreciating newspapers, it is no surprise Scandinavian periodicals appeared in New Zealand soon after the Scandinavians, despite the need for letters outside the English typeset.⁵⁵⁶ Brevduen (‘Carrier Pigeon’) was created by Reverend Nielsen in 1875, published with assistance from the Hawkes Bay Times. It did not last the year, limited perhaps by its Wesleyan

⁵⁵⁰ Although at least one local option was available around that time; the Evangelisk Luthersk Maanedsskrift Norsewood, Waipawa Mail, Volume 4, Issue 352, 25 January 1882, p.3, [LINK](#)

⁵⁵¹ Andersen, *Norsewood : the centennial story*, 61, and;

Scandinavian Studies, Autumn 1977, Vol 49, No 4, p.501 (referred from Hawke’s Bay Herald, 19 March 1888)

⁵⁵² Destructive Fires. Waipawa Mail, Volume XI, Issue 2112, 17 March 1888, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁵⁵³ The Norsewood Sufferers. Waipawa Mail, Volume XI, Issue 2117, 29 March 1888, p.2 [LINK](#)

⁵⁵⁴ [The first *Hovding* in 1872] Johnson, R. M. (2006). *From Norway with Love*. (Rachel M. Johnson) 59.

⁵⁵⁵ Dunick, Mark Edward. *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand* (Doctoral dissertation, Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, 2022) 149.

⁵⁵⁶ In Danish and Norwegian; Å, Æ, and Ø, and in Swedish; Å, Ä and Ö

subscriber base.⁵⁵⁷ Also that year, *Skandia* was published by Hjalmar Graff, intended for a broad Scandinavian audience. It received funding from Brevduen, which Hjalmar helped edit.⁵⁵⁸ In Hjalmar's words; '[despite being] a journal printed in a foreign tongue [...] *Skandia* aims, not at separating, but at amalgamating the English and Norse elements of New Zealand.' The intention was to educate Scandinavians in the language, laws, business traits, and events of the colony they were living in.⁵⁵⁹ Despite advertisements throughout communities where Scandinavians congregated, the fortnightly paper folded quickly.⁵⁶⁰ In July 1881 came the *Evangelisk Luthersk Maanedsskrift* by reverend Sass.⁵⁶¹ It was popular, but not enough to be financially viable. It folded later that year, leaving its Napier publisher to take a loss.⁵⁶²

In 1896 pastor Ries tried to rally support for *Hjemlandstoner* ('Homeland Tones'), a secular magazine popular with Scandinavians in Melbourne. Ries thought it would be welcome in New Zealand. But distributing a non-religious tract rankled the Australian Synod. In 1898 another periodical was considered; *Kirketidende* ('Church newspaper'), also of Melbourne, published as a spiritual counter to *Hjemlandstoner*. The publisher was provided funding, but once expended subscriptions proved insufficient; *Kirketidende* also folded.⁵⁶³ In 1915 a final attempt was made; the *Scandinavian Lutheran Weekly*.⁵⁶⁴ While intended for Danish readers it was published in alternating Danish and English editions, due to a lack of settler descendants understanding anything but English. The *Weekly* ended in 1916.⁵⁶⁵

Other examples of publicly accessible Scandinavian publications are sparse. For the first decade after settlement advertisements for shops and services were common in Scandinavian

⁵⁵⁷ [Nielson reports a subscriber base of 260 people.] Wesleyan Church. Wanganui Chronicle, Volume XVIII, Issue 2904, 13 November 1875, p.2, [LINK](#), and; [Short lived publication] Lyng, *The Scandinavians*, 180, and; Culliford, A. F. and R. I. Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School 1874 - 1949* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1949), 88.

⁵⁵⁸ Petersen, *Forest Homes*, 114.

⁵⁵⁹ New Zealand Times, Volume XXX, Issue 4580, 24 November 1875, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁵⁶⁰ Advertised in the West Coast Times, New Zealand Times, Grey River Argus, Wanganui Chronicle, Wairarapa Standard, Lyttelton Times, Star (Christchurch), the Evening Post (Wellington) as well as carriers with broader geographic reach such as the New Zealand Times, New Zealand Mail, and Globe.

⁵⁶¹ New Publication. Waipawa Mail, Volume 3, Issue 302, 3 August 1881, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁵⁶² *Christensen Family Papers* 16

⁵⁶³ Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 180-1.

⁵⁶⁴ Produced by Pastor Bach, a Danish Lutheran and longtime contact of Sass from the Inland Mission in Denmark, and latecomer to New Zealand.

⁵⁶⁵ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 115-6, and; Scandinavian Studies, Autumn 1977, Vol 49, No 4, p.501

languages.⁵⁶⁶ But they become less so from 1883, with the last found in the Hawke's Bay region being in 1887 for an Ormondville store owned by J. J. Browne.⁵⁶⁷

**J. J. BROWNE,
GENERAL STOREKEEPER,
ORMONDVILLE.**

J. J. BROWNE takker sine SKANDI-
NAVISKE KUNDER for den
stadige Understøttelse, de har ydet ham i
hans Forretning i Fortiden og haaber, at
de fremdeles vil vedblive at handle hos
ham.

Han har fremdeles det største Lager
Skoven af COLONIAL—MANUFACT U
og GALLANTERI—HANDEL
Jernvarer og Agerbrugsgjenstande i stort
Udvalg.

Han har ogsaa gjort Arrangement med
Messrs Neal and Close (som har den største
Klædes-handel i Napier) saaat han kan
skaffe sine Kunder Prøver paa alle Slags
Klædesvarer til de BILLIGSTE PRISER paa
den KORTESTE NOTICE.

Agent for New Zealand Ild Assurance.
Opkjøber af Eg, Smør og andre Landbrugs-
Producter i Udveksling for Varer hele
Aaret igjennem. 260

*The most recent Scandinavian language
advertisement found by this author; 1887.*

*Page 1 Advertisements Column 5. Waipawa Mail,
Volume X, Issue 1030, 6 January 1887*

Later still, Scandinavian books were purchased in 1891 by the Dannevirke Library, an event notable enough to be newsworthy and a discussion point for the Dannevirke Library Committee and Norsewood Library Secretary, indicating the arrival of Scandinavian books was uncommon.⁵⁶⁸

But few Scandinavians were striving to keep their heritage alive by writing in the old languages. As Burr would put it; 'There are no Journals, letters, or diaries [...]'⁵⁶⁹ Some made the attempt, such as aspiring poet Lars Schou, who penned *Fremad Paany* in 1910. It was not a critical success, or popular, and featured use of 'creative Danish'. The poem was interpreted by Petersen as illustrating how well-advanced transition from the heritage of Home was.⁵⁷⁰

Kuldkepp asserts that literature and journalism are important for preservation of cultural identity. He focuses on America, where large numbers of Scandinavians lived in homogenous communities, with populations sufficient for Scandinavian books to be reprinted locally in the languages they were

⁵⁶⁶ Interestingly many seemed to be in Swedish, perhaps due to the less alien nature of the special letters required of the printers, despite the larger number of Danes.

⁵⁶⁷ [The last found by this author, for a general store in Ormondville owned by a Mr Browne] Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1030, 6 January 1887, Page 1, [LINK](#)

⁵⁶⁸ District and General. Bush Advocate, Volume VII, Issue 480, 11 June 1891, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁵⁶⁹ Burr, Val. *Early Manawatu Scandinavians (Skandia I)*, revised edition. (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu, 1999) Int.

⁵⁷⁰ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 117.

authored in.⁵⁷¹ Hundreds of Scandinavian language newspapers were published in America from 1851.⁵⁷² They were sustained via advertising from businesses wanting access to sizeable subscription bases, the kind of bases that periodicals in New Zealand lacked. The majority of American newspapers published in Scandinavian languages only switched to English during the interwar period.

In New Zealand there was a far smaller number of Scandinavians, and a lack of literacy in the old languages propagated down the generations, with no evidence in local or family histories of parents teaching children to read and write in the old languages, and no attempt in schools to teach anything but English by design. Failure to teach their children left the number of Scandinavians literate in the languages of Home diminishing over time. The cultural connection that Home publications could have supported was left instead to come orally, or via occasional letters shared by those who could read them with those who could not. The lack of written continuation contributed to a lack of cultural continuance; stories of Home were more easily lost when the children could not read what few books had made the voyage with their parents.

⁵⁷¹ Kuldkepp, Mart. 'Emigration and Scandinavian Identity'. *Introduction to Nordic Cultures*, 181-94 (University College London, 2020) 186.

⁵⁷² Although a Danish newspaper, the *Fædrelandet* ('The Fatherland'), was being reprinted in America from as early as 1839. From 'Newspapers: Denmark, Scandinavian Studies', UCLA Library (accessed 19/09/2024)

10 – Old identities, cultural expression, and heritage pride

The cultural identity of the Scandinavians, and its intersection with New Zealand colonials

As was inevitable the sudden translation into an entirely new and strange environment and way of life had a vital effect on the customs, crafts, and general outlook of the people.

Petersen, *Forest Homes* 14.

'Don't be different, look forward and not to the past. Put Danish ways behind you'.

Unattributed quote, presented in the 'Berntsen' family file,
held by the Dannevirke Gallery of History

When arriving in New Zealand, Vogel's Scandinavians bore no identity but that of home. Most had minimal experience with other cultures, barring geographically (and often culturally) close neighbours, and accounts relayed second-hand by sailors and emigrants. Once settled in the Bush, they expressed their own cultures, at home and in public, as they had back Home. But, over time, most shed the old ways, at least in public, and adopted the more 'English' ones of the colony. Along the way they lost some of the uniqueness from their Home nations, becoming more generically 'Scandinavian', but did not maintain enough of a sense of difference from the colonial majority to develop a pluralist identity. Most did not become Scandinavian-New Zealanders, they became New Zealanders who happened to be from Scandinavia, a heritage celebrated for generations but which left their descendants essentially colonial New Zealanders, just like the children of the English, Welsh, Scots, and Irish before them.

The similarities between Scandinavian cultures...

It is a common perception that Scandinavian cultures are a single culture with localised window dressing. But for all their similarities, Scandinavians do not share much of a unified identity. The similarities between the three nations are the result of proximity, overlapping geography, and the resulting interwoven histories. But each of the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish settlers who emigrated carried with them the identity of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden more so than Scandinavia, at least as far as the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes were concerned.

Religion was one of the strongest shared elements, and repeatedly. A singular pagan faith emerged in northern Europe during the bronze-age/iron-age transition, common to Scandinavia, Germany, Poland, and the Baltics, until Catholicism arrived in the 9th century, and re-arrived in the 11th

after the Viking upheavals.⁵⁷³ It would grow to become the dominant religion, before being jettisoned again.⁵⁷⁴ During the Reformation the Catholic Church was literally outlawed as rulers shed the influence of Bishops, seized assets, and used them to build the foundations of the Lutheran Church. With the might of government behind it, the Lutheran Church grew swiftly, absorbing by default most Catholics and leaving the remainder to furtively practice their religion in secret. Lutheranism became ubiquitous across Scandinavia, and was still by the time Vogel's recruiters came calling.

There were strong linguistic similarities as well, with sufficient similar words to allow limited verbal communication, especially between Norwegians and Danes.⁵⁷⁵ The literate could also leverage similarities between written languages, where the largest differences were spelling, punctuation, and presence of special characters.

There were also environmental similarities. Harsh winters halted agriculture, pushing rural men to other trades when fields were frozen, a factor in their desirability for the Vogel scheme. Both Sweden and Norway, heavily forested, had with no shortage of axemen, adding further to their appeal. Each also boasted strong seafaring and fishing cultures, Norway especially so.

... and the limitations of a unified Scandinavian identity

Despite similarities and common foundations, and although the term 'Scandinavian' has been used frequently in this thesis, and by the governments and newspapers of the day, the perception by Scandinavian migrants of their own identity does not seem to have been a unified one. The Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes were three culturally similar peoples from three nations with similar but distinct languages, and it was these national identities that they carried abroad.

Close links existed for centuries via trade and easy mobility, but this also supported raids and invasions, leaving the political reality that emerged full of amalgamations and schisms. Denmark and Norway united under one monarchy from 1380, with the addition of Sweden in 1397 creating the Kalmar Union. The Union dissolved in 1536 when King Vasa wrested Swedish independence from the increasingly Danish dominated Union at the same time he was undoing the Catholic Church. Denmark and Norway parted in 1814, when Norway switched from rule by the Danish crown to an autonomous

⁵⁷³ Stockholms Katolska Stift [Catholic Diocese of Stockholm]- Dioecesis Holmiensis, 'The history of the Catholic Church in Sweden', accessed 24/04/2025

⁵⁷⁴ [Sweden during the 1520s, Denmark starting from 1526, and Norway around 1537.] Markkola, Pirja. 'The Long History of Lutheranism in Scandinavia. From State Religion to the People's Church', *Perichoresis*, Volume 13, Issue 2 (2015), 3-15, p.6, and; Stockholms Katolska Stift [Catholic Diocese of Stockholm] - Dioecesis Holmiensis, 'The history of the Catholic Church in Sweden' - accessed 24/04/2025

⁵⁷⁵ The similarities overall were thanks to proximity and a common Germanic root, with Danish and Norwegian the most similar. As the old Swedish joke goes; if you want to teach a Norwegian to speak Danish, first find a potato small enough they can roll it around in their mouth.

parliament under the Swedish Crown, before a peaceful but acrimonious separation in 1905.⁵⁷⁶ Political ambition could not make three similar peoples into one, even over centuries.

Scandinavian identities in New Zealand

On arrival the Scandinavians clustered by nationality, something recognised by the colonial government in initial placements.⁵⁷⁷ They expressed a preference for their own, although this could also be due to linguistic compatibility, or relationships formed aboard ship as each vessel mostly carried people from a single nation.⁵⁷⁸ Notable during the founding of Dannevirke, despite a ballot for section allocation, the *Ballarat* Danes managed to claim the area they favoured, leaving the *Hovding* Norwegians and Swedes to cluster nearby.⁵⁷⁹ None of the *Ballarat* Danes settled with the *Hovding* Norwegians during the establishment of Norsewood.

Labelling of the roads snaking from the special settlements attest to later arrivals clustering as well. In Norsewood Danes arriving on the *Fritz Reuter* (1875) gathered around the Ormondville road in such numbers it became known as 'the Danish Line'. Germans from the *Fritz Reuter* settling in Norsewood clustered as well, making the road to Te Whiti the 'German Line'.⁵⁸⁰ In Dannevirke, meanwhile, the road north became the 'Norwegian Line'. These unofficial labels were so salient some were recorded in the 1886 census.⁵⁸¹

However, it is not clear later clustering was actually by preference. Whether the *Ballarat* Danes or *Hovding* Norwegians clustered because of identity, or language, or new friendships, has not been recorded.⁵⁸² It is also unclear whether later clustering represented preference, or was an emergent property of two factors; new sections being surveyed and made available in blocks, and

⁵⁷⁶ The Norwegian parliament held a referendum on whether Norway should become a republic, but the people overwhelmingly wanted a monarch. Casting about for such a leader, the parliament offered the throne of Norway to Prince Carl of Denmark. He accepted, changing his name to Haakon, but no political subservience to Denmark occurred.

Dissolution of the Union 1905 (The Royal House of Norway), accessed 13/02/2025

⁵⁷⁷ AJHR 1871 I D03a, No 6 (telegram; Cooper to the Provincial Secretary, Dunedin, 10 February 1871) 7, and; George Conrad Petersen, *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 17.

⁵⁷⁸ People like Emanuel Fredericksen of Sweden who sailed from Norway with a shipload of Norwegians were the exceptions, crossing a border to join a ship sailing from a port in another nation.

⁵⁷⁹ McDonald, Rob. *Dannevirke : The Early Years* (Rod McDonald, 2002), 44.

⁵⁸⁰ Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 45.

⁵⁸¹ [Danish Line, German Line] Chapter 26. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN COUNTY RIDINGS. RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND taken for the night of the 28th March 1886, and; [The German Line would be formally renamed Allies Road at a later date.] Culliford, A. F. and R. I. Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School 1874 - 1949* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1949), 94.

⁵⁸² Petersen relates how some Danes and Norwegians bonded across national boundaries aboard their vessels, over a shared hatred of the Germans. Petersen, *Forest Homes* 17.

migrant vessels carrying people that hailed mostly from the same region all arriving on one vessel together, thus settling in the newly surveyed blocks together, creating an impression of choice. Regardless, European migrants, on arrival to the Bush, settled largely with their own.

The identity of the settlements

The question should be asked: Did the Danish make a Danish Dannevirke? Did the Norwegians make a Norwegian Norsewood? For Norsewood the answer is 'yes, but briefly', as colonial settlers would begin to arrive in numbers from the early 1880s, after migrant vessels stopped bringing new blood and refreshing old identities. For Dannevirke the answer would be 'not really', as the initial settlement was mixed from the start (Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes), with colonials also arriving a decade later, once the majority of the original settlers had either left or were poised to go.⁵⁸³

With their willingness to move as economic opportunities led, it seems likely the settlers were not much bothered by the loss of cultural hegemony. They knew when they signed their agreements they were sailing to a foreign land, not a Scandinavian one. Thus, national identities were initially strong, and remained demonstrably so during the Lutheran Schism, and earlier in occasional animosities reported by Halcombe between Danes and Norwegians in Palmerston North.⁵⁸⁴ The initial unity within each community was necessitated by isolation, and the attendant requirement to support each other as much as possible.⁵⁸⁵

But Petersen's observations on the nature of the settlements was that while they had identities based on the nationalities that settled them, they were still somewhat mixed (including Norsewood when Danes and Germans arrived), leading to little unified identity by nationality across each community.⁵⁸⁶ Mingling between Scandinavian cultures seems to have diluted them together, as 'differences which were more evident in the homelands tended to merge [...]'.⁵⁸⁷ The majority colonial population had experienced this themselves over decades, as English, Welsh, Irish, and Scottish settlers mixed, and class distinctions diminished. Colonial groups in New Zealand tended to gravitate, breaking down social walls and allowing unions unlikely in older places.⁵⁸⁸ But for the Scandinavians

⁵⁸³ [Only 6 of 22 original settler families remained by 1887] Our Bush Settlements. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1062, 22 March 1887, p.4, [LINK](#), and; McDonald, *Dannevirke* 65.

⁵⁸⁴ AJHR 1872 I D-01, No 45, and Enc 1 (Memorandums for the Agent-General, London, and for the Hon. J. D. Ormond) p.50

⁵⁸⁵ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 63.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 17

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 76

⁵⁸⁸ Grigg, A. R. (1973). *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian immigration, 1870-1876*. (Dissertation, BA (Hons), University of Otago) 73, and Millen, Julia. *Colonial Tears & Sweat* (Reed, 1984) 4

there was a greater distance to 'colonial' culture, requiring the discarding of some old practices, and assumption of new ones.

The old ways; cultural practices from the Old World

Cultural practices can be as ubiquitous as language and diet, or as occasional as festivals and celebrations. They can be loosely grouped as those of the home; performed in private with family and among friends, and those expressed publicly, sometimes as a community.

Tracking changes to the culture of the home is challenging, with few sources available outside memoirs and family histories. A common assumption is that home changes occur generationally; people raised in one culture cling to it (or aspects of it), while their children, growing up in a culturally mixed environment, adopt new practices as they grow-up engaging with new people. Some notable home practices that came with the Scandinavians included women wearing embroidered aprons and head-kerchiefs, and attempts to use clogs for bush work. The clogs did not last long in the bush, although longer in the home. But aprons and kerchiefs (carefully embroidered), were a long-term staple of Sunday best among the first generation.⁵⁸⁹ Wives spinning wool and making it into clothes for family was also a Scandinavian practice, one not practiced by colonial women.⁵⁹⁰ Broadly speaking, culinary traditions can be the most resistant to change.⁵⁹¹ In New Zealand old recipes persisted after old languages had faded from common use, although snippets of those languages persisted in the names of dishes.⁵⁹² And at some point Christmas in Norsewood (initially celebrated on the Eve, as it is across Scandinavia) normalised to Christmas Day.⁵⁹³

Publicly performed cultural practices, however, did not last as long. An example introduced by the Danes was Ringriderfest. Originally an annual festival, it featured wire rings suspended from posts, which men would spear on blunt lances from horseback. This improved horse handling, physical prowess, hand-eye coordination, and helped prepare young men for the rigours of war. The post-medieval reality was it made an excellent excuse for a mixer at the winner's celebration. The event must have been revived sometime after the Danes reached the colony, as the ring-riders needed to acquire something to ride on. It would have taken time to purchase enough mounts, although the migrants apparently began buying quickly from local Māori.⁵⁹⁴ Thus, it represented either a deliberate

⁵⁸⁹ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 79.

⁵⁹⁰ Masterton. Wellington Independent, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3561, 27 July 1872, p.2, [LINK](#), and; Untitled. Tuapeka Times, Volume V, Issue 232, 11 July 1872, p.5, [LINK](#)

⁵⁹¹ Spiro, M. 'The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups', *American Anthropologist* 57:6, Part 2 (December 1955) 1240-1252, p.1249

⁵⁹² Petersen, *Forest Homes* 79-80, and; Andresen, *Johanna's World* 118.

⁵⁹³ Andresen, Øystein Molstad. *Johanna's World* (Viking Sevensseas NZ Ltd, 2001) 118.

⁵⁹⁴ The Scandinavians in Hawke's Bay. West Coast Times, Issue 2391, 31 May 1873, page 2

attempt to revive something of Home culture, was a familiar excuse for a fun day and a mixer, or a combination of both. Petersen does not detail why Ringriderfest was practiced, or the timeframe, but considered devolution into 'tilting the ring' practiced during general sports days (before it disappeared altogether) as a mark of the old customs slipping away.⁵⁹⁵

A common but less celebratory practice that also faded was the strewing of greenery ahead of a coffin on the way to burial. Green leaves and branches would be thrown to cover the ground and road in front of houses passed by the procession, while the raw earth of the filled grave would also be covered in green.⁵⁹⁶ When this practice ended is not clear.

The settlers overall experienced a hard scrabble life; clearing, burning, building, suffering privations caused by isolation and poverty. So, people sought social engagement and to have a good time however they could. Coming together to share a meal with other families was commonplace, especially on Sundays, with large gatherings to eat and dance being popular.⁵⁹⁷ Petersen writes of dinners and dances being held under the trees until buildings were raised to better serve, and McDonald relates an enthusiastic 1872 Christmas gathering, even though times were especially hard.⁵⁹⁸ Storekeeper Allardice contributed by building a stable next to his Dannevirke shop, which was as popular for dancing as it was for keeping horses.⁵⁹⁹ However, other than the songs sung and music danced to, and some of the foods present, these gatherings would have been very similar to those conducted in every settlement in the colony.⁶⁰⁰ But they were also a key way that, as the 1870s closed, Scandinavians and the first of the colonials arriving in the bush would gather, and 'happily mix'.⁶⁰¹

(The purchase of horses was likely a priority, even with debts to pay, as they would have allowed men working the roads to travel to and from their homes more easily).

⁵⁹⁵ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 74-5.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 111.

⁵⁹⁷ Vaughan, Charles J. 'Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehdorf', *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 45.

⁵⁹⁸ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 76-77, and;

McDonald, *Dannevirke* 48.

⁵⁹⁹ McDonald, *Dannevirke*, 61.

In December of 1872 a travelling reporter wrote of a hotel 'in the middle of the seventy mile bush', likely the original Tamaki hotel in Tahoraiti. Drinking began early and in excess, even on Sunday, with Māori women present and popular, and the bacchanals continuing into the small hours. That Scandinavians were involved among the present 'Europeans' is plausible, based on proximity.

Manawatu Gorge Seventy-Mile Bush. Wellington Independent, Volume XXVII, Issue 3673, 6 December 1872, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

Vaughan, Charles J. *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished), 54

⁶⁰⁰ Scandinavians seem to have had a reputation for delighting in social gatherings, and for conducting them frequently.

Norsewood. Waipawa Mail, Volume XII, Issue 2250, 21 February 1889, Page 2, and;

Mortensen, Hans P. *Reminiscences of the early pioneers of Norsewood* (unpublished, NAT LIB, MS-Papers-3595), 16-18.

⁶⁰¹ McDonald, *Dannevirke* 61.

The loss of cultural connections with Home were mourned by some. Some old settlers spoke with affection of 'gamle Danmark' (old Denmark), although this likely reflected 'rose-tinted' memories.⁶⁰² Ultimately the settlers were severed from elements of their past that were embodied in the places they came from; locations in their homelands tied to old stories, and to which they held a sense of connection. This contributed to a sense of loss, but also hastened the process of assimilation for many by severing a source of resistance to it; in the new environment there was a diminished sense of being connected to the old one.⁶⁰³ It must be said however, that the 'few' settlers of Norsewood referenced in the 1922 Jubilee that rejected, or never fully developed facility with English, likely relinquished as few of their old cultural practices as possible.

Expressing something new

Migrant communities in rural locations, sufficiently isolated, can be enduring in persistence of old country traditions, languages, beliefs, and other cultural expressions.⁶⁰⁴ The Dalmations of Puhoi stand as a particularly New Zealand example, retaining distinct cultural practices until the interwar period (to this day retaining a strong, albeit symbolic, ethnic identity).⁶⁰⁵

For the Scandinavians cultural endurance certainly persisted during the isolation period of the bush communities. Koivukangas describes the Scandinavians as maintaining their traditions for 'decades' in their 'isolated group settlements.'⁶⁰⁶ Borrie, in his terse and certain fashion, described the Scandinavians as having a quality of 'assimilability', commenting on the 'remarkable ease and rapidity with which assimilation took place'.⁶⁰⁷ The reality was more nuanced; a mix of the two. The traditions of the home persisted (such as embroidered aprons and culinary practices), while intersections between Scandinavian and colonial populations promoted rapid adoption of more 'English' practices in public. Other than a few holdouts, the Scandinavians do not seem to have tried to maintain their own practices in the face of this. Those they displayed (like ringriderfest once they acquired horses) were more likely an excuse to gather and have a good time, rather than a calculated attempt to

⁶⁰² Petersen, *Forest Homes* 132.

⁶⁰³ Based on implications from Massey's work 'Places and their Pasts', regarding an individual's sense of connection to a place, and the sense of identification drawn from their relationship with it. Massey, Diane. 'Places and Their Pasts' *History Workshop Journal* Issue 39 (1995) 182-92, and; Petersen, *Forest Homes* 79 and 81-2.

⁶⁰⁴ Pozzetta, George E. (Ed.) *Assimilation, Acculturation, and Social Mobility* (Garland Publishing, 1991) vii

⁶⁰⁵ Procházková, Jana. 'Bohemians in New Zealand – The History and Present Situation of the Puhoi Village' *Český Lid*, Vol. 97 (Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, 2010)

⁶⁰⁶ Koivukangas, Ølavi, *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992) 9.

⁶⁰⁷ Borrie, Wilfred. D. *Immigration to New Zealand 1854 - 1938* (Australian National University, 1991) 129 and 286

maintain an identity separate from the majority, based on how quickly these practices faded, replaced with new ones.

A key aspect was the desire to publicly demonstrate new loyalties. Notable was the 1879 Queen's Birthday celebration, years before the colonial influx into the Bush communities became significant. The celebration was described as lively, with prominent English colours presented 'as a token of respect for and incontestable proof of [the Scandinavian's] loyalty to Queen Victoria.' Proof of

SCANDINAVIAN LOYALTY.—The Scandinavian settlements, Norsewood and Danevirk, presented a lively scene on the Queen's Birthday. - Holiday festivities were freely engaged in. English colours, fixed in every prominent position along the line, floated in the gentle breezes. This, our informant states, was done as a token of respect for and incontestable proof of their loyalty to Queen Victoria.

*Waipawa Mail, Volume I, Issue 75,
31 May 1879, Page 2*

loyalty to the Crown, the colony, and (by extension) to the people of their new home would have been important. There had previously been some anti-migrant sentiment; vitriolic opinion pieces appeared occasionally in newspapers regarding the cultural dangers of bringing non-English to settle, the risk of labour market saturation and wage depression, the risk of importing smallpox and other diseases, and aggrievement over the deferred purchase deals and government work Vogel was gifting the foreigners.⁶⁰⁸ But these sentiments had largely disappeared by the late 1870s, sometimes being answered directly by positive opinion pieces.⁶⁰⁹ As Lochore described them; the Scandinavians were 'the least alien of aliens'.⁶¹⁰ Nativism expressed against them, and the nativism they experienced day to day, were different beasts; opposition was rhetorical, confined to editorials, and aimed more at the idea of the localised foreigner than the local who happened to be a foreigner. Little direct hostility

⁶⁰⁸ Grigg, *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian Immigration* 112-3, and;

On news of the *Celaeno* approaching: '...there is no denying the fact that for every one of [the Swedes] employed one of us must be discharged [...]'.
To the Editor of the Evening Post. Evening Post, Volume VI, Issue 291, 24 January 1871, p.2, [LINK](#);

Petition that colonials should receive the same cheap land on deferred payments as the migrants.
Memorial to the Superintendent of Wellington. Evening Post, Volume VII, Issue 7, 16 February 1871, p.2, [LINK](#)

Scandinavians feared to be bringing small-pox into the colony, and prompting tax increases:
The Scandinavian Immigrants. (From the Otago Daily Times.) Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 44, 22 March 1872, p.2, [LINK](#), and;

Evening Post, Volume VII, Issue 338, 15 March 1872, p.2 [LINK](#), and;
Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 124, 27 June 1872, p.2, [LINK](#), and;
Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 131, 9 July 1872, p.2, [LINK](#)

Scandinavian migrants blamed for Featherston not being able to send more English to the colony.

Evening Post, Volume VIII, Issue 110, 11 June 1872, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁶⁰⁹ The Libel on the Scandinavian Settlers, Waipawa Mail, Vol I, Issue 71, 17 May 1879, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁶¹⁰ Lochore, R. A. *From Europe to New Zealand : An Account of our Continental European Settlers* (A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1951), 18.

seems to have been experienced as the Scandinavians established themselves, an important factor in their assimilation.⁶¹¹

But nativism, or its spectre, may have influenced Scandinavians taking up public facing colonial practices.⁶¹² Contemporary research has identified ‘pseudo-acculturation’; participation in activities like team sports to reduce potential friction with host communities, via cultivation of ‘cultural capital’.⁶¹³ When in Rome, do as the Romans do. However, many colonial traits adopted by the Scandinavians were likely as much about fun as fitting in. Scandinavians were playing cricket with the runholders of Tahoraiti by late 1875, despite scarce practice spaces, and the logistics of getting from their sections to the Tamaki Cricket Club.⁶¹⁴ Given that in 1875 most contact with colonials was either outside their Scandinavian communities (working the roads) or limited in scope (shopkeepers and teachers), the cricket played in Tahoraiti was likely more for a good time than for cultivating ‘cultural capital’. The new migrants were reaching outward, not turning inward. The playing of cricket stuck, with multiple clubs emerging through the 1880s as more colonials arrived.⁶¹⁵ By 1886 the settlements were playing club cricket against other communities, including in that year; Makotuku vs Dannevirke, Dannevirke vs Woodville, Makotuku vs Norsewood, and Dannevirke vs Norsewood.⁶¹⁶ Player names indicate a strong Scandinavian presence on many teams (especially Norsewood), but the scoring suggests that cricket was not yet in their blood.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹¹ There is an amusing anecdote of a Norwegian in Palmerston North whose command of English was not ideal. He purchased some locally made furniture and was delighted with the quality. Wanting to express his happiness to the storeman, he returned to the shop to tell him he’d done a good job and was a smart fellow, saying; “You do good yob, you tink you pretty fart smellah huh”. He received a black eye for his efforts. Johnson, Rachel M. *From Norway with Love*. (Rachel M. Johnson, 2006) 190.

⁶¹² Worth mentioning is the impact of the First World War, during which communities renamed Scandinavian streets to sound less German, devotions to King and Country became ‘commonplace’, and Scandinavian sons, such as those of Knud Jensen, marched to war; some to relieve the suspicion their families were under as foreigners.

Burr, Val. *Early Manawatu Scandinavians (Skandia I)*, revised edition. (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu, 1999) 31, and;

Burr, Val. *Mosquitoes & Sawdust: A History of Scandinavians in Early Palmerston North and Surrounding Districts (‘Skandia II’)* (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu, 1995) 140-1, and; Petersen, *Forest Homes*, 132-3.

⁶¹³ Pringle, Richard and Lucen Liu, ‘Mainland Chinese first-generation immigrants and New Zealanders’ views on sport participation, race/ethnicity and the body: Does sport participation enhance cultural understandings?’ *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2023, Vol 58(4), 725-745, and; Reiss, Steven A. ‘A Fighting Chance: The Jewish-American Boxing Experience, 1890-1940’, *American Jewish History*, 74 (March 1985) 233-254

⁶¹⁴ Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 79, and; McDonald, *Dannevirke* 61.

⁶¹⁵ [Waipawa Cricket Club established] Waipawa Mail, Volume 5, Issue 419, 20 September 1882, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁶¹⁶ Makotuku-Dannevirke Cricket Match. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1004, 2 November 1886, p.4, [LINK](#) and; Cricket Match Norsewood v. Denevirke. Waipawa Mail, Volume X, Issue 1022, 14 December 1886, p.4, [LINK](#)

⁶¹⁷ In two innings the Mauriceville team of Scandinavians, no doubt New Zealand born, produced only 82 runs, against a single innings by the mostly colonial New Zealand players of Opaki returning 112. Cricket. Opaki, v Mauriceville. Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume VIII, Issue 2451 (13 November 1886) p.2, [LINK](#)

Heritage pride in the settlements

During the establishment period, with limited exposure to colonial culture, the cultural practices of Home dominated. 'These early settlers, mostly Scandinavians, [...] lived in tight groups, maintaining their customs and supporting each other. [...] kindred souls nourishing a love of the past, thus making the present tolerable through companionship.'⁶¹⁸ But over time, with an ever-increasing colonial presence, the Scandinavians remaining in their settlements largely accepted entry into majority culture, even actively pursuing it, rather than clinging to old ways. In public they began to play cricket, while their children absorbed colonial culture in their very English schools, especially once colonial children flowed into them. The 'least alien of aliens' did not have far to go to be 'English' enough to fit in. But while cultural practices were being replaced, celebrations of heritage and identity still occurred.

In 1897 the Norsewood Jubilee was held to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the towns founding, and the pioneers who struggled to make it happen. Much was made of the heritage pride of the remaining settlers. During the opening a Norwegian flag was raised to a cheer. An oak was planted, and music played during the afternoon. But the music was 'English', and of the eleven speeches made, only one was in 'Scandinavian'.⁶¹⁹ Unsurprising, given that of the estimated 1,000 attendees, only the surviving original settlers and perhaps a few of their descendants would have understood. A Golden Jubilee was held in 1922 for the 50th Anniversary of the settlement, this time with several hundred attending. The Norwegian flag was raised once more, another oak planted, and a plaque dedicated; in English. Again, only one of the speeches was given in Norwegian.⁶²⁰ In 1932 a Diamond Jubilee was held. All of the speeches were in English. The only Scandinavian element, other than the lineage of some of the attendees, was the Norwegian spruce planted for the occasion.⁶²¹ In Dannevirke, so much more a colonial community from early on, there were no such Jubilees.⁶²²



Norsewood jubilee plaques for 1922 and 1932, at the oak planted in 1897

⁶¹⁸ Christie, Poula. 'Danish Yesterdays in New Zealand', *Danish Emigration to New Zealand* (Danes Worldwide Archives, 1990) 25-26

⁶¹⁹ 1872-1897 Norsewood Silver Jubilee, reprinted from the *Bush Advocate*, September 25th, 1897, in the Culliford, A. F. and R. I. Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School 1874 - 1949* (Dannevirke Publishing Company, 1949) 136-144

⁶²⁰ Fifty Years Old, *Daily Telegraph* (Napier), Volume 52, Issue 196, 21 September 1922, p.3, [LINK](#)

⁶²¹ Diamond Jubilee, *Waipukurau Press*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 229, 21 September 1932, p.3, [LINK](#)

⁶²² Jubilees have been held in Dannevirke to commemorate the establishment of schools and churches, but not the community itself until the 150th anniversary, in 2022.



*1922 Golden Jubilee – Original Settlers of Norsewood
National Library of New Zealand*

Scandinavian Societies in colonial society

Individuals settling within colonial communities likely adjusted their public facing cultural practices more swiftly than settlers in the Bush, and their home practices as well if they intermarried. But while fitting in was a priority, with social networks available mostly through the colonial majority, they did not turn their backs on their heritage either.

The first Scandinavian Society opened in 1879 on Taranaki Street in Wellington, four years after the first Scandinavian literary society. It was not accompanied by nativist pushback, but was instead complimented as having 'a good library, and the principal newspapers of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark [...] regularly provided.'⁶²³ After swift dissolution, another formed in 1892 to 'promote social intercourse amongst those of the Scandinavian race who have made Wellington their home.' It lasted several years, with a library again included.⁶²⁴ The Scandinavians who settled in Napier also

⁶²³ General News. New Zealand Times, Volume XXXIV, Issue 5734, 15 August 1879, Page 2, [LINK](#)

⁶²⁴ [Dissolution] Lyng, *The Scandinavians*, 176

[Dissolution and reestablishment] Evening Post, Volume XLIV, Issue 40, 16 August 1892, p.2, [LINK](#), and;
[Librarian] Evening Post, Volume LIII, Issue 130, 3 June 1897, p.4, [LINK](#) and;

established a Society; the Scandinavian Union.⁶²⁵ Its founding in 1882 may have been a response to the collapse of the local Lutheran church, which left Napier Scandinavians with less structure for social engagement.⁶²⁶ A desire for connection may have prompted the formation of the Wellington Societies as well, so that the first generation especially could indulge in the company of people from Home, while they lived in communities dominated by colonials. Lyng highlights how important similar Societies were as support networks for Scandinavians in Australia, where their creation was a response to lonely migrants isolated by language and ‘cherishing different traditions’. They were a shelter from majority culture, and could support ‘nationalistic appreciation’ that potentially delayed assimilation.⁶²⁷ This does not seem to have been the case in New Zealand. Here there was no obvious repudiation of the majority colonials or their culture, or deliberate, wholesale attempts to cling to the culture of the old world, rather just a desire for contact with others of similar heritage.

The Societies of New Zealand were not necessary for those who stayed within ‘their’ settlements, and when structurally similar organisations were founded, they were inclusive of any others who wanted entry; English, Germans, and French.⁶²⁸ There is a quote by ‘a Dane’ relayed in the Norsewood School 75th Jubilee that speaks to their perspective: ‘We are not like the Scots, with their Burns Clubs and Caledonian Societies, we do not forget the land of our birth, but we realise that it is best to become whole-hearted members of the society in which we are settled.’⁶²⁹

Māori relations with the Scandinavians

The Scandinavians encountered more than colonial culture and identities in New Zealand. There is little literature on the intersection of Te Ao Māori and Vogel’s Scandinavians, and what there is has been presented from a Eurocentric perspective, but it indicates they dealt frequently with each other.⁶³⁰ However, while there was contact and trade, absent were mixing or deeper cultural exchange.

[Still in existence] Local and General. Evening Post, Volume LIII, Issue 128, 1 June 1897, p.4, [LINK](#), and;

⁶²⁵ Untitled. Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 6373, 7 October 1882, p.2, [LINK](#) and;

Daily Telegraph (Napier), Issue 3510, 7 October 1882, Page 2 [LINK](#)

⁶²⁶ Lyng, in *The Scandinavians* (182-3), considered the Wellington societies a response to the lack of a local Lutheran church, giving the locals an outlet to celebrate their Scandinavian-ness with other Scandinavians.

⁶²⁷ Lyng, *The Scandinavians*, 52, and;

Pozzetta, G. (ed), ‘Introduction’, *Assimilation, Acculturation, and Social Mobility* (Garland Publishing, 1991), viii.

⁶²⁸ In Norsewood the Working Men’s Club of Norsewood supported a blended mix of Scandinavians, Germans, English, and French by 1879.

Norsewood. Waipawa Mail, Volume I, Issue 63, 19 April 1879, p.2 [LINK](#)

⁶²⁹ Culliford and Harrison, *75th Jubilee Norsewood School*, 67.

⁶³⁰ Vaughan, Charles J. ‘Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehdorf’, *Papers relating to Dannevirke and Norsewood* (unpublished) 42

The Scandinavians began trading quickly with local Māori, first for crops, then horses and dogs.⁶³¹ As Lehndorf recollected; ‘We traded with the Maoris [sic] and found them a fine and honourable and hospitable people, though we could not understand one another.’⁶³² Recipes were also exchanged, and medicines for various illnesses.⁶³³ Māori kits were used as totes by Scandinavian women, doubtless traded, as there is no indication that Scandinavian women worked with flax. Outside of trade, Māori would assist in searching for missing settlers in the bush, while in the Manawatū Māori worked with Scandinavian crews on the Palmerston to Foxton dray road.⁶³⁴

There were some negative first impressions; passengers of the second *Hovding* were greeted by Māori dancing a welcome. But this frightened the migrants, no doubt prompted by their Captain regaling them with tales of ‘cannibal savages’ during the voyage. This was followed by Māori ‘peering at them from the trees’ as they trekked to their new home. But there were positive first impressions too, such as those of the *Fritz Reuter* migrants, greeted on the road by Māori who walked ‘many miles’ to do so.⁶³⁵ On a more personal level, close Māori presence and friendships were also recorded; the Andersen family (once in Palmerston North) became close friends with ‘Rua’, to the point that one New Zealand born Andersen was given the middle name ‘Ruahuia’, no doubt named after that family friend.⁶³⁶

Sometimes things were weird; in 1880 a Scandinavian boy was found to have been living among Hawke’s Bay Māori for some five years. He was ‘rescued’, and his father taken to court for the crime of trading the boy for a bag of potatoes.⁶³⁷

In the end, while relations were generally cordial, Māori were marginalized. They do not seem to have had impact on the culture or assimilation of the Scandinavians, and did not find, or were not permitted to find, a place in their communities.⁶³⁸

⁶³¹ [Oats] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, 48.

[Horses and dogs] The Scandinavians in Hawke's Bay. West Coast Times, Issues 2391, 31 May 1873, p.2, [LINK](#)

⁶³² Vaughan, ‘Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf’ 42.

⁶³³ Examples include rata for ringworm, tarata and rangiora bark for bad breath, pukatea bark for running sores, kumera plant and roots for acne, manuka leaves to ease coughing, and many more. Johnson, *From Norway with Love*, 106.

⁶³⁴ [Rescue efforts] McDonald, *Dannevirke*, 62.

[Work crews] Johnson, *From Norway with Love*, 106.

⁶³⁵ Vaughan, ‘Some Notes on Early Life in NZ by C. W. F. Lehndorf’, 42.

⁶³⁶ Sigrid Ruahuia Anderson, mother to Rachel (the compiler and author of the family history). Johnson, *From Norway with Love* 107.

⁶³⁷ Resident Magistrate’s Court, Hawke’s Bay Herald, Volume XXI, Issue 5787, 7 September 1880, p.3, [LINK](#)

⁶³⁸ Dunick, Mark Edward *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand* (Doctoral dissertation, Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, 2022) 159.

The contrast with Scandinavians in America

Assimilation was not always rapid for Scandinavian immigrants, even without roadblocks like nativism. Some communities in North America took generations to assimilate, such as Porter, Indiana, where use of Scandinavian languages in schools lasted until the inter-war period. And at their peak in the late nineteenth there were hundreds of periodicals being published in Scandinavian languages across America.⁶³⁹ Some of these remained Scandinavian until the interwar period as well.

Some communities in America retained strong Scandinavian identities due to a combination of size and homogeneity, such as the Swedish community of Chicago that made that city the second largest concentration of Swedes on Earth.⁶⁴⁰ Size also supported exclusive secular organisations, including sports teams, music and theatre produced in the Swedish language, temperance societies, Swedish trade unions, social clubs, and historical societies, all of which reinforced identity and social bonds, and could provide economic opportunities without the need for majority involvement.⁶⁴¹ There was no real advantage to not be Swedish in Chicago at the time. Pre-migration identities in the Americas also tended to be better preserved in the countryside, testifying to the effectiveness of isolation as a preserver of heritage.⁶⁴²

Scandinavian cultural identity in North America faded in the interwar period, but re-emerged into 'light-pluralism' post-war, with Americans of Scandinavian descent identifying as 'Danish-American', 'Swedish-American', and 'Norwegian-American', perhaps to distinguish themselves within their American communities, without being different enough to place themselves outside them.⁶⁴³

Failure of pluralism

Some migrant groups, unable to assimilate due to issues like nativism, can form tighter knit communities, actively resisting assimilation.⁶⁴⁴ In America, Scandinavians did not suffer this fate, enjoying little resistance to their presence, but so many had arrived that some communities were large enough to maintain a strong sense of identity and cultural practices into the mid twentieth century.⁶⁴⁵ The Swedish communities in Chicago and the Great Lakes region were notable. Some communities

⁶³⁹ Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 185-6.

⁶⁴⁰ In 1880 there were nearly 50,000 Swedes within a city population of 500,000, growing by 1900 to 150,000 of a population of 1,700,000. Compared to this, Stockholm had in 1880 around 165,000 citizens, and 305,000 by 1900.

⁶⁴¹ Kuldkepp, *Emigration and Scandinavian Identity* 185-6.

⁶⁴² Ibid. 186

⁶⁴³ Ibid. 186

⁶⁴⁴ Oppenheimer, Robert. 'Acculturation or Assimilation: Mexican Immigrants in Kansas, 1900 to World War II', *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 16:4 (October 1985) 429-448, p443, 445, 447, and; Hirshman, Charles. 'America's Melting Pot Reconsidered', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9 (1983) 397-423

⁶⁴⁵ Kuldkepp, Mart. 'Emigration and Scandinavian Identity'. *Introduction to Nordic Cultures*, 181-94 (University College London, 2020) 186.

demonstrated persistence of identity because they were communities before they emigrated, hailing from a single parish or village, thus bringing sufficient social networks to not need new ones in their new home.⁶⁴⁶

In New Zealand, isolation helped bind the Scandinavians. Then contact with the colonial majority reflected a perception of a loose 'Scandinavian' identity, even as their national identities blurred somewhat.⁶⁴⁷ But while a limited pan-Scandinavian identity emerged, at least as the colonials saw it, it was not strong enough for the migrants to sustain a dualist culture that might have had longer term persistence.

Vogel's Scandinavians did not follow a path to pluralism. They did not have the numbers to maintain a persistent majority or make 'economic ghettoisation' feasible and engagement with colonials unnecessary, despite clustering according to national origins. They also faced no nativist resistance outside occasional early outbursts in the papers, leaving no meaningful barrier to their assimilating into the majority. They began to mix swiftly, when mixing was physically possible. As Petersen put it, community unity and shared identity were not necessary. People relaxed, and the walls came down.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁶ Nordstrom, Byron J. *Scandinavia since 1500* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) 233-4, and; US Library of Congress, "Scandinavians: The Swedes", Immigration and Relocation in US History, Classroom Materials (accessed 07/07/2024)

⁶⁴⁷ Petersen, *Forest Homes*, 75-6.

⁶⁴⁸ Petersen, *Forest Homes* 129-130.

11 – Marriage

The changing migrant family; Scandinavians marrying out, and the colonials marrying in

Social historians approach intermarriage from two perspectives; a means by which assimilation occurs through formation of intercultural families, or as an indicator that assimilation has occurred, demonstrating limited cultural or legal barriers.⁶⁴⁹ But it seems instead a feedback cycle; intermarriage encourages assimilation, and assimilation encourages intermarriage, until it stops being intermarriage, and becomes just marriage. Even if not the end state of assimilation, the transfer of cultural values and behaviours to the children of intermarried couples would support assimilation of children into majority culture by introducing them to it, even submerging them in it, from an early age.

Marriages between Scandinavian migrants and New Zealand colonials began as soon as the Scandinavians arrived.⁶⁵⁰ For single migrants living within colonial communities, marrying out was always an option. Within the Bush settlements intermarriage was slowed initially by lack of opportunity, but became the most common type of marriage among those exposed from an early age to majority culture; children born in the colony to migrant parents.

The Antipodean marriage scene

1870s New Zealand was eager to recruit single females to address an unbalanced gender ratio, an issue as old as the colony itself. When Vogel's recruiters began their work there were nearly three men in New Zealand for every two women, a ratio the colony had grappled with for decades.⁶⁵¹ But

⁶⁴⁹ 'More than any other indicator, intermarriage represents the final outcome of assimilation.'

Hirshman, Charles. 'America's Melting Pot Reconsidered', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9 (1983) 397-423, p.408

⁶⁵⁰ Koivukangas, Ølavi. *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings: New Zealand—a Remote Alternative to America* (Olavi Migration Institute, University of Helsinki, 1992) 9., and;

Five of Six of the marriages identified that involve Scandinavian migrants in 1873 were intermarriages. See also Footnote 671.

⁶⁵¹ Initially the ratio was skewed by men stationed as whalers and seasonal sealers, sailors jumping ship, and a few working as traders and missionaries. Women were a rarity. During the 1840s the New Zealand Company brought in 15,000 people via assisted immigration, and tried to address the ratio with fully subsidised passage for single women. They were not successful. By 1851 there were 15,035 males to 11,672 females (56.3/43.7 percent). From 1852 recruiters for the newly established provincial government would prioritise single women, but also failed to bring the desired numbers. By 1860 the colonial population was 48,941 males to 34,978 females (58.3/41.7 percent). In the mid-1860s this disparity worsened; the gold rushes added more men, so that by 1871 there were 150,356 males to 106,037 females (58.7/41.3 percent).

STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1860. TABLE SHOWING THE CENTESIMAL PROPORTIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES RESPECTIVELY [...], IN DECEMBER, 1858, and;

Table VIII. Comparative Table Showing Approximately the Numerical and centennial increase of the population (of European Descent) [...] 1851 to December 1861. STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND FOR 1861 POPULATION. Results OF A Census of New Zealand, Taken for the Night of the 27TH February, 1871.

gender ratio imbalance can be a key driver of assimilation, as discrepancies encourage higher rates of intermarriage due to limited options.⁶⁵²

The *Ballarat* arrived carrying 220 migrants, mostly British, with 79 Scandinavians, mostly Danish. Only nine were single adults; five men and four women. Aboard were also 14 male and 22 female children, although these figures should be taken with a grain of salt; while all but one of eight unnamed 'infants' are listed as female, three later did have names recorded. The one male infant became 'Johanne', and one of the females became 'Peter', so initial infant gender recordkeeping was more imaginative than accurate.⁶⁵³ The *Hovding* arrived carried 377 Scandinavians, mainly Norwegians, with 63 single adults; 44 women and 17 men. Adult dependents travelling with families, defined here as any aged at least fifteen (the age of the youngest 'single adult' travelling unaccompanied), add 11 more; nine women and two men. 162 younger dependents arrived also; 100 males and 62 females, a ratio of 3 to 2, close to that of the colony at the time, and representative of the imbalance generated among the Scandinavians by later migrant vessels. Gender imbalance across the Scandinavian migrant population emerged later in the Vogel scheme, not well represented by the *Ballarat* and *Hovding* passengers alone.

After the first vessels that brought Scandinavians to New Zealand their gender ratio changed to match that of the colonial population; it was mostly men answering the recruiters. The 1874 census listed Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians living in the Hawke's Bay as 77.14 percent male and 22.86 percent female (8 to 2), normalising slightly by 1878 to 72.34 percent male and 27.66 percent female (8 to 3), also the year when the number of Scandinavian migrants in New Zealand peaked.⁶⁵⁴ The Hawke's Bay figures reflect the undesirable nature of bush living for single women; more likely to settle in established communities for domestic work, whereas single men likely employment as bush labourers; first on roads and railways, then the sawmills. 1878 census figures for Scandinavians across the colony record 1437 male and 788 female Danes, 761 male and 452 female Norwegians, and 963 male and 199 female Swedes; an overall ratio slightly worse than the three men to two women of the

⁶⁵² Borrie, *Immigration*, 129.

⁶⁵³ There were a number of other mis-gendered migrant children from the two vessels, typically aged five or less.

⁶⁵⁴ 1.25 percent of the total population of the colony, around 7 percent of the population of the Hawkes Bay province, and approximately 2.5 percent of the Wellington area (strongly represented by Palmerston North). Lyng, Jens Sørensen. *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific* (Melbourne University Press, 1939) 167.

colony.⁶⁵⁵ Competition for wives must have been fierce, at least until the colony reached a closer balance around 1911.⁶⁵⁶ Many of the men had to marry out, if they were to marry at all.⁶⁵⁷

Lack of barriers to Scandinavian intermarriage

The potential barriers to intermarriage can be loosely grouped as; migrant willingness to marry out, willingness of the majority to meet them halfway, and geographic convenience.

Despite hailing from homogenous nations, Scandinavians demonstrated elsewhere they were comfortable with intermarriage. In nineteenth-century America, women from Jewish, Italian, British-American, and German ethnicities were more likely than men to marry within their ethnicity. But it was the opposite for Irish, Poles, and Scandinavians, whose unmarried women were less inclined to limit themselves, indicating lack of distaste at marrying out, and lack of resistance within Scandinavian families to their women doing so.⁶⁵⁸ For Scandinavian men seeking a wife in New Zealand one can safely assume necessity was their guide.

Colonial willingness to marry Scandinavians was not a hurdle either, as before it rapidly dissipated, nativism does not seem to have prompted colonials to balk at alien nuptials. The limited nativism roused by the Scandinavians was not about them specifically (as was the case with, for example, Chinese), it rather represented broader concerns, and a desire to have 'English' people in New Zealand; to maintain 'English' culture, and avoid changing the identity of the colony.⁶⁵⁹ Crucially, no significant racism took root against Scandinavians as individuals.⁶⁶⁰ They would publicly be deemed 'highly satisfactory' by Halcombe, who noted that 'on their arrival there was a great popular prejudice, amounting almost to indignation against them, but this feeling has been changed by the example of their steady, persevering industry into one of entire approbation.'⁶⁶¹ Both Scandinavian migrants and the colonial majority being Protestant no doubt eased the way; the previous quoted Kennedy study also reported exogamous religious marriages were rarer than exogamous ethnic ones, although

⁶⁵⁵ Table IV. Showing the Number of Persons, Males, and Females (exclusive of Maoris) of different Nationalities in the Colony of New Zealand [...] Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand for the night of the 3rd March 1878

⁶⁵⁶ 531,910 males to 476,558 females (a ratio of ten to nine)

Table VI. Showing the Population (exclusive of Maoris) of each Provincial District in New Zealand at successive Censuses, from 1878 to 1911. RESULTS OF A CENSUS OF THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND [1911]

⁶⁵⁷ [Scandinavian gender ratios over time] Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 170.

⁶⁵⁸ Kennedy, Ruby Jo Reeves. 'Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Rates in New Haven, 1870-1950', *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (1952) 56-59, p.57

⁶⁵⁹ Grigg, A. R. (1973). *Attitudes in New Zealand to Scandinavian immigration, 1870-1876*. (Dissertation, BA (Hons), University of Otago) 112-3

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid 77-8

⁶⁶¹ Cited from an unpublished thesis: Davidson, J. W. *Scandinavian Settlement in the Dominion*, (unpublished thesis, 1938, held by Victoria University), presented in Lyng, *The Scandinavians* 161.

studies involving other cultures found this a less than universal factor.⁶⁶² The colonials, after expressing some initial doubts in the papers, demonstrated no reluctance toward the Scandinavians, so the Scandinavians did not, therefore, retreat from the colonials. This left no barriers obstructing intermarriage by migrants who found employment in colonial communities, or in the Bush once colonials began to arrive, bringing options for intermarriage with them.

The third factor, geographic opportunity, was not an issue for those single adults living in colonial communities, outside the broader colony-wide gender imbalance. However, in the early years of the settlements, the unmarried dependents living with their families largely found themselves with only other Scandinavians to pair with. For young men growing to adulthood in the settlements during the 1870s it must have been frustrating to outnumber their female counterparts.⁶⁶³ Despite logistical challenges, unions between Scandinavian communities also occurred, such as the 1877 marriage of Matilde Johannesen (arrived Norsewood from the first *Hovding*) and Gustav Kindberg (arrived Palmerston North from the *Celaeno*).⁶⁶⁴ For those outside the settlements, such as for scions of the Birkegaard family (that turned back from the Bush), potential spouses were mostly colonial, and their marriages reflect this. They lived in a succession of colonial communities, and of their 12 children (ten New Zealand born), eight married (two twice), nine times to colonials, including both of the children born in Scandinavia; Peter and Ottomina. Only one, Alfred (the first born in New Zealand) married another Scandinavian, and that temporarily, before marrying an English girl.⁶⁶⁵

With a home culture not precious about people marrying out, it is no surprise that Scandinavian women married colonial men, including in situations where a Scandinavian would likely have been available. Scandinavian men were not hesitant either, and those in the 1870s Hawke's Bay found a situation of real scarcity with the gender ratio for the Scandinavians being worse than the colony overall.⁶⁶⁶ Fortunately, the colonial majority were happy enough to accommodate.

⁶⁶²Kennedy, Ruby Jo Reeves. 'Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Rates in New Haven, 1870-1950', *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (1952) 56-59, p.58, and; Hirshman, Charles. 'America's Melting Pot Reconsidered', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9 (1983) 397-423, p.409

⁶⁶³ As per the census data from 1874 and 1878 for Hawke's Bay overall, and the arrival with the initial settlers of more male children than female ones.

⁶⁶⁴ Burr, Val. *Early Manawatu Scandinavians (Skandia I)*, revised edition. (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu, 1999) 27

⁶⁶⁵ One son, George Horace Peters, married Susannah Keetch while in London.

⁶⁶⁶ The 3 to 1 figure from the Hawke's Bay census data also does not include those Scandinavian women who may have removed themselves from the pool of available Scandinavian wives by marrying colonial men while working as domestics in colonial communities, where single Scandinavian men were not as well represented.

Marriage by the numbers⁶⁶⁷

The Scandinavians of the *Ballarat* and *Hovding* came in a variety of family situations. There were couples with children, childless couples, and unaccompanied adults as young as 15. Two women and one man arrived as single parents. Overall, 200 migrants were unmarried (42 percent), and could reasonably be expected to seek partners. For those outside the Bush, intermarriage began quickly, with five of the first six migrant marriages being single adults marrying colonials in 1873.⁶⁶⁸

While almost all married couples headed into the bush, dependents in tow, unaccompanied adults remained in Napier to secure employment.⁶⁶⁹ Some 'single adults' tracked in this cohort arrived 'dependents', accompanying their families into the bush and living in proximity with other dependents of similar age, with almost no colonials present. Others are single adults who established themselves in Napier on arrival, and thus shared proximity with each other, as well as colonials. There was a clear trend toward marrying out among those tracked, largely due to singles in Napier. Overall, five married Scandinavians, compared to nine marrying colonials (35.5 to 64.5 percent).

Among children old enough to have clear memories of the Old Country (arrived age 12 and above), there was a small preference for marrying Scandinavians. Living together as dependents in the settlements, it seems likely that older children in this cohort married while there were few colonial options available.⁶⁷⁰ The younger children of this cohort had more options, as they came of age as colonials began to arrive. Unfortunately, given the limited age band, the sample size for this cohort is very small, making analysis speculative. Of the seven marriages tracked, four were between Scandinavians, and three were Scandinavians marrying colonials (57 to 43 percent).

⁶⁶⁷ **Note on Methodology:** The marriage numbers presented in this section are not a complete tally of all the possible marriages identified, as a high degree of certainty regarding the wedded individuals was necessary for their inclusion here. The records supporting a marriage needed to indicate that it involved one of the migrants carried to New Zealand aboard the *Ballarat* or first *Hovding*, so for some very common names shared across later vessels (Olsen, Larsen, etc) the determination of identity was often too problematic for a marriage to be counted with certainty and included. Here the work of family historians in tracing some of these marriages has been invaluable. For inclusion in the tally a marriage needed to have included at least one person with a sufficiently culturally distinctive name, and/or been recorded across multiple sources that between them offered high certainty through supporting details such as wedding location or celebrant name. Multiple marriage possibilities that could not be disentangled for an individual were not included, even if all the identified possible spouses were either all Scandinavian, or all English. Spousal family names also needed to be clearly identifiable as either Scandinavian or English; unions with less culturally distinct names were also discarded unless the ethnicity was clearly identified in related records.

⁶⁶⁸ Emma Hansen to Charles Wilson, Thora Olsen to Patrick Windsor, Marthia Jacobsen to James Hentskey, Anne Jacobsen to George Bishop, and Johannes Blom to Caroline Frank.

⁶⁶⁹ Partial Report from Halcombe to the Minister of Immigration, 1 October 1872, presented in Kitt, *Norsewood: a 'special settlement'* 59-60.

⁶⁷⁰ A key point to note is how alien some Scandinavian children may have been to each other, coming as they did from three different countries, although the majority were Danes and Norwegians who could speak to each other at least a little.

Children under 12 who accompanying their parents into the bush demonstrated a weak preference toward colonial spouses, perhaps a reflection of their spending less time in a purely Scandinavian environment. It may again be that older children sought partners while the settlements were still primarily Scandinavian, or they preferred Scandinavian partners due to time spent growing up in the Old Country, whereas the younger ones spent more time growing up in increasingly mixed schools and communities, so were more open to other options. Based on when the Bush schools opened, the younger children from this cohort were likely to speak English by the time they sought a partner, negating the potential language barrier. Regardless, all would have spent their initial years (at least) in the settlements surrounded by other Scandinavians.⁶⁷¹ Some boys becoming men would have been unable to marry without the arrival of potential spouses among colonial settlers, and some youth left the Bush once they were old enough to seek employment elsewhere, also bringing them into contact with other options. Of the 72 marriages tracked, 40 married Scandinavians, 30 married colonials, and two married out to other migrants (German and Ashkenazic); 55.5 percent, 41.5 percent, and 3 percent respectively.

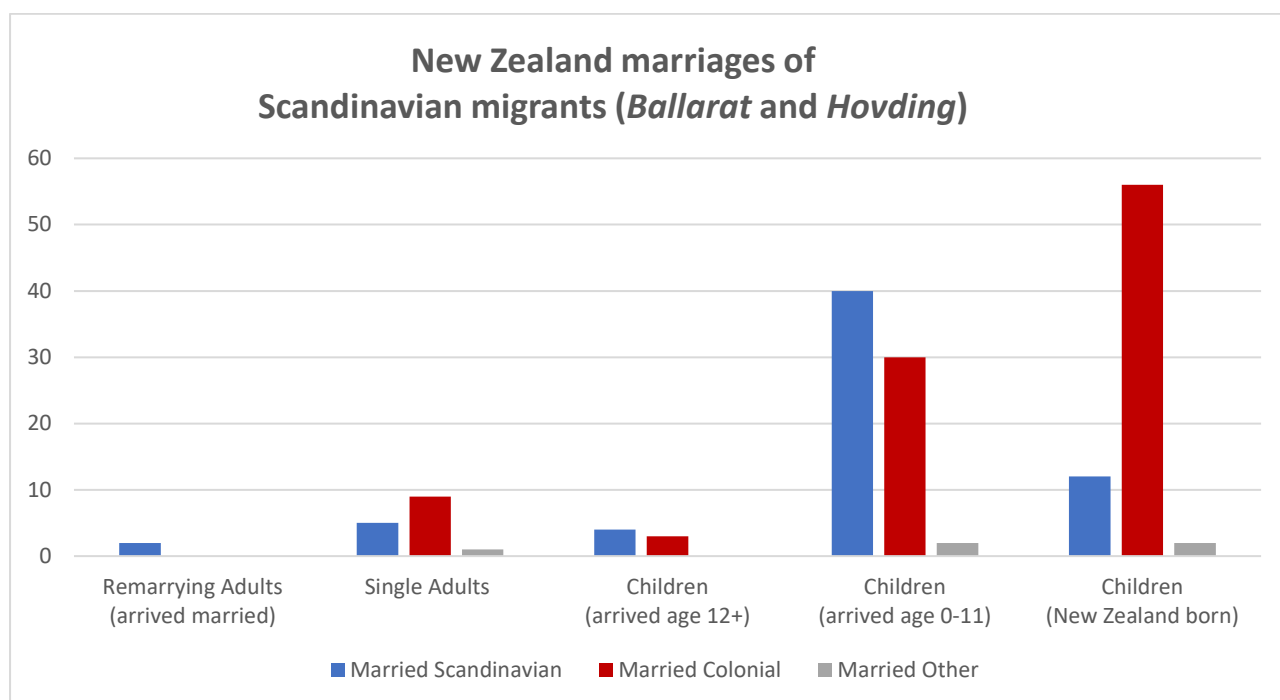
It is in children born to migrant families after arrival that we see a massive change. These were children raised in Scandinavian homes, but educated in 'English' schools, and they would have experienced contact with colonials from an early age. They grew up in communities featuring an ever-increasing number of English-speaking neighbours they could communicate with, making them not so alien to each other. Of the 70 marriages tracked, only 12 married other Scandinavians, 56 married colonials, and two married out to other migrants (French and Slavic); 17 percent, 80 percent, and 3 percent respectively.

No marriages were definitively identified between Scandinavians and Māori, although such unions began as soon as Scandinavians reached New Zealand.⁶⁷² Some marriages may have been such unions, or involved people with close friendships with Māori: Martin Frederick Engebretsen married Margaret Josephine King, and they had together several children, including Marwee (Maui) Francis Kiwi Engelbretsen and Huia Te Rahana Gordon Englebreetsen.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷¹ Barring those who had left with their parents in the interim.

⁶⁷² Phillip Tapsell was born Hans Homman Falk in Denmark, 1777, likely taking the name Tapsell as a corruption of 'Topsail' when he became a whaler in the Pacific. Arriving in New Zealand around 1823, he and Maria Ringa of Ngapuhi were wed in the first official intermarriage between European and Māori, and possibly the first officiated western style marriage in New Zealand. And possibly also one of the shortest, as Maria apparently just walked away later that day. Tapsell would marry twice more, both times to Māori; Karuhi (a princess of Te Arawa), and after her death; Hine-i-tūrama Ngātiki, another high-ranking woman of Te Arawa. Parham, W. T. 'Tapsell, Phillip', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990), and; Koivukangas, *The Longest Voyage of the Vikings*, 3.

⁶⁷³ Peck, P., *Descendants of Johannes ENGEBRETSEN 'The Norsewood Cemetery and Settlers Genealogies Project'* (accessed 23/08/23) [LINK](#)



All the marriages tallied above represent unique individual unions, although some tracked individuals married multiple times, with each marriage appearing in the above tally. This included one Mortensen scion who remarried in his 60s, and another Mortensen who married three times overall.

Nevertheless, within a single generation, any expectation that the Scandinavian communities of the Seventy Mile Bush might function as bastions of Scandinavian identity through a persistence of purely Scandinavian lineages was well put to rest.

12 – Names and renaming

The names of the migrants, and their children, changed to present a more 'English' face to the colony

Sociologists consider given names and their changes as indicators of acculturation, a facet of assimilation. This is because given names are chosen freely, and require little time, effort, or material cost compared to public activities, religious involvement, material trappings, or learning a language, to demonstrate a cultural identity that conforms to the mainstream.⁶⁷⁴ Adults are free to change their given names as they please, and parents assign names for their children, so a name identifying a person as being part of another culture can be interpreted as a desire for that person to present as belonging to that culture, perhaps to minimise nativistic friction or hurdles to success and assimilation.⁶⁷⁵ While the changing of a name does not change the person behind it, it can change perception of that person by others, and potentially how a migrant would be treated by individuals from the majority population.⁶⁷⁶

Early changes

The modification of Scandinavian names began early. As they lined up to disembark, immigration agents recorded their details, and managed to change some in the process. This had nothing to do with nativistic desires to Anglicise the newcomers, but was the result of agents unfamiliar with foreign languages and accents.⁶⁷⁷ Exotic names delivered with alien vowels were easily misheard or misspelled, even aboard the *Hovding* where Friberg was present to assist.⁶⁷⁸

The new arrivals were likely unconcerned. Even within Scandinavia official spellings varied based on the ear of the person recording them, and the ability of an individual to spell their own name (not guaranteed, despite Church education). Someone who travelled to a new parish for marriage,

⁶⁷⁴ Gerhards, Jürgen and Silke Hans, 'From Hasan to Herbert: Name-Giving Patterns of Immigrant Parents between Acculturation and Ethnic Maintenance', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 114, No. 4 (January 2009), 1102-1128, p.1104-5

⁶⁷⁵ [The 'anticipation of discrimination' towards a child can be a powerful goad] Gerhards and Hans, *Name-Giving Patterns of Immigrant Parents*, p.1105, and; Souto-Manning, Mariana. 'Immigrant Families and Children (Re)Develop Identities in a New Context', *Early Childhood Education Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 6, June 2007, 399-405

⁶⁷⁶ Especially during crises that could be blamed squarely on Johnny Foreigner, such as the First World War.

⁶⁷⁷ Wind became Vind, Yensen became Jensen, Jensen became Yensen, Neilson became Nilson, and many more. Others that were similar to existing English names also changed; some Danish and Norwegian '-sen' suffixes became the English (and Swedish) '-son'. Sometimes the amendment was purely due to phonetics and accents colliding, as was the case for Bertha Yensen (recorded as Birthe Jensen), Oline Israelsen (Olina), Lovise Kjeldsen (Louise), the Lauwig family (becoming the Lauvigs), etc.

⁶⁷⁸ There are a higher proportion of 'correction' changes to family names from those recorded among the *Ballarat* passengers after arrival (50 percent) than for the families aboard the *Hovding* (27 percent), likely due to Friberg's presence.

tenancy, or employment, may have had their name altered by whoever was recording their particulars. As such, phonetic 'adjustments' were probably not an issue.

Many adults arriving from Europe also voluntarily changed their names, starting with family identifiers. Some of these changes were subtle, such as the Svendsen family correcting their name to the original Svensen (matching their Norwegian Police Emigration Record), as was the case for the Andresatens returning to Andreasen, the Johannesens becoming the Johansens again, Lars Larson reclaiming Larsen, and more. But as Gerhards and Hans summarised in their study on migrant name changes; 'ethnic groups both segregate themselves by using names unique to their community and acculturate themselves by choosing names typical in the host society.'⁶⁷⁹ Most of the changes the migrants made for themselves seem to have been about fitting in. Some, as revealed through official records, likely reflected an earlier, less formal change that may have been made based on how a family wanted to present themselves to the colonial elements of their community.

Examples include the family of Ole Christoffersen becoming the Christophersen family; a minor change that is not a reversion; they are listed in the Norwegian Police record as Christoffersen. Their change may have been to standardise the spelling closer to the English norm. The Svensen/Svenson, and Hansen/Hanson families were the same, likely also the case with the Kristoffersen family, who became the Christophersens.⁶⁸⁰ While these might indicate a desire to normalise toward the majority, some families fully embracing English names, such as the Thoresens becoming the Thomsons within three years of arrival.⁶⁸¹ The Birkegaards who arrived with the *Ballarat*, and who have been referred to as the Birkegaards consistently through this thesis, had actually become the Peters family by 1874 when their second New Zealand child (Emma) was born.

⁶⁷⁹ Gerhards, Jürgen and Silke Hans. 'From Hasan to Herbert: Name-Giving Patterns of Immigrant Parents between Acculturation and Ethnic Maintenance', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 114, No. 4 (January 2009), 1102-1128, p1003

⁶⁸⁰ Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand before 1948, Department of Internal Affairs, records; 25/4/1884 p380 18-26 (Svensen), and 20/5/1884 p158 18-47 (Hansen), and 7/6/1886 p74 21-149 (Christophersen), and;

Peck, P. D1872 Høvdning, List of Registered Emigrants (from Transcripts of Norwegian Police Emigration Records), 'The Norsewood Cemetery and Settlers Genealogies Project' (accessed 10/09/24), and; "New Zealand, Archives New Zealand, Probate and Miscellaneous Records, 1842-1998," database with images, FamilySearch, Napier Court > Probate records 1875-1938 P881-P890 > image 85 of 270; Archives New Zealand, Auckland Regional Office.

⁶⁸¹ Before leaving Norway aboard the *Hovding* they were the Thoresens. On arrival in late 1872 they were recorded as the Thorevens, but by the time of the birth of their daughter Annie around 1875, and for the two children who were to follow (Alexander and Sydney) they were the Thomsons.

Peck P., 'D1872 Høvdning, List of Registered Emigrants (from Transcripts of Norwegian Police Emigration Records)', *The Norsewood Cemetery and Settlers Genealogies Project* (accessed 10/09/24), and; Peck P., 'D1872 Høvdning, Descendants of Edvard (Edward) Thoresen (Thomsen)', *The Norsewood Cemetery and Settlers Genealogies Project* (accessed 10/09/24)

They were the family that turned back, giving up their claim to a 40-acre slice of Dannevirke to run a succession of boot shops in established colonial communities throughout Hawke's Bay.

A. PETERS,
BOOT AND SHOEMAKER
 OPPOSITE PACIFIC HOTEL,
 HASTINGS,
WISHES to inform his friends and the public of Hastings that he has started in the above line, and can promise Ladies and Gentlemen every satisfaction low charges, and promptness. Repair neatly executed.

These advertisements ran in the Daily Telegraph of Napier daily, then weekly, until 11 April 1889. The Peters family remained in Hastings from 1888 until sometime between 1892 and 1895, when they relocated to Havelock North. Page 1 Advertisements Column 6, Daily Telegraph (Napier), Issue 5414, 2 January 1889, Page 1.

Beyond motivations to seem more 'English', there were also changes demonstrating flexibility where practicality demanded, such as for the Olsen families in Norsewood. With seven settling in from the first *Hovding* alone, some took the name of the village where they lived before emigrating, giving us such individuals as Ole Olsen 'Lund' and Ole Olsen 'Bergen'.⁶⁸²

More interesting changes were those made to given names, the labels people are referred by, and a personalised identifier of selfhood. A number of Vogel's Scandinavians made changes indicated a desire to seem more 'English'. The patriarch of the now Peters family (Andreas) changed his given name as well, becoming Andrew, perhaps to better appeal to colonial clientele. Other examples include Antonius Hansen becoming Anton, various Edvards from the Hansen, Jensen, and Kristoffersen families each becoming Edward, Johannes Blom becoming John Blom, and many more. Petersen lists further examples as demonstrations of Scandinavian 'readiness to co-operate in [their] own assimilation in to a British population', via the conversion of existing names to more English equivalents; Ernst to Ernest, Wilhelm to William, Hendrik to Henry, Halvor to Oliver, and Anders to Andrew.⁶⁸³

The true number of migrant adults who changed how they were addressed when dealing with colonial neighbours, customers, coworkers, or friends, while retaining their original given names for family and official purposes, is opaque.⁶⁸⁴ The timing of these changes can also be opaque, and there

⁶⁸² Petersen, George Conrad. *Forest homes: the story of the Scandinavian settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (AH & AW Reed, 1956) 72, and; Peck, P. 'Ole OLSEN BERGER (OLSEN)', *The Norsewood Cemetery and Settlers Genealogies Project* (accessed 22/03/25), and;

Archives New Zealand, Probate and Miscellaneous Records, 1842-1998, Napier Court Probate records 1916-1953 P6515, P6450-P6519 - image 113 of 779; Archives New Zealand, Auckland Regional Office.

⁶⁸³ Petersen, *Forest homes*, 131.

⁶⁸⁴ Formalised changes such as reflected in probate or naturalisation. Many of the records used here were reliant on the work of family historians making direct contact with the descendants of the original migrants, sourcing details not otherwise recorded.

may have been plenty who lived daily by a colonial name while officially holding the name they bore from Home. And there were others whose names were rendered slightly differently with each interaction with officialdom, such as Petria Thoreson, and the children of Karl Engebretsen and his wife Margaret (nee Fabling).⁶⁸⁵

The names of the children⁶⁸⁶

Children of the *Ballarat* and *Hovding* migrants experienced a rapid shift in names toward 'English' norms, some immediately on arrival. There were two modes of this anglicisation; via contact with colonial institutions, and deliberately via family, presumably to smooth contact with colonial institutions and people.

For some children, particularly those born in Scandinavia, it was in their very English schools that their identities were adjusted. But this was typically due to the intentions of parents, not teachers; it is common for migrant parents to change the names of children to avoid potential negative academic or social outcomes at school.⁶⁸⁷ This was likely what happened to the children of Knud and Karen Jensen (arrived in New Zealand 1875). Three of their four children ended up with anglicised names; Jens became Peter, and the names of his sisters Henriette and Sangl changed as well (obfuscating them amidst teeming female Jensens attending their school). Only their brother Christian retained his birth name on the school roll.⁶⁸⁸ Accidental anglicising also occurred, again thanks to accents; Julius and Christine Andersson (also arrived 1875) had a son, Percival, recorded by the

⁶⁸⁵ The names of many Scandinavian migrants were adjusted repeatedly, such as that of Ellen Petrea, New Zealand born child of Peder Pedersen (arrived aboard the *Hovding* in 1872). For the births of her ten children with husband Olaf Thoresen (no relation to the Thoresens who became the Thomsons), she cycled through Petria, Petrea, Petreia, Petria, Petriea, Petrea, Petria, Petria, Petria, and finally Patricia.

Department of Internal Affairs, Birth records; 1893/2663, 1895/6264, 1897/5165, 1900/15450, 1903/3185, 1903/3186, 1904/19980, 1907/21150, 1910/12002, 1913/20087

The children of Karl Engebretsen and Margaret were recorded, in order of birth, under the family name of Englebreetsen, Engebretsen, and Engelbreetsen, before the last six resolved as Engebretsen.

Peck P., *Descendants of Johannes ENGEBRETSEN* 'The Norsewood Cemetery and Settlers Genealogies Project' (accessed 23/08/23) [LINK](#)

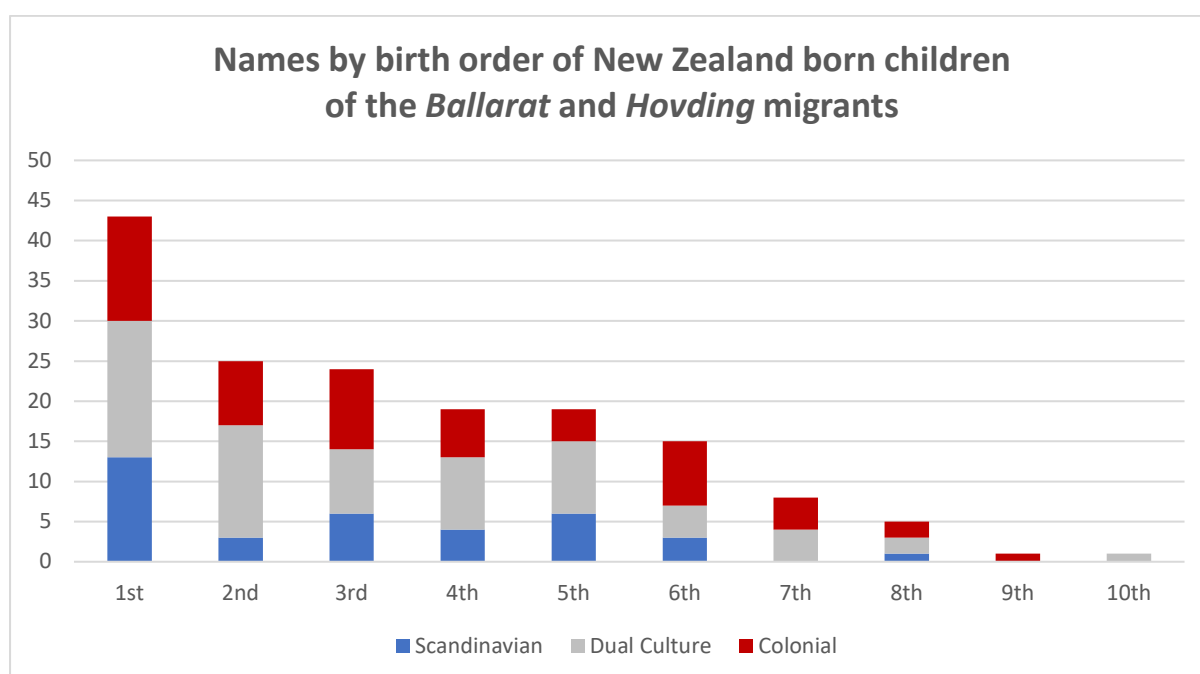
⁶⁸⁶ **Methodological Notes:** The methodology used to differentiate whether a given (first) name was Scandinavian, English, or would fit across both cultures, involved a high degree of interpretation by the author. For clarity, names that would be identical across both cultures (Peter, John, Annie, Marie), and also those Scandinavian names that could have been easily adjusted by pronunciation to fit English norms (Wilhelm, Edvard, Mathilde, Marthe, etc) were considered dual culture for the purpose of these tallies. English variants of these names (William, Edward, Mathilda, Martha, etc) were considered English, as was any name common to the United Kingdom but not in use in Denmark, Norway, or Sweden during the latter half of the nineteenth century. As such, Scandinavian names that could have fit within English culture with just a minor change in pronunciation were considered dual culture, but English names that could have fit within Scandinavian culture with just a minor change in pronunciation were not, instead being considered an indication that the parents wanted their children to present a publicly English identity.

⁶⁸⁷ Souto-Manning, Mariana. *Immigrant Families and Children (Re)Develop Identities in a New Context*

⁶⁸⁸ Burr, Val. *Early Manawatu Scandinavians (Skandia I)*, revised edition. (The Scandinavian Club of the Manawatu, 1999) 30

Registrar as ‘Percy Will’, later becoming Percy William at school. Further phonetic confusion delivered by the Swedish accent saw his sister Annie recorded as ‘Any’.⁶⁸⁹

While the names of children born in continental Europe could get adjusted to more colonial ones they resembled, or replaced outright, the New Zealand born children of Scandinavian parents were another matter. Many would be given clearly colonial names rather than Scandinavian ones, even among the first to be born in the colony, likely in settlements still very Scandinavian at the time. The number of New Zealand born given Scandinavian names diminished over time, but parents wanting a more traditional Old Country name for their child enjoyed options that were common to, or had very close analogues across both cultures. Something that has not been tallied for this thesis, but which was noted in multiple instances while compiling name lists, was the presence of very English given names paired with very Scandinavian middle ones.



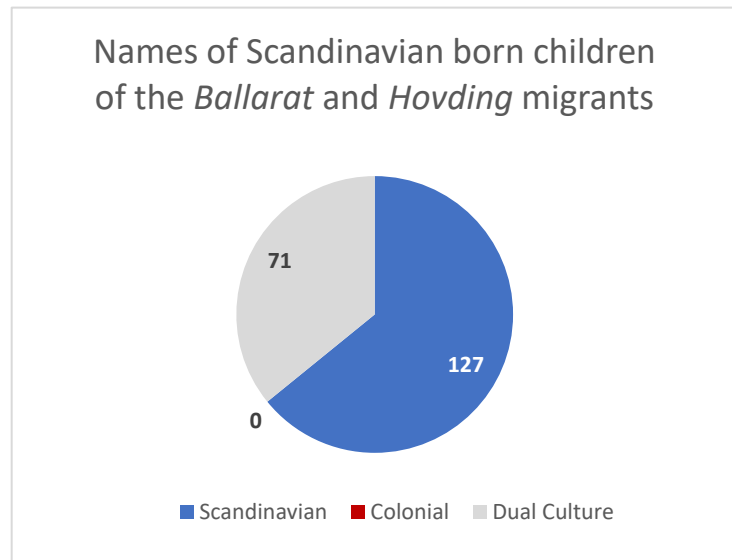
There were a number of New Zealand born children and grandchildren excluded from this tally, as the author was not able to definitively tie them specifically to Ballarat and Hovding families. Children who passed before being provided a given name (typically recorded as ‘infant’) were not recorded in this table.

Intriguingly, some families (particularly the Bloms and Andersens) actually seemed to rebound in their naming conventions, becoming more likely to provide successive children with Scandinavian given names, after initially providing them more with ‘dual culture’ or ‘English’ ones. This is despite the fact that Johannes Blom became John Blom not long after arrival, indicating an repudiation of colonial

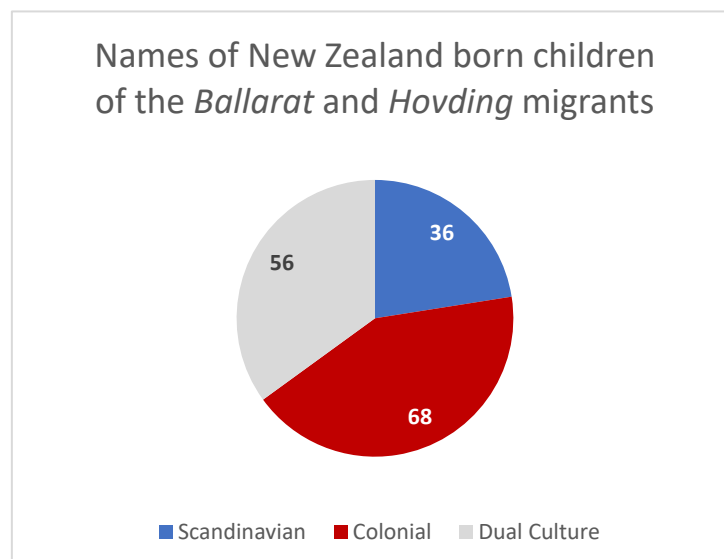
⁶⁸⁹ Burr, *Early Manawatu Scandinavians*, 36.

identifiers unlikely. Unfortunately, across just two families, this trend cannot be described as more than coincidental.

For children of the Scandinavians that were actually born in Scandinavia, names fell into only two categories; distinctively Scandinavian, and Scandinavian but could potentially fit within English society. No parent who migrated to New Zealand aboard the *Ballarat* or first *Hovding* gave a child born in Scandinavia a name that would suit English culture, but not their own.

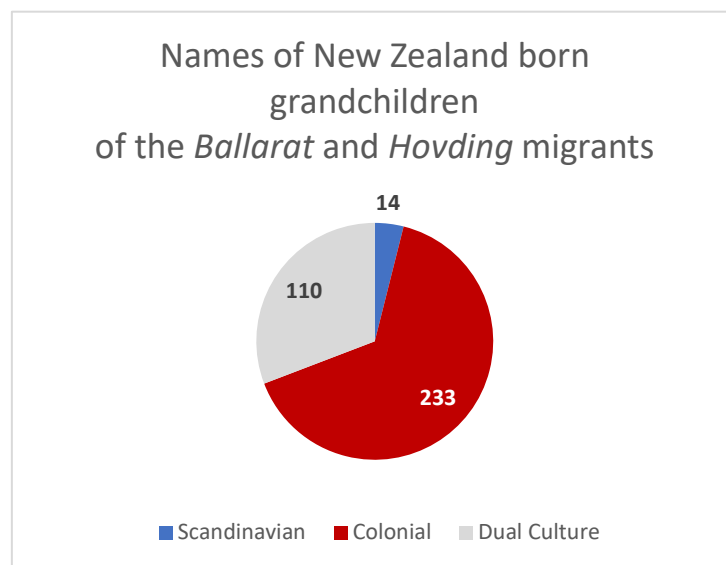


For their children born in New Zealand (of which 160 were tracked) there were 36 with definitively Scandinavian names (22.5 percent), 68 with names that fit both Scandinavian and colonial culture (42.5 percent), and 56 with names that were definitively colonial (35 percent). The introduced use of colonial names directly reduced the number of Scandinavian ones, while the proportion that could fit within both cultures remained similar. In addition, eight children born in New Zealand and given a Scandinavian name adjusted it later to be more 'English'.⁶⁹⁰



⁶⁹⁰ Johan Fredrick Olsen became John, Jergen Andersen became George, Hilda Amelia Andersen became Emelia, Signe Regina Blom became Gina, Jens Jensen became James 'Jack' Jensen, and from the Christoffersen family alone Harold became Harry, Gustaf became Gus, and Emil Martinus became Martin.

Among the 357 grandchildren tracked the change is more pronounced. 233, or just under two thirds (65 percent) were given names that matched those in use by colonial society, but would be alien to a Scandinavian one. A lower number, 110 (31 percent) were given names that would fit within both cultures. Although a slightly higher proportion than their parents received, it is possible that while trying to ensure their children would fit in locally, parents were making the conscious decision to give them names that also closely resembled those of earlier generations from Home. Only 14 were given definitively Scandinavian identifiers (4 percent).⁶⁹¹



There was a correlation in parental ethnicity and the names of grandchildren; despite marriages identified as between two Scandinavians being in the minority (approximately a quarter of those identified), twice as many children received Scandinavian names through them as did those born to the three times as many marriages identified as between the child of a Scandinavian and a colonial. The proportion of ‘dual-culture’ and ‘English’ names was roughly the same regardless of whether the marriage was between two Scandinavians, or included a colonial spouse.

Nevertheless, the change to definitively ‘English’ names was rapid. It would be safe to assume an English sounding name was beneficial to people seeking to live in a very ‘English’ colony, which had demonstrated minor nativism against the concept of localised foreigners. As social historians like Gerhards, Hans, and Souto-Manning have explored in Europe and America, names common to the majority population are frequently adopted by migrants for their children, perceived as beneficial for

⁶⁹¹ One of the Birkegaard/Peters family stands as an example; George Horace Peters, born long after the family name change to Peters, married Susanah Keetch and with her had ten children. They named one of them Vincent Holbot Birkegaard.

fitting into a cultural majority. Being identified as 'English' would have been useful. Being identified as 'not-English' less so.

It is no surprise that some adults changed their names deliberately, and that the given names of children started to reflect colonial labels not used in Scandinavia as soon as the Scandinavian born began to bear children of their own in the colony, despite the first of those children arriving to very Scandinavian settlements. By the time those children had children of their own, 'English' names were normal. Children given Scandinavian names at this point were likely receiving them in honour of a deceased ancestor, with whom they likely no longer shared a language.

It is hard to quantify the effect that the discarding of Scandinavian names may have had on the cultural identity of the people affected; it is very much a 'soft' factor. Whether it caused an internal schism with a sense of identity otherwise tied to a distant land, offered protection against nativist attitudes, or even helped to foster a perception of self that was more in tune with the colonial majority, is difficult to answer. Instead, some of the migrants changing their own names, and those providing 'English' ones to most or all of their children may be safely taken as indication of a desire to make their new home amidst a new culture, and ensure their children would fit in; a desire for assimilation, if not an indication of successful assimilation itself.

Conclusion

'It may be, as a Slav Poet tells us, that the true fatherland, which endures forever, is the body of thought and feeling which a man carries in his heart. But even that grows dull and dim with time; and, if it remains, it rests quietly in the mind and seeks no rude awakening. There was hope in the new world; the Scandinavians have ever been willing to become full citizens of new lands of promise. If affection for the old remained, it was not of the strident kind which interfered with enjoyment of the new.'

Culliford and Harrison, 75th Jubilee Norsewood School, page 88

In explaining the extent to which Scandinavian migrants to New Zealand assimilated, how it happened, and at what speed, this thesis has presented a number of contributing factors, and mapped some indicators of change over time.

Push factors, and the people who moved

The lures of the Vogel scheme worked only on those who had reason to leave where they were, and the biggest push/pull factor was economic. The relative unavailability of land at home, depressed economies, compared poorly to cheap land and guaranteed work in New Zealand, especially with subsidised passage to ease the way. Felt by some were unwelcome religion and bureaucracy, governance not universally appreciated, and events outside the control of common folk. Some were strongly motivated by what they were leaving behind; Danish refugees leaving Schleswig-Holstein motivated by loss of their homeland to actively seek a new one, or Wesleyans looking for a life without the Lutheran Church. People moved when they had reason, to destinations they thought would be favourable.

The dangers and hardships of the voyage speak to the kind of people who answered the recruiters; brave enough to give up everything they had and take a tremendous risk just to throw the dice on promises about the far side of the world. But these were also a people who did not fully comprehend what they were in for. Beyond recruiter lies, migrants were expecting some differences; America Letters, newspapers, and occasional returned acquaintances would have been windows into the kinds of differences they might expect away from Home; languages and customs especially. But the details would have been lacking, along with an understanding of the pressures to change that these factors would bring to bear after arrival, and how from arrival bonds with old world culture would begin to weaken. Faced with the benefits of presenting a colonial cultural face to an essentially English majority culture, most of the migrants do not seem to have hesitated.

Two towns, mobility, and demographics

In the end, too few Scandinavians came to form the nucleus of a self-sustaining cultural identity, or a pluralist one. The contrast with America is obvious, where so many Swedes and Norwegians settled around the Great Lakes region that their culture propagated through multiple generations. Large communities were less reliant on external social networks, and rural settlements persisted in hegemonic isolation. These American communities retained a strong Scandinavian identity until the interwar period. In New Zealand, the settlements most featured in this thesis (Dannevirke and Norsewood) were dominated by Scandinavian culture for only a few years.

With a hegemony initially supported by isolation, Dannevirke and Norsewood each incorporated a deluge of colonials once the railway (and economic opportunity) reached them. There were differences between the two communities; while many founding families were still living in Norsewood years later, the original population of Dannevirke evaporated without meaningful replenishment, dispersing into colonial communities. Norsewood, larger from the start, also saw two influxes of Scandinavian migrants before the railway came as close as it would. In Dannevirke colonial arrivals came later, but when they did, they were a torrent. As colonials arrived in both communities, original settlers (and their descendants) continued to depart for opportunities elsewhere. Many from both communities left to work as professionals and tradesmen in more established communities, giving up on the bush and its hardships for homes in colonial communities.

The effect of the proportionally massive influx of colonials was exacerbated by diminishment of local Scandinavian numbers, making the influence of the newcomers keenly felt in business and governance. Pressures to adopt the English language and present a more 'English' public face grew for those not already assimilating. Inter-marriage opportunities for local Scandinavians skyrocketed. Those in colonial settlements; such as most of the single adults (and the Birkegaard/Peters family), would have been surrounded almost entirely by the 'English' majority.

Pressures to change, and the failure of cultural anchors

The pressure to become 'English' was circumstantial rather than oppressive, although the government pressing the English language onto the migrants might have qualified, had the migrants not been generally keen to take it up. Instead, there were multiple factors that motivated change; mainly economic and (as demographics changed), social. Key to the process was agency. Many choices the settlers made were in support of a more mainstream identity. It was easier to be 'English' than not in an 'English' colony, especially as colonials became the majority in the Bush settlements, and migrants dispersed into colonial communities. Few of their choices seem to have reflected a desire to actively remain Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian, even though some of the original settlers later expressed

regret at what they left behind, and at their children not speaking the old languages. But this also marks a key point of change; between the first and second generations.

Changes wrought by the environment were minor practical ones; concessions to a new land and climate that did not really reflect a change of identity, but did strip away some window dressing. Clogs mostly disappeared, while embroidered aprons remained only for a generation. Changes the migrants needed to make to how they did things did not change who they were to any great degree, but the environment served as a constant reminder that they were no longer Home.

Social pressures were gentle thanks to a lack of nativism that could have prompted the Scandinavians to build walls between themselves and the majority population (and vice versa). But prompts to be more 'English' included working government contracts under colonial supervisors, 'English' storekeepers, and the lure of shared social activities like cricket and dances. The very public 1879 celebration of the Queen's Birthday may have been prompted by an apprehension of nativism, or was a deliberate signal of earnest desire to belong. Either way, Scandinavian branded social activities faded, and their replacement with activities that could be shared with the colonial majority reflects an evolution within communities hosting an ever-increasing number of colonial New Zealanders. There were no barriers to participation once a language was shared.

Changes prompted by economic necessity were less gentle. Here the English language was not a luxury, as demonstrated by migrants who struggled to find employment due to their inability with English. Fortunately, most migrants wanted to learn the language, motivated by the need to work for English speaking supervisors, shop from English speaking storekeepers, and engage more and more as colonials began to arrive in the settlements and quickly dominate them. The motivation was strong enough to prompt changes within some homes too, such as the use of English in private, among family. The rapid departure of Scandinavians from Dannevirke, and slower but still significant departure of Scandinavians from Norsewood, also weakened the persistence of their heritage, especially as their children were pulled into an education system that deliberately made them learn, and be, 'English', both by intention and through increasing contact with colonial children. In their schools (once the teachers who spoke Scandinavian were replaced) they learned English well enough to use it with colonial classmates, and help teach it to family. At the same time, families were not passing the old languages down to their children, written or spoken, to any significant extent.

Based on their absence from family histories, it is unlikely that stories of the old world were passed to migrant children to any extent either, preventing storytelling from providing cultural continuance. The lack of literacy in the old languages among the children was universal, or near to; an issue compounded by a paucity of Scandinavian publications. Few books came with the migrants, and books arriving after was an event rare enough to warrant newspaper coverage. Scandinavian libraries

or collections of literature were rare, and the few that existed in the Bush were notably reduced by fire. Attempts to locally publish Scandinavian periodicals failed quickly, which, with the inability of the children to read in the old languages, marked the end of any chance the written word would carry Scandinavian culture forward in New Zealand.

At the same time, the shared cultural identity supported by shared religion also began slipping away. The Church arrived late, and could not draw all its prior adherents back into the fold, before suffering an acrimonious schism that further reduced its influence. It never managed to keep pace with the dispersal of the faithful, and lost some Scandinavian-ness when the old languages were supplanted by English at the pulpit, due to New Zealand born children and colonial spouses who understood only English. As the old worshippers passed away, a lack of missionary work meant that they were not replaced.

Indications of change

Regardless of whether intermarriage is considered an indicator of assimilation, a pathway to it, or a mix of both, the Scandinavians began marrying out within months of arrival (if living in places with opportunities to do so). Older youths began new lives in the bush largely surrounded by peers, while those in colonial communities were surrounded more by colonials. Younger children who grew to majority in more mixed communities were not shy about availing themselves of colonial options. Intermarriages became common, with children born in New Zealand marrying out at a rate of over four to one. This generated mixed families where Scandinavian practices would have been less valued compared to colonial ones. Mixed families were also more unlikely to pass the language of the migrant to their children, even less so than purely Scandinavian families, as demonstrated by the need for church services in English. Some older settlers would lament the children lacking interest in their heritage.

Naming practices are a solid indication that Vogel's Scandinavians wanted their children to fit in. Trends support this over time both within and down generations. Adults also changed their names, under two rationales; reclaiming a name incorrectly recorded, or changing a name to be more colonial. While the children brought to the colony may have had a name compatible or phonetically similar to an 'English' one, most clearly did not. But from arrival, children born to the Scandinavians were given more 'English' labels. Some even received them retroactively. The next generation, the grandchildren, were given names that fit almost universally within colonial culture. Parents wanted their children to fit in, more than they wanted them to carry the names of their forebears.

Culture lost, but heritage remembered

The migrants who settled the bush never let go of their identities as Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, but they adopted and presented a colonial cultural face. They learned a new language, changed their names, openly demonstrated new loyalties, and adopted new practices (especially in public) while discarding some old ones. Some converted to other flavours of Protestantism. But they never forgot their heritage, and the first generation in particular maintained many aspects of home life that would have been indistinguishable from that of the old country. Many Norsewood settlers stayed, and most of those who departed Norsewood and Dannevirke ended up in other communities with some Scandinavian presence, indicating that sharing their lives with people who shared their heritage was important to them.

But their children were being raised in an environment that soon became colonial as soon as they stepped out the door, from their deliberately ‘English’ schools to the colonial neighbours becoming the majority. Their lived experience was of settlements that started Scandinavian, became mixed, then were dominated by mainstream colonials and their culture, where engagement was both natural and a path of lower resistance than maintaining difference. Being Scandinavian within the home would have been normal for the first generation, barring for those singles who married out and ended up in as mixed a situation inside the home as out.

The grandchildren of the settlers would have been as ‘English’ as most everyone else, barring awareness of a different heritage and perhaps a family name. Other differences would have been cosmetic; they prepared and ate oddly named dishes, probably wore woollens of home-spun fibre, and may have known a few key phrases like “tak for mad” for use while visiting their grandparents and hearing their odd accents at the table. But these grandchildren were, by that time, culturally ‘English’.

Norsewood, taking longer to lose its Scandinavian majority and maintaining a larger number of Scandinavians overall, celebrated its alien founders repeatedly with Jubilees that incorporated, even celebrated, their Norwegian heritage. Dannevirke would not, having too few Scandinavians left to prompt celebrations of their contribution.⁶⁹² Yet these demographic differences did not matter. The overwhelming majority of the Scandinavians who settled Norsewood became as ‘English’ as those who settled Dannevirke, and about as quickly.

Today, the towns of Dannevirke and Norsewood present a deep pride in their Norse heritage. But as with the Dalmations of Puhoi, this is a relatively recent reawakening, and more performative than transformative. In the end, the Scandinavians were too few, became too scattered, were too unwilling

⁶⁹² This aspect of the Scandinavian migrant experience was not well explored in the local histories of each.

to pass down their languages, and too amenable to change in terms of religion and other practices. Most of the first generation worked to fit their new cultural environment, and worked to support their children fitting in, before helping raise grandchildren that would have been strangers to their relatives back Home. The least alien of aliens had melted into the English population like snow on the Wellington hills. It was an outcome that most had worked toward. It just took them a generation or so to do it.



*Children of the families of Neils and George Berntsen,
(grandchildren of Johan and Olava Berntsen),
Norsewood, 1917
National Library of New Zealand*

APPENDIX 1 – Database descriptions

Migrant database

In order to track the individuals who arrived aboard the *Ballarat* and first *Hovding* in 1872, a database was necessary. This allowed collation of important events for each individual, such as arrival details, marriages, births, death, naturalisation, settlement and movement, and the locations and dates attached to these events, as well as the family ties between individuals. This in turn allowed trends to be identified, and foundation for basic analysis. The baseline information for the database was taken from the passenger manifests of the two ships.

Other sources used for the database varied. Local histories and family histories provided some records, but only rarely due to the nature of the sources; local histories lacked focus on the individual and sometimes left out important information such as dates, and family histories were often presented more as stories rather than histories, making their details hard to incorporate without corroboration. More valuable sources included newspaper articles and advertisements, government naturalisation records, marriage records, birth records, death notices, burial records, and probate.

While given and family names were recorded, unique identifiers were also assigned to each individual ('B' or 'H' for ship of passage, and a unique number). This was critical given the similarities between individuals in terms of family names, given names, and sometimes both. Within the manifests of just two ships, one of which (*Ballarat*) had only a modest number of Scandinavians aboard, some individuals had identical given and family names. Common names such as Olsen and Larsen were an issue, often leaving the author of this thesis unsure which individual the record in question pertained to. The 'generation' of each individual was also recorded, being either their status on arrival, such as 'married' or 'single', and 'adult' or 'dependent', or if they were children born in the colony. Personal details were included; age and pre-emigration profession, each often essential for confirming identity when examining later records, especially age (even though some discrepancies in ages across different records have been noted). Collated into the database from various sources were also alternative names, both unofficial ones adopted for convenience, and official ones noted for marriages, births, naturalisations, etc.

Marriages were tracked, including spouse, spouse's ethnicity (where known), ceremony location (where known), date, and also celebrant (where recorded). Death was also tracked, again including location and date. Naturalisation was recorded as well; including location, the name of the settlement where they lived before emigration, their pre-emigration occupation, and date of naturalisation.

Children born in New Zealand to the migrants were added, recorded within each family, along with location and date of birth. Their own marriage records, births, death, etc, were added in the same manner as for their parents and Scandinavian born siblings. To these records were also added grandchildren; although not given unique identifiers, each was recorded only by name and family.

Major events identified within the lives of the migrants and their New Zealand born children were recorded by year, as were individuals whose presence may have otherwise robbed the record of clarity; 'close-fit' individuals with the same name and similar ages. These 'Doppelgangers' with names identical to the migrants of interest were recorded with sufficient detail to prevent the details of their lives from being confused with those of the tracked migrants.

Each record added into the baseline information of the passenger manifests was cited, and (if digital) linked to its source. Colour coding was used for records that the author was unsure regarding; yellow to indicate a lack of certainty regarding the records accuracy or applicability to the individual it seemed to relate to (meaning that the record was not, ultimately, used for this thesis), and red for those records that were later found to be inaccurate or that definitely related to a different person, but of the same name; this helped prevent the unfortunate rediscovery of information discarded for not being related to the person being tracked.

Analysis of records for marriages, names, name changes, and the births of both New Zealand born children and grandchildren, were conducted via 'breakout' databases; copies made of the original database that could then be shorn down of records unnecessary to the matter being examined, leaving only information relevant to what was being analysed for clarity, also preventing accidental modification of the primary database.

Notes and Sources database

A database for tracking and collating information not specific to named individuals of the Ballarat and first Hovding (or their descendants) was also created. This database tracked information relevant to communities, events, identified trends, and information provided by or about individuals who were relevant to the Scandinavians, but were not part of their population, such as Halcombe, Gisbourne, Bror Friberg, Georg Sass, etc.

Data was sourced from primary and secondary sources, entered into the database as a summary of the pertinent information, with commentary on the information, citation details (and links when the source was online, as well as date of access), and a system of cross-referencing that linked each piece of information with specific factors being tracked for this thesis, for ease of retrieval. These factors included; acculturation, assimilation, biographical details, colonial attitudes and nativism, community relations, cultural anchors, demographics, early presence, economics, education,

government support, isolation, language, marriage, mixing, mobility, the nature of the colony, politics, push/pull factors, recruitment and the voyage out, relations with home, religion, and women and gender. This database was key to the arrangement of the final thesis, helping to map out areas of study that became thesis chapters.

APPENDIX 2 – Naturalisation records

Patriarch naturalisations, collected from the *Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand before 1948*, Department of Internal Affairs, and one entry from the *Norsewood Cemetery Project*. Children and spouses who naturalised due to the family patriarch passing away before naturalising have not been included.

DANNEVIRKE	Date	Page	Reference	Location (Occupation)
Amundsen, Bernt	23/6/1883	8	16-75	Dannevirke (Settler)
Bak, Jacob A.	29/9/1876	27	VII-103	Norsewood (Settler)
Borentzen/Berntsen, Anton	29/9/1876	41	VII-102	Dannevirke (Settler)
Jensen/Yensen, Christian	8/6/1893	192	16-68	Makaretu (Farmer)
Jensen, Hans Peder	19/3/1883	192	16-26	Dannevirke (Settler)
Jensen/Yensen, Hans	23/3/1884	192	21-84	Dannevirke (Settler)
Larsen, Christian	24/10/1890	230	27-121	P. North (Labourer)
Mortensen, Hans Henrik	14/4/1884	273	18-2	Napier (Fisherman)
Nielsen/Nilson, Anton	29/9/1885	286	21-10	P. North (Settler)
Nilsen, Anders	30/11/1899	285	37-236	Napier (Fisherman)

NON-DANNEVIRKE (Ballarat)

Birkegaard/Peters, Andreas	3/04/1909	44	53-131	Hastings (Bootmaker)
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NORSEWOOD	Date	Page	Reference	Location
Andersen, August	20/9/1876	11	VII-74	Norsewood (Settler)
Andersen, Hans	29/3/1899	9	35-206	Mauriceville (Labourer)
Andersen, Martin	8/1/1885	9	20-21	Clive, H.B. (Carpenter)
Berntsen, Johan	13/06/1908	41	50-145	Petone (Dyer)
Blom, Johannes/John	27/11/1893	47	31-42	P. North (Carpenter)
Christoffersen, Ole	7/6/1886	74	21-149	Dannevirke (Settler)
Engebretsen, Engebret	20/9/1876	104	VII-95	Norsewood (Settler)
Engebretsen, Johannes	22/11/1876	104	VII-129	Norsewood (Settler)
Erickson, Anders	21/10/1876	107	VII-118	Norsewood (Settler)
Eriksen, Anders	11/8/1885	107	20-139	P. North (Cabinet Maker)
Findsen, Christoffer	8/6/1886	115	21-138	Norsewood (Farmer)

Forland, Thomas T. ⁶⁹³	27/02/1878	-	NCP LINK	Norsewood (Carpenter)
Fredriksen, Emanuel	17/6/1884	123	39-205	Dannevirke (Labourer)
Gundersen, Berthol	14/4/1884	150	18-1	Norsewood (Farmer)
Gundersen, Ole	20/9/1876	150	VII-90	Norsewood (Settler)
Gundersen, S. Petter	20/5/1884	150	18-52	Norsewood (Farmer)
Hansen, Antonius	20/5/1884	158	18-47	Makaretu (Settler)
Hansen, Edvard	20/11/1882	159	15-7	Waipukurau (Labourer)
Hansen, Hans Martin	14/4/1884	160	18-4	Norsewood (Farmer)
Hansen, Marthia	13/8/1884	162	19-32	Norsewood (Farmer)
Hansen, Martin	25/08/1896	160	33-43	Norsewood (Bricklayer)
Hansen, Nicolai	15/4/1885	162	20-65	P. North (Cabinet Maker)
Haworsen Hans T.	13/8/1883	156	16-104	Dannevirke (Settler)
Jacobsen, Hans	20/9/1876	186	VII-93	Norsewood (Settler)
Johannesey, Carl A.	18/5/1886	196	21-132	Norsewood (Storeman)
Jonassen, Tan	20/5/1884	201	18-58	Norsewood (Farmer)
Kristoffersen, Edvard	20/5/1884	74	[?]8-54	Norsewood (Minister)
Larsen, Anders	30/8/1881	229	11-55	Ashley Clinton (Farmer)
Larsen, Pester L.	20/5/1884	230	18-56	Norsewood (Farmer)
Larson, Lars	20/9/1876	230	VII-88	Norsewood (Settler)
Laurvig, Edward A.	20/09/1876	232	VII-87	Two Mile Bush (Settler)
Lundgren, Anders	21/10/1876	246	VII-111	Norsewood (Settler)
Mortensen, Fredrik	22/11/1876	273	VII-127	Norsewood (Settler)
Nilsen, Johan	4/11/1893	287	30-203	Eketahuna (Labourer)
Olsen, Emil O.	25/4/1884	293	18-28	Napier (Tailor)
Olsen, Hans	7/2/1884	284	17-90	Waipukurau (Labourer)
Olsen, Karl M.	4/7/1884	293	18-98	Norsewood (Farmer)
Olsen, Torkel	21/10/1876	295	VII-112	Norsewood (Settler)
Pedersen, Martin	22/11/1876	304	VII-126	Norsewood (Settler)
Pedersen, Peder	20/5/1884	304	18-53	Norsewood (Farmer)
Petersen, Hans	11/10/1881	304	10-20	Makaretu (Cabinetmaker)
Svendsen, Engebret	25/4/1884	380	18-26	Norsewood (Farmer)
Svendsen, Kristian	17/11/1899	380	37-197	Norsewood (Labourer)

⁶⁹³ Based on his not being apparent in the DIA Naturalisation records, but well backgrounded in the Norsewood Cemetery Project, Forland may have changed his name before naturalising. A descendent, Frances O'Brian, holds Thomas Forland's naturalisation papers.

Toresen, Anders	26/06/1899	387	21-181	Norsewood (Farmer)
Torkildsen, Ole C.	14/4/1884	391	18-11	Norsewood (Farmer)
Winger, Johan	25/6/1883	415	16-78	Norsewood (Farmer)

APPENDIX 3 – Tracked marriages, children, and grandchildren

This list of names is drawn from the migrant database, based on the arrival details collected for each of the Scandinavians from the *Ballarat* and first *Hovding*, to which identified New Zealand born children and grandchildren have been added. However, this list does not contain all of the migrant descendants, only those that could be found and confirmed to a reasonable degree of certainty. Many ‘likely but not certain’ records have been omitted from this list, and were not included in this thesis.

- Marriages required corroboration across names, spousal age, location of marriage, celebrant, or across multiple sources such as marriage registers and probate to be considered for inclusion.
- Names were checked against sources in Ancestry.com for prevalence across ‘Scandinavian’ and ‘English’ culture in the 1870s as a baseline for comparison.
- **Status Key** – Am; Adult (married), As; Adult (single), Ad; Adult (dependent), Co; Child (older on arrival), Cy; Child (younger on arrival), Cnz; Child (NZ born)

Status	Arrival Name (and possible alternatives)	Spouse(s)	Grandchildren
Am	Vind, Hans Berthelsen (Wind)		
Am	Vind, Cathrine (Cathrine Wind)		
Cy	Vind, Andreas (Anders Wind)		
Cy	Vind, Soren (Wind)		
Cy	Vind, Ulrikke (Wind)		
Am	Michelsen, Jorgen (Micklesen)		
Am	Michelsen, Magdalena (Micklesen)		
Cy	Michelsen, Anna (Micklesen)		
Cy	Michelsen, Michael (Micklesen)		
Cy	Michelson, Hans Peter (Micklesen)		
Am	Jensen, Hans (Yensen)		
Am	Jensen, Christina (Kirstine Yensen)		
Cy	Jensen, Birthe Christine (Bertha Yensen)	Christian Marius Christiansen	UNKNOWN
Am	Mortensen, Hans H. (Hans Henrik)		
Am	Mortensen, Methe (Methe Cathrine)		
Cy	Mortensen, Johanne (Johanna?)	James Cumming Fraser	
Cy	Mortensen, Soren (Jens Soren)	Eleanor Hazel Thorburn	
Cy	Mortensen, Infant		
Cnz	Mortensen, Jane Abercromby	William James Phillips	
Am	Jensen, Hans P. (Jansen)		
Am	Jensen, Kirstine (Kristine Marie Jansen)		
Cy	Jensen, Hans Peter (Jansen)	Mary Christina THOMSON	
Cy	Jensen, Kirstine (Jansen)		
Cnz	Jensen, Archibald Roderick		
Cnz	Jensen, Florence Ethel	Viggo Pedersen	
Cnz	Jensen, Violet Adeline	Lewis Godfrey Larsen	

Am	Israelsen, Hans		
Am	Israelsen, Oline (Oline)		
Cy	Israelsen, Johanne		
Cy	Israelsen, Infant		
Cnz	Isrealsen, Alvida	Niels Peter ERICKSON	
Am	Gronback, Yorgen		
Am	Gronback, Badil		
Cy	Gronback, Johanne		
Cy	Gronback, Anna		
Cy	Gronback, Jorgine		
Am	Nielsen, Yens		
Am	Nielsen, Magdalena		
Cy	Nielsen, Jens		
Cy	Nielsen, Anders		
Am	Bak, Jacob A. (Anderson/Andersen Back)		
Am	Bak, Karen (Karen Marie Back)		
Cy	Bak, Kirstine (Back)		
Cy	Bak, Anders (Back)		
Cy	Bak, Maren (Maren Andersen Back)	Lavritz Hermansen	
Cy	Bak, Infant (Back)		
Cnz	Bak, Christian (Back)		
Am	Christiansen, Chr (Christian)		
Am	Christiansen, Margretta		
Cy	Christiansen, Infant (Johanna)		
Cnz	Christiansen, Rolf		
Cnz	Christiansen, Eva		
Cnz	Christiansen, Martin		
Cnz	Christiansen, Christian		
Cnz	Christiansen, Dora		
Am	Johansen, Peter L.		
Am	Johansen, Caroline (Catharine)		
Cy	Johansen, Infant (Peter)		
Cnz	Johansen, Jorgen		
Am	Larsen, Christian		
Am	Larsen, Christine		
Cy	Larsen, Infant		
Cnz	Larsen, Anna Marie Christine		
Cnz	Larsen, Carl Peter		
Cnz	Larsen, Jens Peter		
Am	Yensen, Christian (Jensen)		
Am	Yensen, Maren (Jensen)		
Cy	Yensen, Dortehea (Dorothea Jensen)		
Cnz	Johnson, Alfred		
Cnz	Johnson, Alfred Peter	Olive Millicent Woodcock	
Cnz	Johnson, William		
Am	Birkegaard, Andreas/Andras (Andrew Peters)		
Am	Birkegaard, Antonette Vilhelmine (Antonelle)		
Cy	Birkegaard, Peter Nikolaj (Peters)	Edith Hick	Nicholas, Eva Muriel, Dorothy Ellen Martin, Douglas William Francis

Cy	Birkegaard, Ottomina Kristina Maria (Peters)	Walter Greening	Ivy
Cnz	Birkegaard, Alfred (Peters)	Hilda Petersen Madeleine Lucy Giles	Madeleine Sellars
Cnz	Peters, Emma	Percy Owen Geeves	Eldin, Alvin
Cnz	Peters, Albertina Hermania	Arthur Greening	Alba, Leo, Catherine, Ronald
Cnz	Peters, Wilhelmina	Elijah George Horton UNKNOWN Murdoch	UNKNOWN, UNKNOWN, Harold
Cnz	Peters, Andrew	Olive McBeath	UNKNOWN, Ivan Toby
Cnz	Peters, Fanny		
Cnz	Peters, Francis	Lucy Marie Brian	2 UNKNOWN
Cnz	Peters, Hubert Havelock		
Cnz	Peters, Daisy Gertude		
Cnz	Peters, George Horace	Susannah Keetch	Patricia, Vincent Holbot Birkegaard, Ronald Vincent, 7 UNKNOWN
Am	Borentzen, Anthon (Anton Berntsen)		
Am	Borentzen, Bddel Catrine (Bodil Catrine Berntsen)		
Cy	Borentzen, Niels (Berntsen)	Ingeborg Ries	
Cy	Borentzen, Johanne (Berntsen)	Rudolf Mauritzen	
Cy	Borentzen, Anna (Berntsen, Anna Helene)	Vincens Rasmussen	
Cy	Borentzen, Jorgen (Berntsen)		
Cy	Borentzen, Infant (Berntsen, Jeanetta)		
Am	Nielsen, Anders (Nilson)		
Am	Nielsen, Mariane (Nilson)		
Cy	Nielsen, Ane (Nilson, Ane Kirstine)		
Cy	Nielsen, Niels (Nilson)		
As	Steffensen, Mads	Agnes Stephen Morrison	Albert George Stephensen
As	Bodhold, Sophus (Anton Ludwig Sophus Bodholt / Budholt)		
As	Sorensen, Johan (Johan Vigo Christian Sorensen)		
As	Larsen, Carl C. (Carl Chrestian)		
As	Novimann, Carl (Noermann)		
As	Andersen, Mette		
Co	Andersen, Soren		
As	Nielsen, S. Marie (Nielsen, Marie Sophie Frederikke)		
Cnz	Nielsen, Jens		
Co	Gronback, Anna		
As	Amundsen, Unknown		
Am	Hansen, Martin		
Am	Hansen, Olive		
Co	Hansen, Anne Marie (Anna Maria)	David Carmichael	
Am	Wahl, Fredrik		
Am	Wahl, Gunhild		
Cy	Wahl, Wilhelm (John Christian Wilhel Wahl)	Jean/Jeanie Haliburton	Jeanne Lindsay Wahl, William Oswald Wahl, Davidd Syme Wahl, Lornar Alexandra Wahl, Louisa Freda Wahl
Cy	Wahl, Louise (Louisa Marie Theresa Wahl)	Carl August Olsen	
Am	Johannesen, Ole		

Am	Johannesen, Marthe C.		
Cy	Johannesen, Oluf T. (Johansen)	Emily Sarah Atward	
Cy	Johannesen, Fosefine (Josephine Martha Johansen)	Jacob Leonard Jacobsen	
Am	Kjeldsen, Lauritz		
Am	Kjeldsen, Maren Sofie		
Cy	Kjeldsen, Christian Lovise (Louise)		
Am	Lundgren, Anders		
Am	Lundgren, Marthe (Martha/Marta)		
Cy	Lundgren, Rickard L.		
Cy	Lundgren, Care		
Cnz	Lundgren, Hilda		
Cnz	Lundgren, George William		
Cnz	Lundgren, Willie Walter		
Cnz	Lundgren, William		
Cnz	Lundgren, Albertina Wilhelmina		
Cnz	Lundgren, Georg		
Cnz	Lundgren, Oscar Fredrik		
Cnz	Lundgren, Oscar		
As	Hansen, Marie		
Am	Thoreven, Edvard (Thoresen/Thomsen)		
Am	Thoreven, Olava (Thoresen/Thomsen)		
Cy	Thoreven, Gunda (Gunda Therese/A Thoresen/Thomsen)	Alexander McGregor Ross	Margaret Elenor Ross, Olive Teresa, Alice Macgregor Ross, Hilda Ross, UNNAMED Ross, Elize Cecil Ross, William Douglas Ross, Annie Hazel Ross, Douglas Thompson Ross
Cy	Thoreven, Care Edvard (Carl Edvard Thoresen/Thomsen)		
Cy	Thoreven, Ovidia (Ovidia Bolette Thoresen/Thomsen)	Ernest Charles Zachan	Olive Wilhelmina Zachan, Ethel Charlotte Zachan, Ernest Charles William Zachan, Amy Adelaide Zachan, Alexander Frederick Zachan, William Ernest Zachan, Ruby Violette Zachan, Thomas Charles Edward 'Charlie' Zachan
Cy	Thoreven, Hans (Thoresen/Thomsen)		
Cnz	Thomsen, Annie		
Cnz	Thomsen, Alexander		
Cnz	Thomsen, Sydney Ernest		
Am	Pedersen, Johan Bernt		
Am	Pedersen, Sorine OLSEN		
Am	Findsen, Christoffer		
Am	Findsen, Kari SORENSEN		
Cy	Findsen, Berthe Marie		
Cy	Findsen, Fredrik (Frederick)	Matilda Christophersen	
Cy	Findsen, Hans Sigwart		
Am	Laurvig, Edward A. (Anderson)	Oline Mathilde (Lina) Oldsdatter Tistedal	Evelyn Caroline Laurvig, Edward Andersen Laurvig, Horace Gordon Laurvig, Spencer Norman Laurvig, Stanley Ernest Laurvig
Am	Laurvig, Lina Sorensen		
Cy	Laurvig, Anna		

Cy	Laurvig, Didrik Magnus (Diderick)	Wilhelmina McGlashan	Evelyn Caroline Laurvig (m. Patrick Joseph Curtis), Edward Andersen Laurvig, Horace Gordon Laurvig, Spencer Norman Laurvig, Stanley Ernest Laurvig
Cy	Laurvig, Marin (Maren)	Martin Henry Morrissey, Anton Svensen, Oluf 'Olaf' Andersen (Thoresen)	Evelyn Caroline Laurvig (m. Patrick Joseph Curtis), Edward Andersen Laurvig, Horace Gordon Laurvig, Spencer Norman Laurvig, Stanley Ernest Laurvig
Cnz	Laurvig, Caja (Kaia)		
Cnz	Laurvig, Maria (Mary)	Harry Jensen	
Cnz	Laurvig, Ellen	William Alexander Sutherland	
Cnz	Laurvig, Ludvig Edward	Minnie Elizabeth Linsell	Rita Lucy Laurvig
Cnz	Laurvig, Infant		
Cnz	Laurvig, Evelyn Caroline	Patrick Joseph Curtis	
Cnz	Laurvig, Edward Andersen		
Cnz	Laurvig, Horace Gordon		
Cnz	Laurvig, Spencer Norman		
Cnz	Laurvig, Stanley Ernest		
As	Gudmundsen, Ole		
As	Pedersen, Ole		
As	Gulbrandsen, Marie		
As	Carlsen, Caroline		
As	Amundsen, Anne D.		
As	Ingvoldsen, Julius		
As	Ingvoldsen, Julie (Thira Julia)	Carl John Samuel Lindberg	
As	Ettingsen, Johanna C.		
Am	Svendsen, Kristian (Christian)		
Am	Svendsen, Marie		
Cy	Svendsen, Aug (August)		
Am	Nilsen, Anton		
Am	Nilsen, Olini Paulsen (Olina / Oline / Olive)		
Cy	Nilsen, Mathilde	Gottfred Bogun	
Cnz	Nilsen, Nils		
Cnz	Nilsen, Oscar		
Cnz	Nilsen, Alfred		
Cnz	Nilsen, Hans		
Cnz	Nilsen, Pauline		
Cnz	Nilsen, Anna		
Am	Sorensen, Johan		
Am	Sorensen, Maren C.		
Cy	Sorensen, Soren	UNKNOWN	Neils Christian Soren, Christian Peter Sorensen
Cy	Sorensen, Boletti		
Cy	Sorensen, Karl		
Cnz	Sorensen, Julius		
As	Joranneson, Gurine		
Cy	Joranneson, Syvrini Emilie		
Am	Winger, Johan		
Am	Winger, Johanne		
Co	Winger, Marie (Maria Josephine)		
Co	Winger, Andrine		
Cy	Winger, Johan C.		
Cy	Winger, Albert		

Cy	Winger, Gustav L. (Ludwig)	Karen Johansen	Charles Raymond Percy, Arthur Stanley
Am	Eriksen, Anders		
Am	Eriksen, Gurine M.S. (Marie)		
Cy	Eriksen, Adolf Martin		
Am	Haworsen, Hans T.		
Am	Haworsen, Bolette Olsen		
Cy	Haworsen, Tonan M.		
Cy	Haworsen, Harald Ludvig		
As	Davidsen, Anne C.		
Am	Christoffersen, Ole (Ole Christophersen Lekvamb)		
Am	Christoffersen, Karine		
Cy	Christoffersen, Axel Olsen	Mary Christine Olsen	Arthur Martin Christoffersen, Alfred Oliver Christoffersen, Alfred Oliver 'Fred' Christoffersen, Arthur Martin Christoffersen, Emily Kathleen Christoffersen, Clara Mathilda Christoffersen, Ivy Elizabeth Christoffersen, Norman Edward Christoffersen, James Alexander 'Alec' Christoffersen, Violet Caroline Christoffersen, John Martin Christoffersen, Axel Christoffersen
Cy	Christoffersen, Grinda (Gunda)	Dave Harris	Dave Harris, Annie Harris
Cnz	Christoffersen, Emil Martinus (Martin)		
Cnz	Christoffersen, Gustaf Daniel (Gus)	Ada Yorkavich	Winifred Christoffersen
Cnz	Christoffersen, Mary Christine	Hans Andersen	Gordon Anderson, Olive Anderson, Myrtle Anderson, Gladys Anderson, Ethel Anderson, Walter Anderson
Cnz	Christoffersen, Mathilda Berghitthe (Tilly)	Fredirk Cristoffersen (Findsen)	Ernest Findsen, Artie Findsen, Hans Findsen, Florence Findsen, Annie Findsen, May Findsen, Evelyn Findsen, Jean Findsen
Cnz	Christoffersen, Carl Oscar	Evelyn Trenberth	Norman Christoffersen, Alan Christoffersen, Mavis Christoffersen, Raymond Christffersen, Ivan Christoffersen, Esther Christoffersen
Cnz	Christoffersen, Ellen Carolina	Jack Gulbrandsen	Clarence Gulbrandsen, Elsie Gulbrandsen
Cnz	Christoffersen, Harold Otto (Harry)	Ethel Collins	
Cnz	Christoffersen, Christian Oliver		
As	Hansen, Hanna G.		
As	Andersen, Ingiborg (Ingaburg Anderson)		
Co	Hansen, Caroline		
As	Christiansen, Elise		
As	Johannesen, Helene		
Co	Paulsen, Karen G.		
Am	Hansen, Antonius (Anton)		
Am	Hansen, Andrea		
Cy	Hansen, Walborg		
Cy	Hansen, Axel	Amy Lydia Freemantle	

Cnz	Hansen, John		
Cnz	Hansen, Sophia (Soffie)	Anders Bergersen	
Cnz	Hansen, Annie		
Am	Kristoffersen, Anders		
Am	Kristoffersen, Caroline (Christoffersen)		
Cy	Kristoffersen, Carl (Carl Albert Christoffersen)	Ida/Eda Keopold	
Cy	Kristoffersen, Nicolai		
As	Kristoffersen, Marie I.		
Am	Jacobsen, Paul		
Am	Jacobsen, Inger M.		
As	Olsen, Nicoline (Nikoline)	Francis Lowe	
As	Andresen, Oline		
As	Olsen, Arne		
As	Ofstad, Karine H.		
Am	Hansen, Nicolai		
Am	Hansen, Karen Sofie (Sophia)		
Cy	Hansen, Albert Oscar	Annie Emelia Nordbye	
Cy	Hansen, Rebekka (Elese Rebecca)	Lars William Amundsen	Edith Camelia 'Edie' Amundsen, Albert Alfred William 'George' Amundsen, Stanley Leslie 'Stan' Amundsen, Violet Ivy Lobelia Amundsen, Cyril Percy Edward Amundsen, Gladys Sylvia May 'Tully' Amundsen, Ethel Effie Carna Amundsen, Michael 'Micky' Amundsen, Arther Amundsen
Ad	Hansen, Harald Syr		
Co	Hansen, Hanna M. (Hanna Mathilde)	Henry Hughes	
As	Johnsen, Anna		
Am	Nilsen, Johan		
Am	Nilsen, Anne Marie		
Cy	Nilsen, Carl Johan		
Am	Kristoffersen, Edvard (Edward Christoffersen)		
Am	Kristoffersen, Marthea		
Co	Kristoffersen, Allette K.	Aubrey Cross	
Cy	Kristoffersen, Jonette (Jeanette)	Hans Olsen	Ivy Olsen, Edwin Oliver Olsen, John Harold Olsen, Hans Victor Olsen, Hector Colin Olsen
Am	Svendsen, Engebret (Svensen)		
Am	Svendsen, Annette (Anette Svensen)		
Cy	Svendsen, Anton (Svensen)		
Cy	Svendsen, Johan Edvin (John Edwin)		
Cnz	Svendsen, Edwin	Margaret Charlotte Gollan	
Am	Hansen, Edvard (Edward)		
Am	Hansen, Georgine L.		
Cy	Hansen, Hanna L.		
Cnz	Hansen, Anna Marie		
Am	Pedersen, Peder (Hans)	Berthis Jacobsen (2nd wife)	
Am	Pedersen, Nicoline		
Cy	Pedersen, Pester O. (Peter Olaf / Ole Peton)		

Cy	Pedersen, Bridine E.	John FREDERICKSEN	
Cy	Pedersen, Hans Adolf		
Cnz	Pedersen, Elen Petrea	Olaf THORESEN	
Am	Olsen, Ole (Lund)		
Am	Olsen, Ingeborg P.		
Cnz	Olsen, Charles		
Am	Erickson, Anders		
Am	Erickson, Magdaline P. (Gurine Marie)		
Cy	Erickson, Erik (Adolf Martin Gambetta)		
As	Haworsen, Marie		
Am	Johannesen, Johan		
Am	Johannesen, Marie (Maja Maria Lisa)		
Co	Johannesen, Mathilde	Gustav Kindberg	Mary, Emma, Willy, Elsie, Sam, Enoch, Fred, George, 7 UNKNOWN
Cy	Johannesen, Carl Johan		
Cy	Johannesen, Alfred	Dorothea Jacobsen	John Henry Johansen, Annetta Mathilda Johansen, Violet Elizabeth Johansen, Alfred Johansen, Nora Dorothy Johansen
Am	Andresaten, Theodor (Andreasen)		
Am	Andresaten, Maren Hansen (Andreasen)		
Cy	Andresaten, Annette K. (Annette Kirstine Andreasen)	Charles Elias Gaustad	Nore Gaustad, Lily Adeline Gaustad, Mary Anne Gaustad, Phoebe Vera Gaustad, Lily Adeline Gaustad (II), Evelyn Mirtle Gaustad
Am	Andersen, Nils (Neils)		
Am	Andersen, Anna HANSEN		
Cy	Andersen, Axel A. (Axel Frederick Andersen)	Clara Hepworth	
Cy	Andersen, Harald	Kristin Thorson	Sigrid, MORE
Cy	Andersen, Walborg (Valborg / Wally)		
Cnz	Andersen, Jens	Florence Sophie	John, Alma
Cnz	Andersen, Marie (Anderson)	John James McLACHLAN	
Cnz	Andersen, Neils (Neils Peter)		
Cnz	Andersen, Anne (Anna)		
Cnz	Andersen, Jergen (George)		
Cnz	Andersen, Elizabeth (Lily)	Ernest Greer	
As	Franck, Caroline	Johannes Blom	SEE CHILDREN LISTED UNDER JOHN BLOM
Am	Johannesen, Anders (Harold)		
Am	Johannesen, Maren G.		
Cy	Johannesen, Louise		
Am	Jonassen, Tan (Jonasen)		
Am	Jonassen, Maren A. (Jonasen)		
Cy	Jonassen, Johan Alfred (Jonasen)	Flora Charles	
Cy	Jonassen, Christoffer I. (Jonasen)		
Cnz	Jonasen, Archibald Clarence		
Am	Hansen, Hans		
Am	Hansen, Christiane (Yohanne Christine Charoline)		
Cy	Hansen, Hakon		
Cy	Hansen, Anna		

Cy	Hansen, Karl		
Cnz	Hansen, Schallier Loadowig Emil		
As	Ringstad, Katrine		
Am	Olsen, Karl M. (Carl)		
Am	Olsen, Olava (Emma Olava)		
Cy	Olsen, Marie		
Cy	Olsen, Oseur (Oscar Edven)		
Cnz	Olsen, Caroline Sophie		
Cnz	Olsen Alfred William		
Cnz	Olsen, Sophia Alsora		
Cnz	Olsen, Gunda Albertine		
Cnz	Olsen, Aatto Emil		
Cnz	Olsen, Johan Fredrick (John Frederick)		
Cnz	Olsen, Clara Eliza		
Am	Larsen, Anders		
Am	Larsen, Anne T.		
Cy	Larsen, Josef		
Cy	Larsen, Ludvig	Alice Maude KING	
Cy	Larsen, Thor		
Am	Engelbretsen, Engelbret (Engelbretsen)		
Am	Engelbretsen, Sofie (Sophia Engelbretsen)		
Cy	Engelbretsen, Petter E. (Peter Emil Engelbretsen)		
Cy	Engelbretsen, Anna (Anna Caroline Engelbretsen)		
Cy	Engelbretsen, Alfred (Alfred Carelius Engelbretsen)	Jorine/Torine/Lovine Bergersen	
Cy	Engelbretsen, Otto (Otto Edward Engelbretsen)	Annie Pauline Pedersen	
Cnz	Engelbretsen, Carl (Karl Albert)		
Cnz	Engelbretsen, Emma Susannah	Walter Aldridge Gower	
Cnz	Engelbretsen, George Edwin	Annie Reisama	
Cnz	Engelbretsen, Clara	Axel Guttorm Mortensen	Evelyn Clara Mortensen, Bertha Sophia Mortensen
Cnz	Engelbretsen, Gustave Bert (Berndt Gustaf)	Ruth Lydia Bolstad	Myrtle Christina Engelbretsen, George Gustave Engelbretsen, James Ulrick Engelbretsen, Owen Egbert Engelbretsen, Ellen Sophie Engelbretsen
Cnz	Engelbretsen, Edward		
Am	Olsen, Hans		
Am	Olsen, Anne Lise		
Cy	Olsen, Christian		
Cy	Olsen, Carl August	Louisa Marie Theresa Wahl	
Cy	Olsen, Hanna Lise (Hanna Eliza)		
Cnz	Olsen, Axel Oluf		
As	Kordlsen, Albertine H.		
Am	Fredriksen, Emanuel		
Am	Fredriksen, Eline		
Co	Fredriksen, Johanne		
Cy	Fredriksen, Carl		
Cy	Fredriksen, Erik	Edith Mary Small	
Cy	Fredriksen, Johannes		
Am	Gundersen, Ole		

Am	Gundersen, Marthe E. (Martha Ericksen)		
Cnz	Gundersen, Oscar Marius (Oscar Mauris)	Alice Grimwood / Grimmwood	
Cnz	Gundersen, Annette Emilia (Annetta)		
Cnz	Gundersen, Gustav Ludvig (Gustave)	Ellen Martin	
Cnz	Gundersen, Nellie Marie	Robert Roland Gillard	
Cnz	Gundersen, John Albert (Albert John)	Pearl Donaldson	
Cnz	Gundersen, Ole Gilbert	Clarice Marjorie Clarkson	
Cnz	Gundersen, Minda Casbora		
Am	Hansen, Hans M. (Martin)		
Am	Hansen, Marie Smia (Stina)		
Cy	Hansen, Anne Marie (Ann)	Robert Henry Sayers	John Henry Sayers, Martin Ambrose Sayers, Annie Chritina Sayers, Margaret Hilda Sayers, Doris Elizabeth Sayers
Cnz	Hansen, Hans Anton	Anna Marie Harms	Alice Adeline Hansen, Ellen Alma Hansen, Anton John (Tony) Hansen, Ethel Marion Hansen, Charlotte Ida (Lottie) Hansen, Archie Anton Hansen, Hans Martin (Sonny) Hansen, Elsie Joyce (Biddy) Hansen, Kathleen Agnes (Dolly) Hansen, Matilda Josephine (Tilly) Hansen, Esther Lillian Hansen
Cnz	Hansen, Carl Albert	Hilda Harriett Cracknell	Mary Hansen, Nellie Hansen, Carl Albert Hansen, Anton Martin Hansen, Arthur Stanley Hansen, Ronald Harold Hansen, Philip William Alexander
Cnz	Hansen, William (Chris)	Janet 'Elsie' Maude Abbott	Doris Hansen
Cnz	Hansen, Otto (Arthur)		
Cnz	Hansen, Wilhelm (Charlie)		
Cnz	Hansen, Oscar Valdemar (Waldron)	Gertrude May Livingstone	Martin 'Marty' William Hansen
Cnz	Hansen, Hilda Emilie	William Samuel Willis	William Smaul 'Bill' Willis, Laura May 'Dolly' Willis, Lylie Willis, Lancelot George Willis, Mavis Evelyn Ella Willis, Claude Cyril Willis, John Alexander 'Jack' Willis, Ivan Colin 'Slick' or 'Whiskey' Willis, Joyce Florence Madge Pearl Willis
Cnz	Hansen, Catharina Maria		
Cnz	Hansen, Dagma Sophie		
Am	Andersen, August (August Julius Andersen)		
Am	Andersen, Amalie Flint/Flink		
Cnz	Andersen, Abel Josiah		
Cnz	Andersen, Alma Hildegaard (Anderson)	Arthur Olsen	
Cnz	Andersen, Hilda Amalia (Amelia)	James Evan Haughie	

Cnz	Andersen, Isaiah Joseph (Anderson)	Florence Lydia Sykes	
Cnz	Andersen, Victor Emanuel (Victor Emanuel Anderson)	Dansey	
Cnz	Andersen, Ruth Elizabeth	Frederick Arthur Corner / Comer	
Cy	Andersen, Oline (Family: Fredericksen)		
Cy	Andersen, Samuel (Family: Fredericksen)		
Am	Kristoffersen, K. (Christoffersen)		
Am	Kristoffersen, Anne Marthea (Mathea Christoffersen)		
Cnz	Christoffersen, Anton	Constance Dunnage	
As	Christoffersen, Julius		
Am	Olsen, Ole (Bergen/Berger)		
Am	Olsen, Eli H. (Elli)		
Co	Olsen, Julie Olsen (Julia)	Soren 'Sam' Olsen Glomsashelleurd Ericksen	
Cy	Olsen, Ole Olsen		
Cy	Olsen, Hans	Jonette 'Jeanette' Christoffersen	Ivy Olsen, Edwin Oliver Olsen, John Harold Olsen, Henry Stanley Olsen, Hans Victor Olsen, Jessie Myrtle Olsen, Hector Colin Olsen
Cy	Olsen, Kimo (Knud)	Olivia Ericksen	
Cy	Olsen, Johan		
Am	Olsen, Emil O. (Emile Olaveo)		
Am	Olsen Anne Marie (Maria)		
Cy	Olsen, Johan F. (Frederick)	Clara Eugenie Wilhelmina Metzler	
Cy	Olsen, Hanna C. (Hanne Caroline)	Christian Nicolai Clausen	
Am	Mortensen, Fredrik (Johan Frederick Mortensen)		
Am	Mortensen, Anne M. (Marie)		
Ad	Mortensen, Martha Mathilda (Tilla)	George Frederick Maximillian Wolfgang Willing, Joseph Sowry	Emma Elise Mathilde Willing Robert Owen Willing Evangeline Anbna Maria Sowry, Lavina Frederika 'Lovey' Sowry, Mabal Beatrice Sowry, Ivy Woodvine Sowry
Ad	Mortensen, Augusta (Fredrikke 'Gussie')	Frederick William Redward	Elizabeth Mary Redward, James Frederick Redward, John Bunyan Redward, Florence Edith Redward, Walter Leicester Redward, Dinneford Ormond 'Din' Redward, Myrtle Lavinia Redwood, Claude Raymond 'Ray' Redward, Roy Stanley Redwood, Ellen Florence 'Flo' Redward, Damer Septimus Redward, Francis Huia 'Snapper' Redward
Ad	Mortensen, Carl F. (Karl Frithjof / Morton)	Julia Adrian, Catherine Winifred Gavan	Louis Alexander 'Alex' Mortensen, James Horace Mortensen, George William Mortensen, Oswald Archibald 'Arch' Mortensen, Victor McGregor Mortensen, Leonard Gordon Mortensen, Ida Lillian Mortensen, Ruby Myra Mortensen, Montague Leslie 'Jack'

			Mortensen, Pearl Natalie Mortensen, Cedric Menzies Mortensen. Karl Frank Morton, Leonard Ambrose Morton, Arthur Morton (and deceased twin), Ruby Morton, Keith Morton
Cy	Mortensen, Morten		
Cy	Mortensen, Hans (Hans Peter)	Olina 'Lena' Emanuelsdatter, Elizabeth 'Lizzie' King	Helena Emily Mary 'Emily' Mortensen, Johan Frederick 'Freddie' Mortensen, Walter Emmanuel Mortensen, Belle Adeline 'Bella' Larsen
Cy	Mortensen, Axel	Clara Englebreetsen	Evelyn Clara Mortensen, Bertha Sophia Mortensen
Am	Pedersen, Martin		
Am	Pedersen, Olava		
Cy	Pedersen, Betsy		
Cy	Pedersen, Josefine (Josephine)	Hans Nikolai Hansen	
Cy	Pedersen, Anna		
Am	Hansen, Marthia (Mathias)		
Am	Hansen, Magdaline M. (Magdalena)		
Am	Jacobsen, Hans (Hans Jakobson Dammen)		
Am	Jacobsen, Anne		
Cy	Jacobsen, Dorthea	Alfred Jansen/Johansen	John Henry Johansen, Annette Matilda Johansen, Violet Elizabeth Johansen, Alfred Johansen, Nora Dorothy Johansen
Cy	Jacobsen, Berthea	Peter Pedersen	Katherina Pedersen, John Norman Arthur Pedersen, Alfred Ernest Pedersen, Harry Bernard Pedersen, Bertha Pedersen, Nicoline Christina Pedersen, Willam Pedersen, Ellen Pedersen, Victor Pedersen, Arthur Pedersen, Dorothea Pedersen
Cy	Jacobsen, Julie		
Cy	Jacobsen, Ole M. (Ole Martinus Hansen Dammen Jacobsen)	Olene Larsdatter	Hilda Jacobsen, Mathilda Jacobsen, Minnie Jacobsen
Cy	Jacobsen, Hans J. (Hans Jacob)	Emma Taylor	
Am	Petersen, Hans		
Am	Petersen, Olivia M.		
Ad	Petersen, Otto Sigvart		
Co	Petersen, Hansine M. (Hansine Marie)	Peter Elley Moller	
Cy	Petersen, Josefine M. (Mary Josephine)	Walter Scott	
Cy	Petersen, Olga M.		
Cy	Petersen, Peder T.		
As	Hansen, Emma S. (Emma Sophia)	Charles Wilson	
As	Johannesen, Marion		
Am	Nilsen, Jens (Jons)		
Am	Nilsen, Thorine (Thorina Jensen)		
Cy	Nilsen, Narling		
Cy	Nilsen, Carl		

Cy	Nilsen, Martin		
Cy	Nilsen, Andreas		
Cnz	Nilsen, Josephina Elisa Donneva		
As	Larsen, Marea		
As	Johannesen, Carl (Johansen)	Thorine Thoresen	
Cnz	Johansen, Elizabeth		
Am	Larsen, Pester L. (Pedley)		
Am	Larsen, Margrite		
Cy	Larsen, Hans		
Cy	Larsen, Magdalena (Cecilia Magdalena)	Benjamin Moores	
Cy	Larsen, Hjaemar		
Cnz	Larsen, Jens Peder		
Am	Torkildsen, Ole C. (Ole Christian Torkelson)		
Am	Torkildsen, Marien (Torkelson)		
Cy	Torkildsen, Thorvald (Torval Christian Torkelson/Torkelsen)		
Cnz	Torkildsen, Mathilde G (Mathilda Ovena Thorkilsen)	Thomas Hugh Barclay	
Cnz	Torkildsen, Anton William		
Cnz	Torkildsen, Charlie Green		
Am	Berntsen, Johan		
Am	Berntsen, Olava (Karen Olava)		
Cy	Berntsen, Joneth (Jonette)		
Cy	Berntsen, Hjaimar (Halmar/Yalmar Bernhard)		Bernard Y Berntsen, Eric Berntsen
Cnz	Berntsen, Hilda (Hilda Josephine)	Walter Gordon Baird	
Cnz	Berntsen, Violet (Berutsen)	Alma Honnor Mexted	
Cnz	Berntsen, Carl Olavis (Charles Olavis)		
Am	Fayer, Anders		
Am	Fayer, Karin		
Co	Fayer, Petrus		
Cy	Fayer, Sama		
Am	Person, Erik		
Am	Person, Ingeborg (Ingebor)		
Cy	Person, Edvard		
Cy	Person, Augusta		
Cy	Person, Alfred		
As	Larsen, Ole		
Am	Mandai, Kristian		
Am	Mandai, Maren H.		
Cy	Mandai, Julie M.		
Am	Serrup, Harald E. (Seerup)		
Am	Serrup, Louise (Seerup)		
Cy	Serrup, Cornelius (Seerup)		
As	Hansen, Helene		
As	Hansen, Elizabeth		
As	Olsen, Justine Agnes		
Am	Olsen, C.M.		
Am	Olsen, Tryer S.		
Cy	Olsen, Agnes M.		
Am	Gundersen, Andreas (Andreus)		
Am	Gundersen, Karen Pedersen		
Am	Nordley, Olavus O. (Olavus C.)		

Am	Nordley, Petrine Hansen		
Cy	Nordley, Hans		
Cy	Nordley, Ole		
Cy	Nordley, Anna		
As	Pestersen, Fredrik W.		
Am	Pestersen, Christian (Christian Edvard/Edward Petersen/Pettersen)		
Am	Pestersen, Berthe L. (Berthe Marie Petersen/Pettersen)		
As	Pestersen, Hilda Mathilda (Hilda Mathilde Edvarsdatter Petersen/Pettersen)		
Cnz	Petersen, Hilda Marie (Hilda Maria Petersen/Pettersen)		
Cnz	Petersen, Charlotte Christiane (Petersen/Pettersen)	Peter George Grant	Ella Lottie Grant, Mavis Hilda Grant, George Douglas Grant, Jeanne Berte Grant
Cnz	Petersen, Bertie Laurence (Petersen/Pettersen)	Mary Catherine McIntosh	
Cnz	Petersen, John Alfred (Petersen/Pettersen)		
Cnz	Petersen, John Alfred (Petersen/Pettersen)		
Cnz	Petersen, Jane Ameila (Petersen/Pettersen)		
As	Hovding, Edwin		
As	Winguist, Augusta		
Am	Toresen, Anders (Thoresen)		
Am	Toresen, Olia (Olina Thoresen)		
Co	Toresen, Anne (Thoresen)		
Cy	Toresen, Carl (Thoresen)		
Cy	Toresen, Johan (Thoresen)		William Thoresen, Kenneth Thoresen
Cy	Toresen, Olup (Thoresen)		
Cy	Toresen, Torjini (Thoresen)		
Am	Gundersen, Berthol (Berthold)		
Am	Gundersen, Mari Hansen (Mary)		
Cy	Gundersen, Hans Gustav		
Cy	Gundersen, Hans	Thora Andersen	Mabel Matilda Gundersen, Minnie Gundersen, Sidney Ernest Gundersen, Annie Rebecca Gundersen, Bernard Gundersen, Hector Gus Gundersen, Kenneth Gundersen, Mabel Mathilda Gundersen
Cy	Gundersen, Martimes (Martines / Martinus)		
Am	Eriksen, Ole ('Old Ole')		
Am	Eriksen, Anne S. (Anne Sorensdatter Mellom)		
Ad	Eriksen, Soren O. (Soren 'Sam' Olsen Eriksen)	Julie 'Julia' Olsdatter Olsen	
Ad	Eriksen, Amnia		
Co	Eriksen, Ole ('Young Ole')	Syverine Emilie Evensen	Oliver George Edwin Ericksen, Emilia Alice 'Millie' Ericksen, Adolf Engebret Ericksen, Severine

			Bergeta 'Sivvy' Ericksen, Alme Louisa Ericksen, William Charles 'Willie' Ericksen, Olga Esther Ericksen, Hilda Gurine Ericksen, Albert Walter Ericksen, Edna Grace Maud Ericksen, Violet Ericksen
Cy	Eriksen, Anna	Peter Christian Sander	Annette Matilda Sander, Carl Oscar Sander, Mella Magrete Sander, Cina Rebecca Sanders, Adolph Bernard Sanders, Marie Caroline Sanders, Sarah Emelia Sanders
Cy	Eriksen, Nils (Niels)	Ida/Ada Fischer	Anne Emilie 'Annie' Ericksen, Julia Ellen Ericksen, Oliver Archibald 'Archie' Ericksen, Nellie Ethel Ericksen
Am	Olsen, Torkel (Forkil/Therkel/Toskil/Torkil)		
Am	Olsen, Andrea (Andreas)		
Cy	Olsen, Ole		
Cy	Olsen, Arthur		
Cnz	Olsen, Otto (Otto Frederick)		
Cnz	Olsen, Anna		
Cnz	Olsen, Knud 'Kenneth' Olsen Berger		
Cnz	Olsen, Nellie		
Cnz	Olsen, Anna		
Cnz	Olsen, Niels		
Cnz	Olsen, John 'Johnny'		
As	Olsen, Engleret (Engebret/Engelbret)	Gurine Gundersen	
As	Olsen, Thora	Patrick Windsor	
Am	Amundsen, Bernt (Berndt)		
Am	Amundsen, Elen Marie (Elen Maria / Ellen Marie)		
Cy	Amundsen, Caspara (Caspra)	John Alfred Danielson	
Cy	Amundsen, Gustava Agnes	Olaf Carlson	
Cnz	Amundsen, Johan Sigvart		
Cnz	Amundsen, Albert Bernhard (Albert Bernard)	Annie Mabel Lawrence	
Cnz	Amundsen, Maria (Mary)		
Cnz	Amundsen, Anna (Annie)		
Cnz	Amundsen, John		
Am	Andersen, Hans (Anderson)		
Am	Andersen, Torliane (Juliane/Juliana)		
Cy	Andersen, Mathilde S. (Sophie)		
Cy	Andersen, Klara E.	Joseph Barnes	
Cy	Andersen, Hans	Marie Christine Christoffersen	
Cy	Andersen, Jenny (Jennie Maria/Marie)	Thomas Albert Andersen/Anderson	Violet Marjorie Amamdale Anderson, Thelma Irene Anderson, Iris Jean 'Snow' Anderson
Cnz	Andersen, Adelina Gitalia (Lina)	Edward Johnson	Leslie Ludwig Edward 'Les' Johnson, Thyra Adelina Johnson
Cnz	Andersen, Laura Eliza	John Charles Lean	Martha Gladys Maud Lean, Oswald Leslie Lean, Freda Eileen Lean
Cnz	Andersen, Ludwig Edward	Johanna Haliburton	

Cnz	Andersen, Johan Havinius		
Cnz	Andersen, Johan Marinus	Mary Ann Lane Eleanor Blackburn	
As	Andersen, Elen		
Cy	Andersen, Carl		
Cy	Andersen, Emil		
Am	Johannesey, Carl A. (Johannesen)		
Am	Johannesey, Christine (Johannesen)		
As	Sorensen, Anne B.		
As	Jacobson, Mathia (Martha)	James Hentskey	
As	Jacobson, Anne D. (Annie Dorathea)	George Bishop	
As	Hansen, Maren		
As	Johannes, Sofie		
As	Christoffersen, Otter	Maren Larsdatter	
As	Johanneson, Andre (Jahanneson)		
As	Johannes, Karen		
As	Andresen, Amalie (Amelia Rosina)		
As	Blom, Johannes (John)	Caroline Matilda Frank	
Cnz	Blom, [Not Recorded]		
Cnz	Blom, Charles John (John Charles)		
Cnz	Blom, Emily Matilda		
Cnz	Blom, Frank Gustav		
Cnz	Blom, Nellie Mary (Nellie Maria)		
Cnz	Blom, Jane Caroline		
Cnz	Blom, Signe Regina (Gina / Seigne)		
As	Johanneson, Peder		
Am	Forland, Thomas T. (Thomas Jensen Forland / Torland / Thomas Forland Jensen)		
Am	Forland, Eli J.		
Cy	Forland, Burte Marie (Benthe Mary/Marie)	Johannes Kaallem 'John' Moller/Miller, Carl Georg 'Charles George' Wahlstrom	Ellen Olene Moller/Miller, Violet Miller
Cnz	Jensen, Jens Olai (James, July, 'Jack')	Ethel Maud Gallot, Elizabeth Ann Hosking	George Edward Wahlstrom
Cnz	Jensen, Edvard/Edward (Ted)	Laura Jessie Ellis	Reginald James 'Reg' Jensen, Thomas William 'Tom' Jensen, Arthur John Jensen
Cnz	Jensen, Inga Amelia	Joseph Edward Moyle	
Cnz	Jensen, Ellie Tamine (Nellie)		Doris Marie Jensen, Edna Myrtle Jensen, Edward Thomas Jensen
Cnz	Jensen, John	Beatrice Ann 'Beatty' McAnulty	Jane Eli/Elie Moyle, May Eileen Moyle, Victor Thomas Edmund Moyle
As	Halversen, Marie (Maria)		
As	Andersen, Elen		
As	Andersen, Elise		
As	Wiigr, Carl S. (Wiger)		
As	Andresen, Inga A.		
As	Andersen, Marie		
Am	Gundersen, S. Petter (Severin / Sven)		
Am	Gundersen, Anne K. (Christine)		
Cy	Gundersen, Anne I. (Anne Inga Jonsen)	Peter Jensen	

Cy	Gundersen, Inga L. (Inga Louise / Louisa)	Alois Hulena	
Am	Engebretsen, Johannes Ingebretsen		
Am	Engebretsen, Inga Marie (Inga Maria/Mary Ingebretsen)		
Cy	Engebretsen, Josefina (Ingebretsen)	Walter William Thorby	Mary Ann Josephine Thorby, Henry Ezekiel Thorby, Elizabeth Thorby, Clara Matilda Amelia ("Dolly") Thorby, Walter William Thorby, John Edward Thorby, Martha Thorby, Edith May Thorby, Leonard Victor Thorby, Ethel Thorby
Cy	Engebretsen, Edvard (Ingebretsen)		
Cy	Engebretsen, Betsy Katherine 'Bessie'	Albert Larsen	Lewis Godfrey Larsen, Edward Stanley Larsen, Sargi Sabastian Larsen, Gladys Laura Josephine Larsen, Clara Margory 'Clara Marjorie' Larsen
Cy	Engebretsen, Karl Peter (Carl)	Margaret Catherine Fabling	Grace Mary Englebreetsen, Douglas Gordon Engebretsen, Edward John Engelbreetsen, Roy Daniel Engebretsen, Edna May Engebretsen, Charles Lester Engebretsen, Margaret Pearl Engebretsen, Joseph William Engebretson, Inga Marie Engebretsen
Cnz	Engebretsen, Johannes		
Cnz	Engebretsen, Mathilda Fredrika/Fredericka	James Gerald Peters	Dorothy Hazel Peters, Myra Gertrude Peters Thelma Gundline/Gwendoline Peters
Cnz	Engebretsen, Emma Albertina	Samuel Jones	David Samuel Jones, Myrtle May Jones, Muriel Ladysmith Jones, Eileen Agnes Jones, Harold William Jones, Ronald Edward Jones, Samuel John Jones
Cnz	Engebretsen, Alfred Martinas		
Cnz	Engebretsen, Martin Frederick	Margaret Josephine King	Martin Frederick Englebreetsen, Doreen Violet Engebretsen, Eileen Josephine Englebreetsen, Marwee Francis Kiwi (Maui) Engelbreetsen, Huia Te Rahana Gordon Englebreetsen
Cnz	Engebretsen, Hilda Villimin (Hilda Wilhelmina)	Edmund James Ansell, Charles Coates Howard	
Am	Larson, Lars (Larsen)		
Am	Larson, Karen J. (Larsen)		
Cy	Larson, Ole (Larsen)		
Cnz	Larsen, Lina (Lena)		
As	Syversen, Elin M. (Ellen)		
As	Jorgensen, Johanne B.		
Am	Pedersen, Hans		
Am	Pedersen, Anne Olsen (Anne Kirstine/Christina)		
Cy	Pedersen, Julius H. (Julius Hansen)		

Cy	Pedersen, Ole Petter (Ole Peter)	Anne Nicholls	Elizabeth Stokke, Agnes Hansina Sokke
Cnz	Pedersen, Rudolph Carl Norman	Mary Williamena Joan Priest	
As	Andersen, Louise		
As	Andersen, Amalie		
As	Andersen, Julie		
As	Gustavson, Erik		
As	Teetle, Karoline		
Am	Andersen, Martin		
Am	Andersen, Josefine Karoline		
Cnz	Andersen, Ernest		
Cnz	Andersen, Albert		
Cnz	Andersen, Henry		
Cnz	Andersen, Charles		
Cnz	Andersen, Edward		
Cnz	Andersen, Frederick		
Cnz	Andersen, Sydney		

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AJHR, 1872, I, D13

AJHR, 1872, I, D16

AJHR, 1872, I, D16

AJHR, 1872, I, D16a

AJHR, 1872, I, D17

AJHR, 1872, II, D, E, F

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⁶⁹⁴ Lutheran Church records for New Zealand were kindly supplied by their current holders; the Lutheran Church of Australia. At the time of this writing, the Lutheran Church of Australia are undertaking the digitisation of physical records, and kindly prioritised for this grateful author the surviving marriage registers of several Lutheran parishes established in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century.

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