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**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,
at Massey University, New Zealand.

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Abstract

This thesis examines immigrants who joined the Albertland Special Settlement Scheme, which was established in 1861 by the Auckland Provincial Government to bring a group of Christian non-conformists from Britain to the Kaipara. The scheme was one of several special settlements which provided the opportunity for religious or ethnic settlements to be established in New Zealand. They were an attempt by the provincial governments to boost migration to the colony and to settle outlying areas. Some of these have been previously studied, such as the Scottish settlement at Waipū and the Bohemian settlement at Pūhoi. These studies have focused on the correspondence and journals of the migrants to build a sense of these settlements and how their traditions changed or were abandoned. Other community research involved large demographic studies with observation focused on the development of the townships rather than the lives of those who stayed there.

This study also focuses on the lives and experiences of the migrants, but it augments archival records with new digitally available resources, such as genealogical websites, to explore the long histories of these immigrants' lives from their place of origin, until 1962, when descendants of the settlers assembled to celebrate a century since their arrival. The advent of the internet and the widespread digitisation of archives and secondary sources has provided unprecedented access to new primary sources and better ways of accessing and managing existing sources. This thesis draws on these new methodologies.

The Albertland settlement has been assessed by general histories and dedicated works as a failure. This thesis argues while the northern Kaipara did not attract or retain the vast majority of the Albertland migrants, those who did settle were able to recreate something of the non-conformist communities they hoped for, despite the limitations of geography, poor agricultural potential and isolation. This was a major achievement. A good proportion of migrants who never even went to Albertland, or who stayed but briefly, also did well in the new colony through business ventures and community standing.

The thesis explores several phases of the scheme's history. The first stage, the making of the Albertland scheme, occurred though the joining of like-minded individuals prior to departure. In the second phase, the migrants faced the challenges of the voyage out and the dramatic difference between what was expected and the isolated, surveyed and difficult country they found on their arrival. Many chose not to go on. The hope of establishing a non-conformist community, the joining together of those with different religious beliefs, was

shattered by the dispersal and fracturing of the scheme into separate communities, isolated from each other. Those remaining in or shifting to Auckland often did very well.

Three thousand prospective settlers registered for the Albertland scheme, just over 2,500 of these voyaged to New Zealand. The Albertlanders came from more diverse backgrounds than previously thought and yet they began forming communal bonds as soon as their voyages to New Zealand began. However, from this group only 300 journeyed to the settlement and after five years only 150 remained. This represents only five percent of the prospective settlers. Nonetheless, strong non-conformist foundations were maintained, and community feeling was strengthened, not weakened, through responses to challenges such as land speculation, crime, and civil administration.

Around 2,000 of the settlers remained in Auckland and influenced the development of the city and some even the colony. However, while separated from their compatriots on the Kaipara they were still referred to as the Auckland Albertlanders. Those who stayed on the Kaipara and those who remained in Auckland reunified the scheme in nostalgia, forging in memory the cohesion and stability that saw the settlers and their descendants maintain a common identity through anniversary celebrations and remembrances.

Success had different meanings throughout Albertland's history. For the founders of the scheme, success was the establishment of a large, independent, non-conformist settlement with a centralised leadership. For the original settlers, success meant remaining on the land and establishing a functional community. Those who left Albertland for elsewhere or had remained in Auckland found success meant establishing businesses and engraining themselves into the already established communities they moved to. The descendants of the Albertlanders found success in regaining a connection and reclaiming the vision of the founders, tempered through the hardship of those who settled on the land. Ignoring the extent to which the community had been dispersed across the Kaipara, and throughout the country.

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Introduction

*Farewell to happy England!
For other lands I roam,
To settle down in Albertland,
And find a distant home.
It is not that I love thee less
I seek a distant shore
For oh! May Heaven doubly bless
The land I'll see no more!
'Tis that my children may not want
When I can work no more,
And that old age may end in peace,
I seek another shore.¹*

In mid-1861 a young British journalist by the name of William Rawson Brame decided to seize an opportunity to create a haven for himself and morally upstanding religious non-conformists (the name given to Protestant Christians who did not follow the teachings and practices of the Church of England) in distant New Zealand. This was the third planned religious settlement in New Zealand, after the establishment of Christchurch by the Anglican Church and Dunedin by the Scottish Free Churches. The founding of this community marked the bicentenary of the expulsion of non-conformist ministers from the Anglican Church and represented the settlers' rejection of the restrictions placed on non-conformist worship by the British government. Despite his physical frailty, Brame had a talent for journalism, was a confident leader, and "possessed a dynamic and persuasive personality."²

Brame placed an advertisement in a Birmingham newspaper asking for registrations of interest in establishing a new religiously tolerant settlement in New Zealand. The response was overwhelming; letters of interest came from across Britain, leading Brame to establish the Association for the Establishment of a Colony of Non-conformists in New Zealand. By

¹ "Farewell to England." *The Albertland Gazette*, June 14, 1862, p. 4. (Newspapers are referenced with Volume and Issue numbers where such information is available). (The *Albertland Gazette* was known by many different names through its short time of operation. However, to avoid confusion it will simply be referenced as *The Albertland Gazette*).

² J. L. Borrows, *Albertland: The Last Organised British Settlement in New Zealand*, (Wellington; A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1969), p. 15.

the end of August 1861, the Association had a committee in London, a council of reference in Birmingham, various agents travelling England collecting names for registration, and a correspondent in New Zealand.³ Letters of inquiry increased after the Association announced that the Auckland Provincial Government was willing to give each settler 40 acres of land. In addition, each settler would receive another 40 acres for their spouse and an additional 20 acres for each child. This would be gifted freehold on the condition that the settlers stayed on the land for a minimum period of five years. The idea of owning land freehold was too good to resist for many prospective settlers and the Association ended up registering almost three thousand names.⁴

The enthusiasm of the prospective settlers, coupled with their leader's belief that the land gifted to them on the banks of the Ōruawharo River was ideal for the settlement, accelerated preparations. With great fanfare, on 29 May 1862 the first contingent of settlers—almost 700—set sail from London's East India Docks on the ships *Hanover* and *Matilda Wattenbach*. The ships, *Gertrude*, *William Miles*, and *Tyburnia* departed before the year ended with smaller contingents. The journey was uncomfortable -while Brame was provided a cabin free of charge by the shipping agency, many families spent their three-month journey in crowded and unsanitary conditions.⁵ Upon their arrival in Auckland, after an extended voyage, the Albertlanders were dismayed to find that no preparations had been made for them to travel north to the Ōruawharo River.

Dissatisfaction with both Brame and the scheme began to surface. According to Henry Brett and Henry Hook, the looks of pity from the people of Auckland who understood the arduous task the settlers had naïvely accepted did nothing to bolster their determination.⁶ Many decided that the trek up the Great North Road was not worth the trouble and settled in Auckland, never to even lay eyes on the homeland they had so eagerly anticipated. For those who did settle on the Ōruawharo the following decades were filled with tragedy, toil, hardship, and disappointment. Port Albert—the town that was to be the centre of the settlement—never grew beyond the size of a small fishing village as many settlers gave up their futile attempts to work the land and moved on to other settlements. Brame died on 21

³ Henry Brett and Henry Hook, *The Albertlanders: Brave Pioneers of the 'Sixties* (Auckland: The Brett Printing Company Limited, 1927), pp. 14-15.

⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 15-16.

⁵ Borrow, *Albertland*, pp. 41-42.

⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 10.

March 1863 having been driven out of the settlement by those who had followed him and come to doubt his intentions for concocting the entire scheme.⁷

Knowledge of the Albertland settlement has survived to the present day because settlers and descendants have honoured it through memory. The settlement represents the dreams and expectations of the Albertlanders. They saw themselves as a persecuted minority in Britain, who experienced disappointment upon arrival in Albertland, yet retained their zeal for their community after their initial difficulties. Despite the apparent failure of the settlement to live up to its anticipated success, the Albertlanders maintained connections through marriages and businesses, by settling in similar areas outside Albertland, and simply by identifying themselves as Albertlanders. On 29 May 1912, the settlement celebrated 50 years since the first ships left Britain. Invitations were sent to any known settlers and their descendants, and over 250 took part in the celebrations at a time when the district had a sparse population.⁸ The preservation of ties between the Albertlanders over the century after the settlement's establishment can expand our understanding of the nature of communities in 19th century New Zealand, and how these communities associated with the wider colonial and British imperial systems.

Albertland was part of a larger story of assisted migration to New Zealand instigated by provincial and central governments. In the decade of the Albertlanders' arrival, the Auckland Provincial Government had already established two other special settlements in the vicinity of what became Albertland; both were distinct in their national, ethnic, and religious compositions. The Scottish settlement at Waipū was set up in 1854 when the provincial government purchased land from the local hapū. The settlers were Scots of Highland origin and followers of the stern religious minister Norman McLeod. Waipū was not the first settlement established by the group; they had already emigrated to Cape Breton in Canada, then to Australia, and finally New Zealand. Over the following century the Waipū Scots adapted to their new home, and their community culture developed from an austere religious environment to a proud Scottish stronghold that held to traditions that may not have been observed by their forebears.

Pūhoi settled concurrently with Albertland, though its settlers were of a vastly different character to their non-conformist neighbours. The Pūhoi settlers were German-

⁷ Borrow, *Albertland*, p. 67.

⁸ Borrow, *Albertland*, pp. 182-183.

speaking Bohemians from the Austrian Empire, almost exclusively Catholic in religious observance, and led by former Austrian Officer Martin Krippner. Although many Bohemian customs were maintained, German was eventually replaced by English as the settlers became connected to the rest of the colonial state. Descendants of the Pūhoi settlers protected and celebrated their heritage and continued to use and maintain many of the buildings of the colonial era. The establishment and survival of these settlements and the efforts of descendants to maintain or chronicle their traditions is pertinent to this study, as they show the meeting point of community success, identity, and memory.

The Historiography of the Albertlanders

Albertland was one of a multitude of new and diverse European settlements established in New Zealand throughout the latter half of the 19th century. Although the settlement has not received detailed coverage by historians in the last 60 years, it has been mentioned in some general histories and noted in works on similar communities. In larger general histories, Albertland has been relegated to a few passing lines or as an annotation to works on larger emigration to the Auckland region. James Belich, in *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders*, simply noted that a special settlement of non-conformists was established in Northland in 1862 and maintained its religious character up until the 1880s.⁹

Terry Hearn makes the same assumption—Albertland was a settlement filled solely with English non-conformists. Hearn further remarks that most of the settlers in the scheme were farm labourers, and that they hailed from the English Midlands, Yorkshire, and Lancashire.¹⁰ Jock Phillips makes a similar statement, emphasising the non-conformist aspect of the Albertland scheme.¹¹ An article in *New Zealand Geographic* states the settlers were English and non-conformist, but acknowledges that clerks and carpenters were also represented in the group.¹² Works such as these have grouped the Albertlanders into a single homogeneous group and have not delved extensively into the diversity amongst the settlers in

⁹ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin Books Ltd, 1996), p. 439.

¹⁰ Terry Hearn, “English,” in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, ed. Jock Phillips, 126-139 (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2006), p. 132.

¹¹ Jock Phillips, “History of Immigration,” in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, ed. Jock Phillips, 20-42, (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2006), p. 28.

¹² Louisa Herd, “The Promised Land,” *New Zealand Geographic*, no. 070, Nov-Dec 2004, accessed 15.09.2021. <https://www.nzgeo.com/stories/the-promised-land/>

terms of their places of origin, occupations, what their lives entailed before emigration, and whether they were indeed non-conformists.

The largest work dedicated to the Albertlanders was written in honour of the settlement's 60th anniversary and is an extensive account of the settlement's inception and development. Written by Sir Henry Brett and Henry Hook, and published in 1927, *The Albertlanders: Brave Pioneers of the Sixties* holds an interesting place in the historiography of the Albertlanders. It stands on the boundary between primary and secondary sources as it is a work about the Albertlanders by a man who considered himself, if not an Albertlander, deeply entwined in that narrative. Brett was effectively an Albertlander in title only, having never made the journey from Auckland to the settlement on his arrival in New Zealand.¹³ He took every opportunity to praise the Albertlanders, and his work is not so much about the Albertlanders but a part of their story and the apogee of their collective histories. Brett was a firm believer in the colonial lifestyle and the rewards hard work could reap. His praise for the Albertlanders could be viewed as a form of self-aggrandisement as he was part of that group, but in his wider bibliography he also praises other colonial ventures and settler groups.¹⁴

Brett was born near Hastings, Sussex in 1843. Though his father was a tailor, he took up his uncle's trade as a stationer and newspaper proprietor. His uncle was a prolific writer and amateur historian, having written upwards of 18 works on the history of Hastings and the town of St. Leonards. This interest in local history was passed on to Brett.¹⁵ Brett showed promise in the newspaper business, but also pursued some training as a singer, possessing a strong bass voice.¹⁶ Rather than take an offer for formal voice tuition, Brett chose to honour a commitment he had made to a friend and emigrated with them as part of the Albertland Special Settlement Scheme. However, he wrote the following in his journal (quoted in *The Albertlanders*): "when we reached Gravesend I was very depressed at the accommodation, and endeavoured to get my chum, Bill Mason, to leave the ship and return home."¹⁷

Brett had planned to assist with the newspapers of the new settlement and then farm the 40 acres he gained through the scheme as a way of supplementing his income. Upon arrival Brett immediately abandoned this plan. When the *Hanover* arrived in Auckland, the

¹³ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 5.

¹⁴ Henry Brett, *White Wings: Fifty Years of Sail in the New Zealand Trade, 1850-1900* (Christchurch: Capper Press, 1976).

¹⁵ *Auckland Star*, Volume LVIII, Issue 25, 31 January 1927, p. 8.

¹⁶ *Auckland Star*, Volume LVIII, Issue 25, 31 January 1927, p. 8.

¹⁷ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 43-44.

proprietor of the *Daily Southern Cross* boarded and stated he was looking for reporters; Brett chose to take employment with the newspaper rather than proceed to Albertland. This was a fortuitous move as Brett did not have to contend with the hardships of the settlers who went to Albertland or spend time unemployed in Auckland like many others. His first residence was on Grafton Road where he lived with the Payne family, fellow Albertlanders, who had sent their son north to clear their land whilst they waited in Auckland.¹⁸ Within a short time Brett was reporting for two newspapers, and in 1870 he became partner at the *Auckland Evening Star* and introduced innovations that allowed the newspaper to overtake many of its rivals. These innovations included the use of carrier pigeons to avoid the issue of telegram cable faults (common at the time), and Brett personally ventured to any ship arriving in Auckland to get the international news ahead of rival reporters waiting on the docks.¹⁹

Six years later Brett became sole owner of the paper and hired Thomson Wilson Leys to act as co-editor. Brett and Leys were two men who had similar experiences as both were part of the Albertland scheme, neither ever went to the settlement, and both worked in the newspaper industry. Leys was younger than Brett when he arrived in Auckland aboard the *Tyburnia* and when his father chose to settle the family in Auckland, Leys became an apprentice compositor at the *Daily Southern Cross* before moving on to reporting and editing. The partnership between Brett and Leys continued until their deaths in 1927 and 1924, respectively, and extended from newspapers into publishing ventures. Leys served as the director of Brett's publishing company and editor for two of Brett's books.²⁰

Both men took an active interest in the community of Auckland: Leys supported numerous educational institutes, and Brett served on his local Highway Board as well as serving a term as Mayor of Auckland from 1877-1878.²¹ Brett's interest in local history led him to write several works on Auckland history including the two-volume work *White Wings*.²² Both Brett and Leys refused offers to sit on the Legislative Council; they preferred to use their media influence to sway politics rather than joining the fray themselves. While he remained in Auckland and built a successful career, Brett's ties with Albertland continued.

¹⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 216.

¹⁹ Michael Brett, "'Brett, Henry', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography," 1993. Links and sources – Brett, Henry – Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 22.03.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b39/brett-henry/sources>.

²⁰ Janice C. Mogford, "Leys, Thomson Wilson," Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 13 July 2012, accessed 15.10.21. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2111/leys-thomson-wilson>.

²¹ *Auckland Star*, 29 January 1926, p. 6.

²² Brett, *White Wings*.

He bought several plots of land in the northern section of Albertland surrounding Paparoa. These were dense bush, and he was handsomely paid by the nearby bush contractors and mills to allow access to the timber. One plot yielded over 22 million feet of timber, a major boon for the businesses in the area.²³ It is thought that Brett attended the 25th anniversary celebrations at Port Albert in 1887 alongside several other Albertlanders who had become prominent in Auckland, such as Theophilus Cooper.²⁴

Brett's active interest in the history and development of the settlement throughout the years led to his appointment to the committee of the Records Association. This body was established to organise the 60th anniversary event and collect mementos of the previous six decades. Brett's invitation to join shows that he had maintained connections, personal and professional, with those in Albertland and was not seen as an outsider; all the committee members were Albertland settlers or the children thereof. Brett had been working on a history of Albertland for some time, but the support of the Records Association gave it much needed momentum—the book was published within four years of their collaboration.

The quandary of how to approach the use of this work is rooted in its place as neither primary nor secondary source. As the book contains a multitude of information, it is invaluable in understanding the history of the settlement; many of the stories were collected from the people who experienced them—not from witnesses or descendants—and are not contained in family histories. However, as Brett himself was an Albertlander and maintained connections with the area and the settlers, it should not be considered a secondary source either. Brett has curated the stories into tales of intrepid pioneers and, while he has not shied away from the hardships the settlers faced, he has portrayed the group, who he was a part of, in an overly positive light—much in the same way family histories have been accused of doing.²⁵

The vast number of collaborators means *The Albertlanders* could be considered a communal archive: a collective work written by all those who contributed to it but correlated by its two authors, Brett and Hook. By the time the book was published, many of the original Albertlanders who arrived as adults had passed away. However, their children who emigrated with them or were born in the early years of the settlement may have still been alive. These

²³ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 158.

²⁴ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 130.

²⁵ Liz Gloyn et al., "The Ties That Bind: Materiality, Identity and the Life Course in the "Things" Families Keep", in *Journal of Family History* Vol 43, No. 2 (2018): p. 160.

people were sought out and interviewed by Brett, or their diaries were given to him for his research. Many of these interviews and diaries are now lost and only exist in Brett's work; thus, to not use his work would be to forgo a large cache of first-hand accounts of the settlement's early years. Brett's work is distinct from the family histories in the Albertland & Districts Museum; those were written for a familial audience, while this work was curated for a wider general audience.²⁶ However, there is still some overlap between Brett's work and the museum's family histories as local and family history are connected by motivation and the sources they rely on.²⁷

Almost 40 years after Brett's publication, another work appeared. Authored by J. L. Borrows, *Albertland: The Last Organised British Settlement in New Zealand* lent heavily on its predecessor and barely expanded on the sources used.²⁸ Brett's work made little to no direct mention of the immigrants' origins.²⁹ In Borrows' work the origins of the Albertlanders are also not discussed, except for a biography of Brame's life before he instigated the scheme. The settlers are not mentioned until the third chapter, which is concerned with the voyage from Britain to New Zealand.³⁰ The lack of research into the diversity of the Albertland settlers in these and later works may be attributed to early assumptions about the settlers' composition. It was assumed that the Albertlanders fitted the usual mould of British settler identity. It was not until after the Second World War that historians began to show interest in settler groups of differing national origins and ethnic groups who did not fit this mould.³¹

Subsequent works published by the Albertland & Districts Museum also suffer the same shortcoming. While these works acknowledge that the Albertlanders may have had different origins, they only do so in passing. The centenary work, *Albertland: The First 100 Years 1862-1962*,³² states the intention of "bringing the story of the Albertlanders up to date."³³ As a centennial project the intention of the work was to look forward from the original settlers through the lives of their descendants. It explicitly states 1862-1962 as its

²⁶ Gloyn et al., "The Ties That Bind," p. 158.

²⁷ Joanna M. A. Newman, "Sustaining Community Archives," M.A. Thesis (Victoria University of Wellington, 2010), p. 8.

²⁸ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 10.

²⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*.

³⁰ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 33.

³¹ Erik Olssen, "Where to From Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-century Historiography of Nineteenth-century New Zealand," in *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1992): pp. 55-56.

³² Ivy Elizabeth Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years 1862-1962* (Wellsford: The Bush Press of New Zealand, 2012).

³³ Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, p. 7.

period of interest and suggests that to travel beyond this period would be counterintuitive. Another reason for its lack of acknowledgement of the Albertlanders' origins is that the work relied heavily on the information from Brett's work which did the same.³⁴

Other works published by the museum make use of the vast collections held in its archive. Paul Campbell's *Images from Albertland: Harold Marsh, 1876-1948* details the lives of the settlers and their descendants through the medium of photography, specifically the photographs of Harold Marsh.³⁵ Due to the medium and the choice of photographer, the focus again is on Albertlanders' lives decades after settlement and not on their origins. However, the work reveals details hitherto unseen in other Albertland works: the images "are rare illustrations of a pioneering life, a gentler time, and a time of trial. They are a record of a people, their discoveries and how they made their lives to fit a new and developing land."³⁶ Each of these works, from Brett's to others published by the Albertland & Districts Museum, was limited by its own purpose—to commemorate a specific event and honour the audience assembled for that event.

Chapter Summary

This thesis follows the Albertland settlers from their places of origin to New Zealand and then follows the lives of their descendants through the development of the settlement. The next chapter will discuss literature and historiography relevant to the Albertlanders, the context of their arrival, and research conducted into other settler communities. Following this is a chapter to discuss the nature of genealogical research and the methodology used in this research. Chapter One investigates the lives of the leaders of the Albertland Association and their motivations for establishing the settlement scheme. Chapter Two similarly examines motivations but those of the prospective settlers and whether they shared similar motivations with the scheme's leaders. Chapter Three discusses the lives of the settlers during their voyages from Britain to New Zealand and how they attempted to form communal bonds while on board the ships. Chapter Four follows the unravelling of the scheme and struggles of the Albertland settlers as they grappled with the reality of their situation. Chapter Five

³⁴ Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, p. 7.

³⁵ Paul Campbell, *Images from Albertland: Harold Marsh, 1876-1948* (Dargaville: Echo Publishers, 2011).

³⁶ "Images from Albertland: Harold Marsh, 1876 to 1948 - Silver Edition," accessed 06.11.2023. <https://www.carsonsbookshop.co.nz/p/nz-history-images-from-albertland-harold-marsh-1876-to-1948-silver-edition>

mirrors this by following the revival of the settlement under new leaders that had to deal with what they saw as challenges to the cohesion of their communities.

The subsequent chapters have a thematic composition. Chapter Six explores land ownership in Albertland and whether different styles of ownership influenced how settlers interacted within their community. Chapter Seven investigates how the Albertlanders attempted to build and maintain cohesion, specifically how their attempts fared in the realms of civil administration, crime, and sport and recreation. Chapter Eight discusses the Albertlanders who never journeyed to the settlement and evaluates their experiences. Chapter Nine considers the place of women and how, despite their input and support, they have often been relegated to background roles in the Albertland story. Chapter Ten discusses Albertland in memory: how the settlers and their descendants have remembered their settlement, their stories, and each other through celebrations, memorials, and large projects of remembrance. Lastly, the conclusion reiterates findings on the nature of the Albertland Special Settlement Scheme and the Albertlanders.

Literature & Historiography

Conducting an historiographical review for this research requires the examination of multiple facets of the Albertland story. An exploration of the histories the Albertlanders and their descendants wrote about themselves is essential, along with a consideration of how these may have shaped the community's memory. Literature beyond Albertland must also be examined to give an overview of the historical context of the Albertlanders' arrival in New Zealand. This includes research into migration, histories of immigration schemes, and how recruitment practices shaped migration movements. This literature helps us understand the origins of the Albertland scheme and how recruitment processes were shaped by events that occurred before or during the scheme's execution. Additionally, there is a large collection of scholarly works on other special settlements, migrant groups, religious settlements, demographic groups, and theories of historical development in New Zealand. These offer insight into how community histories have previously been produced. Each has its own benefits and limitations, and by reviewing these works the same benefits can be exploited and limitations avoided.

International Immigration and Connections

European migration has been the focus of numerous studies in recent decades. Many have focused on specific groups or aspects of migration, but others attempted to determine the causes of migration from a theoretical perspective. Belich, for example, developed the concept of settler revolution—a change in how populations viewed migration that evolved in conjunction with political, social, and technological revolutions—in his work *Replenishing the Earth*. When considering the millions of migrants who left Europe, the attitudes and motives for immigration could seem amorphous. However, Belich argues that common threads fed into a settler ideology, one with formal and informal variants. Formal comprised government schemes and emigration literature, while informal encompassed word-of-mouth and letters of settlers that encouraged lower class compatriots to join them.³⁷ The settler revolution did not occur in a vacuum; it was continuously influenced by outside forces throughout its unfolding. As such, it went through cycles of “boom, bust, and export

³⁷ James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 153-155.

rescue.”³⁸ Emigration schemes would unfold and be bolstered by economic booms; problems in the settlements arose and were alleviated by the launch of new schemes.³⁹ Events such as gold rushes, both in New Zealand and elsewhere, could be misconstrued as separate from this cycle. However, they were a subordinate part of the settler revolution and formed part of the immigration boom periods before inevitable busts.⁴⁰

Replenishing the Earth was not without its critics. Edward Cavanagh notes that Belich traded regional exceptionalism for an Anglo-sphere exceptionalism (Britain and America), ignoring the vast-reaching Spanish and Portuguese Empires. He further proposed that Belich’s theory, especially its economic elements, relied on macro-history; hence regional specialists will be able to spot inaccuracies.⁴¹ The mistrust of staple economies also deserved some criticism according to Cavanagh, but he accepts that Belich’s argument fits with his distinction between colonialism and settler-colonialism.⁴² Perhaps the strongest criticism of Belich’s settler revolution is its dismissal of the place of Indigenous peoples. Their stories are either completely ignored or “he [Belich] may just be perpetuating a vintage militant imperialist discourse, that of the noble fighting savage. His narrative is rife with ‘formidable’ natives who never went down ‘without a fight.’”⁴³ However, Belich’s omission may be explained by his focus on settler colonialism, where only Indigenous land is of importance to the argument.

Many scholars have also developed theories of migration with a focus on British migration and colonisation. Stephen Constantine posits English migration in the 19th century was connected to a global network of which England was one part. The British Empire and its colonies were part of a network that was not demographically isolated; people would both emigrate into and from the Empire. Constantine argues that in this network the place of the English is both overstated and misunderstood.⁴⁴ While the English were the largest group of emigrants from Britain during the 19th century, their numbers were not representative of the proportion of the British population that identified as English in censuses. Scotland and the

³⁸ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p. 177.

³⁹ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p. 177.

⁴⁰ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, p. 319.

⁴¹ Edward Cavanagh, “Review: Settler Revolutions and Indigenous Dissolutions,” *Borderlands e-journal* Vol 8, No. 2 (2009): p. 1.

⁴² Cavanagh, “Review,” p. 2.

⁴³ Cavanagh, “Review,” p. 4.

⁴⁴ Stephen Constantine, “In Search of the English and Englishness,” in *Far from Home: The English in New Zealand*, ed. Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012), pp. 15-16.

Scottish were overrepresented in this regard. However, the large numbers of English migrants are also noteworthy because of the large number of internal British migrants moving into England from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales for better working opportunities.⁴⁵

Constantine sought to understand why English migrants left, given they apparently already had more opportunity than elsewhere in Britain. His research into emigration schemes further compounded the question, as government schemes did not appear to target English migrants and were usually responses to domestic problems—such as the forced emigration of convicts or special assistance for paupers. The government Emigrants Information Office, operational from 1886-1914, and charitable schemes also did not focus on nationality when selecting migrants.⁴⁶ Colonial schemes, such as the New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association, may have targeted English migrants as a preferred option; however, even the Anglican Canterbury scheme did not seem to contain as many English migrants as expected.⁴⁷

Constantine also considered how the English maintained their identity after emigration. He aptly states that “ethnicity, identity and nationality, like gender and class, exist only insofar as they are articulated or performed.”⁴⁸ To identify the English in colonial settings is almost impossible, as “to distil *an* identity from diversity is challenging.”⁴⁹ Englishness and Britishness were heavily conflated through imperial identity, and so while Scots and Irish maintained identity cultural practices the English could not. Constantine’s view is that attempts at maintaining class distinctions typically failed in colonies; English sports were played by more than just English players, the Anglican church through missionary work counted many non-English in its congregations, and exclusively English friendly societies struggled to survive. Englishness, Constantine concluded, was a soft force, easily changeable and mutated.

The notion of an invisible English diaspora had been covered in the decades preceding Constantine’s work. Charlotte Erickson had written in the 1990s that she hoped to “give some hint of the promise of county histories for the discovery of the elusive, ‘invisible’

⁴⁵ Constantine, “In Search of the English and Englishness,” p. 19.

⁴⁶ Constantine, “In Search of the English and Englishness,” pp. 20-23.

⁴⁷ Constantine, “In Search of the English and Englishness,” p. 24.

⁴⁸ Constantine, “In Search of the English and Englishness,” p. 31.

⁴⁹ Constantine, “In Search of the English and Englishness,” p. 32.

English immigrants”⁵⁰ She proposed that the attention given to the industrial revolution in Britain meant historians focused on English migrants in industrial occupations. This led to historians ignoring English migrants working in other fields such as the English-born agricultural workers who made up half of all agricultural workers in the United States, according to the 1870 census.⁵¹ Overlooked, too, were the large numbers of agricultural labourers who moved to the United States before the American Civil war.⁵² The English may have been rendered invisible as a result of the narrow focus of 20th century researchers. Alternatively, some scholars have posited that the English diaspora, especially in the United States, was less noticeable because they did not express their collective identity in the same way as other groups.⁵³

There are historians who disagree with the assertion that the English diaspora was hidden or invisible. Donald M. MacRaild states that “the proudest expressions of conscious Englishmen occurred not at home but in the colonies.”⁵⁴ When people migrated from England, being English took on a new meaning; they had to confront this identity which in Britain had never been fully apparent to them. They passed this view of England and Englishness to future generations and, MacRaild argues, the English “showed persistent and transnational memory of their diaspora”⁵⁵ much like the Irish, Scots, and others.

It is debateable whether the invisibility of the English in studies of colonial societies is the fault of historians and researchers. Until recently, within the British Empire the English were viewed as the builders of Empire, rather than a diaspora, while the Irish, Scots, and to a lesser extent Welsh, were seen as groups under the Empire, rather than active participants in its construction.⁵⁶ It seems incorrect to argue the English in New Zealand were invisible when they continued to represent more than half of all British migrants, except for the period between 1853 and 1870. Tanja Bueltmann notes that the absence of English cultural or friendly societies in New Zealand was due to the country’s developing social state and stable

⁵⁰ Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. xiii.

⁵¹ Erickson, *Leaving England*, p. 209.

⁵² Charlotte J. Erickson, “Emigration from the British Isles to the U.S.A. in 1841: Part II. Who were the English Emigrants?”, *Population Studies* 44 (1990): p. 21.

⁵³ Tanja Bueltmann, David T. Gleeson, and Donald M. MacRaild, “Invisible Diaspora? English Ethnicity in the United States before 1920,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 33, No. 4 (2014): p. 12.

⁵⁴ Donald M. MacRaild, “An imperial, utopian and ‘visible’ diaspora: the English since 1880,” in *British and Irish Diasporas: Societies, Cultures and Ideologies*, ed. Donald M. MacRaild, Tanja Bueltmann, and J. C. D. Clark (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), p. 136.

⁵⁵ MacRaild, “An imperial, utopian and ‘visible’ diaspora,” p. 137.

⁵⁶ MacRaild, “An imperial, utopian and ‘visible’ diaspora,” p. 137.

democratic institutions. In lieu of friendly societies, sports and recreation societies developed extensively in New Zealand.⁵⁷ The English diaspora was spread throughout colonial societies that largely had Englishness as their bases. Unlike Irish and Scots, the English who continued to migrate as the English diaspora may not have been as obvious to researchers, but they were there, with “cultural and associational traits” and engaging with “concepts such as empire, monarchy and, for example, the fundamental tenets of an English working-class life”⁵⁸

Migration specifically within the bounds of the British Empire and its effects on the development of imperial policy were further explored by Constantine in collaboration with Marjory Harper in *Migration and Empire*. Their work examined multiple facets of migration from Britain to various imperial colonies. They surmised that “migration was a cause of the political expansion of empire”⁵⁹ rather than the reverse, and the view of empire was different in Britain compared to the colonies.⁶⁰ In Britain, the term “empire” was seen as an all-encompassing term that included all citizens of imperial territories regardless of their ethnicity, culture, or language. But within settler societies there was an aspiration to keep out certain types of migrants who were deemed undesirable, usually owing to their ethnicity.⁶¹ Harper and Constantine began their work by noting the limitations in such research due to the lack of historical records. Official records from 1815-1852 did not record whether those leaving Britain were migrants or visitors. However, they determined that of the fifty million migrants who left Europe between 1815 and 1930 at least eighteen million were from Britain.⁶²

Regarding New Zealand, Harper and Constantine note that the colony was late to the story of migration owing to its geography; hence, private investors and not government were the first to attempt organised settlement. Pre-1840 the migrants settling in New Zealand were seen as undesirables, and the Treaty of Waitangi and British acquisition of the islands was a response to migration rather than a cause. From the signing of the Treaty onwards, migration to the colony was inextricably linked to government.⁶³ Assisted passage was the easiest way for governments to maintain control of the types of migrants entering the colony. This was a continuation of the already existing practice of the New Zealand Company, which focused on

⁵⁷ MacRaid, “An imperial, utopian and ‘visible’ diaspora,” p. 149.

⁵⁸ MacRaid, “An imperial, utopian and ‘visible’ diaspora,” p. 167.

⁵⁹ Marjory Harper, Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 3.

⁶⁰ Harper, Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, p. 3.

⁶¹ Harper, Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, p. 6.

⁶² Harper, Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, p. 2.

⁶³ Harper, Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, pp. 76-78.

finding economically viable migrants—carpenters, gardeners, and agricultural labourers initially, with “shepherds, brickmasters, miners, handicraftsmen, and especially domestic servants coming later.”⁶⁴ The central and provincial governments’ desire to control the types of migrants is clear in the data from the 1850s to 1870s. Over two thirds of the migrants who arrived in Canterbury were assisted, while Auckland sought to gain migrants through numerous special schemes, mainly developed around gifting land to migrants for set periods of residence. The Vogel schemes, established by Premier Julius Vogel, brought over 2,000 for work on railways and others based on occupation.⁶⁵

Undesirable emigrants from within and without the empire were usually determined by race. Despite being outside the empire, the small number of migrants from the United States were “by ‘race’, by language, and (on the whole) by culture were acceptable.”⁶⁶ Some schemes, such as the introduction of Danes to the Manawātū in the 1870s, showed new groups to be acceptable and desirable migrants and led to other schemes targeting similar groups. In the late 19th century, the New Zealand government implemented laws to exclude racial migrants from within the British empire. Migration could no longer be controlled through settlement schemes, and technology had advanced to such a degree that New Zealand’s geographical isolation was no longer seen as discouraging prospective migrants.⁶⁷

The 19th century also saw the emergence of a peripatetic network of manual labourers in fields such as gold mining. Goldminers have typically been treated as separate from other migrants and studied in isolation.⁶⁸ However, recent research, such as that by Daniel Davy, has argued that miners were not disconnected from communities abroad, and that their migration was typically “structured by family networks.”⁶⁹ The goldminers of Otago fell almost exclusively into the British and Irish diasporas, but Chinese miners were also present. Most of the British and Irish miners first emigrated to the Victorian goldfields before continuing to New Zealand after the discovery of gold in Otago. The miners appear to have a transient nature but when researched as individuals, or as Davy terms in the “micro-

⁶⁴ Harper, Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, p. 85.

⁶⁵ Harper, Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, pp. 86-88.

⁶⁶ Harper, Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, p. 90.

⁶⁷ Harper, Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, pp. 90-91.

⁶⁸ John Milton Hutchins, *Diggers, Constables and Bushrangers: The New Zealand Gold Rushes as a Frontier Experience, 1852-1878* (Lakewood: Avroooman-Apfelwald Press, 2010); Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993); H. W. Brands, *The Age of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the New American Dream* (New York: Doubleday, 2002).

⁶⁹ Daniel Joseph Davy, *Lost Trailing: Gold Rush Societies and Cultures in Colonial Otago, New Zealand, 1861-1911* (PhD Thesis: University of Otago, 2013), p. 36.

perspective,” it is clear most retained close ties to their communities in Britain.⁷⁰ He further argues that goldminers found in the goldfield’s family, friends, or former neighbours who had migrated ahead of them, and they joined a microcosm of the community they had left in Britain.⁷¹

The Chinese goldminers faced a different type of discrimination to their European counterparts. The European diggers encountered mistrust due to supposed moral failings, but the Chinese faced an emerging New Zealand nationalism that saw European diggers as pioneers and Chinese diggers as a foreign other.⁷² Despite this, the European and Chinese goldminers were similar. The Chinese goldminers maintained strong, if not stronger, family networks. Many were sent to New Zealand with the expectation they would send money back to their families and most expected to return to China after the goldrush ended. Scholarship has shown that, despite previous arguments to the contrary, goldminers had links to family and community networks, were not separate from other settlers, and should not be studied in isolation.

Immigration Schemes and Preferred Migrants

The literature on migration and immigration schemes tends to argue that governments and immigration agents were constantly arguing over the quality of migrants being recruited. However, there are instances where research also shows that governments and private bodies gave agents freedom to use their discretion. The agents were able to fill quotas with any migrants who loosely fitted requirements for immigration and, at times, the right migrant happened to be anyone willing to immigrate.

Lyndon Fraser investigated the work of government agents in selecting migrants for settlement in Canterbury in his work *To Tara via Holyhead*. Although focused on Irish migration, this work gives an indication of how central and provincial governments adapted their criteria to assist the right kind of migrant. The Province of Canterbury was initially ambivalent towards Irish migrants, as it was felt they would bring sectarian issues to an aspiring Anglican colony. There were also concerns they might bring drunkenness, violence,

⁷⁰ Davy, *Lost Trailing*, pp. 36-38.

⁷¹ Davy, *Lost Trailing*, p. 52.

⁷² Davy, *Lost Trailing*, pp. 217-218.

and social issues. Canterbury's emigration agents focused their efforts on Ulster, where Anglo-Scottish influence was thought to dilute the less than desirable traits.⁷³ However, due to labour shortages in 1857-64 rules were relaxed and agents actively searched for labourers amongst Catholic Irish, prompting a significant influx. Fraser notes that this was also because Ireland experienced an agricultural crisis, 1859-1865, so it may not have been the agents that bolstered the number of migrants.⁷⁴ Fraser used prosopography to challenge whether agents were successful in their efforts to curtail Irish Catholic migration. The use of death records showed that there were larger numbers of Catholic Irish in Canterbury than the provincial government agents were aware of, as many migrated to Australia for a short time first before continuing to Canterbury to join friends and family already there.⁷⁵

Fraser investigated further and found another possible reason for the large number of Catholics in Canterbury. Irish migrants used the provincial nomination regulation scheme more than any other group, as it enabled them to nominate other potential migrants for provincial government-assisted passage. It would appear counterintuitive for government to allow this, given they were seeking to curtail Irish migration. However, the scheme reduced spending on subsidies for assisted passage and represented a free and more direct form of advertising. Moreover, while agents focused on non-Catholic migrants, at least the Catholics who did arrive would be quickly assimilated into provincial life. Fraser states that this scheme also assured the government of a constant stream of cheap labour for the province.⁷⁶ Fraser's conclusions, while limited in their scope by geography and demographics, showed that government agents in Britain were directed to be selective based on religion and location when choosing potential migrants. However, the provincial and central governments could amend these requirements when labour shortages had to be met, and the stream of migrants could still be quasi-controlled through means such as nomination regulations.⁷⁷

These conclusions reiterate those made in previous decades. Keith Pickens notes that census data, passenger lists, and death records showed there was an attempt by the authorities to keep Canterbury English, though they clearly failed—as only half the migrants were English and Anglican.⁷⁸ However, Pickens does question places of birth being used to

⁷³ Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1997), pp. 33-34.

⁷⁴ Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead*, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁵ Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead*, pp. 34-38.

⁷⁶ Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead*, pp. 45-48.

⁷⁷ Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead*, p. 49.

⁷⁸ K. A. Pickens, "Denomination, Nationality and Class in a Nineteenth-Century British Colony: Canterbury, New Zealand," *Journal of Religious History* 15, No. 1 (1988): p. 128.

evidence favouritism towards the Protestant Irish because Catholic Irish may not have wanted to take part in an Anglican settlement scheme. He argues that Irish coming from Australia may have been more acceptable to authorities, as they already filled the model of colonialised migrants.⁷⁹

The journey of continental European migrants was traced by Mark Dunick, who focused on the migrants assisted by the Vogel schemes and provided a quantitative study of documents such as censuses. Dunick immediately noticed the difference between earlier European migrants and those in the study period of 1871-1876. Census data revealed that early settlers were predominantly male and disproportionately so in comparison to the wider Pākehā population. Dunick states they were also younger and more transient. By 1878 the census showed that the dynamic had changed: the proportion of men had dropped from 85% to 70%.⁸⁰ He concludes that this data shows the Vogel migrants “had a longer-term demographic impact on the population than the earlier, largely male and transient, European residents.”⁸¹

The primary agent for the Vogel scheme was Isaac Featherston, an able administrator and whose appointment was also an attempt to alienate him politically; he had previously served as the Wellington Province Superintendent. Immediately, the agents realised that set requirements for migrants must be adaptable. If married couples could not be found, they acquiesced to young and single men and women. Even when sub-agents recruited outside the requirements, it was generally felt any migrants were better than none.⁸² Featherston found that the different requirements set by competing provinces was too difficult to contend with and so set a blanket requirement for migrants based on those needed for the Vogel schemes. Labourers, mechanics, navvies, shepherds, and servants were preferred professions; single men and families had to pay their fare in advance, but single women were allowed to pay after arrival in New Zealand. This latter clause was to increase the proportion of women to men among the migrants.⁸³ Featherston had even designed the sub-agents’ commission to

⁷⁹ K. A. Pickens, “The Origins of the Population of Nineteenth Century Canterbury,” *New Zealand Geographer* 33, No. 2 (1977): pp. 71-74.

⁸⁰ Mark Edward Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand* (PhD Thesis: Victoria University of Wellington, 2022), pp. 1-7.

⁸¹ Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand*, p. 8.

⁸² Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand*, pp. 36-38.

⁸³ Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand*, p. 40.

ensure that they only made a profit if a quarter of the recruits were single women, showing they were a preferred type of migrant.

However, within a year Featherston was given instructions by the government “not to permit the precise letter, or even the spirit, of the instructions sent to you, to prevent your sending out the number of suitable immigrants I [Gisborne] have asked for.”⁸⁴ Regarding assisted migration Dunick concludes that the government never clearly defined its scheme, thus forcing the agents to make short-term decisions that were not always well received. The type of migrant the government desired was constantly in flux; therefore, agents tended to view the right migrant as anyone willing to join the scheme.⁸⁵

Another group that was assisted by the Vogel government for public works were railway navvies. Delwyn Blondell commented on the recruiting of navvies and disagreements between the government, the firm John Brogden and Sons, and immigration agents. The main point of contention was that the contract between the government and Brogden and Sons effectively made the latter a recruiting agent, bypassing the other agents.⁸⁶ The government expected Brogden and Sons to recruit single men who would migrate to New Zealand and then, once the two-year contract had ended, would return to Britain. However, Brogden and Sons recruited a mixture of single and married men. Further complicating the matter, some men brought their families to New Zealand and others left them in Britain. Having families travel with them may show that some navvies intended to settle in New Zealand permanently.⁸⁷

Though navvies with families did not fit the government’s desired demographic, an exception was made as outdoor labourers with families still made ideal settlers elsewhere. Featherston saw this move by Brogden and Sons as undermining his efforts to find agricultural labourers for other special settlement schemes. If agricultural labourers preferred to migrate to New Zealand via the Brogden firm, then they were not counted as part of Featherston’s quota.⁸⁸ Blondell notes that both government and agents actively sought English-born recruits, despite most navvies in England being Irish. English navvies “were

⁸⁴ Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand*, p. 43. Quoted from AJHR, 1872, D1, p. 8-9.

⁸⁵ Dunick, *Continental European Assisted Immigrants in 1870s New Zealand*, p. 60.

⁸⁶ Delwyn Blondell, ‘*A Bright Eye to the Main Chance*’: Brogdens’ Navvies – British labourers building New Zealand’s Railways (MA Thesis: Massey University, 2020), p. 31.

⁸⁷ Blondell, ‘*A Bright Eye to the Main Chance*’, pp. 34-35.

⁸⁸ Blondell, ‘*A Bright Eye to the Main Chance*’, pp. 35-36.

thought to be more responsible in relation to debt and in work habits with fewer drinking problems and less prone to racial or religious conflict.”⁸⁹ The difficulty in finding migrants to fill roles as navvies, and the large numbers of families who migrated in this scheme, contributed to a serious financial loss for Brogden and Sons as well as exasperating issues for agents trying to fill quotas for other government schemes.⁹⁰

Gender could also be the focus of assisted immigration schemes devised by national and provincial governments. Scholarship on the history of women in New Zealand had concentrated on women who were amongst the first settlers in New Zealand or who were among the elite, but recent research has refocused on single, female, assisted migrants. Prior to the 1850s, private individuals such as religious leaders had attempted to find female migrants to journey to New Zealand. Reverend John Lang and Lady Jane Franklin had targeted young single women and widows in the Orkney and Shetland Islands for emigration, believing they were well suited to the New Zealand climate. However, the migrants who arrived in the colony due to their efforts were limited to a few clusters.⁹¹

The cornerstone of research into women migrants has been that by Charlotte Macdonald; later scholarship supplemented her work with discussions of women migrants in the Otago Goldfields. In the 1850s and 1860s, almost 12,000 single women arrived in New Zealand as assisted migrants; most were brought as part of provincial schemes, and 8,000 of these settled in Canterbury and Otago.⁹² Like schemes that recruited men or families, those for single women were initiated to fill voids in the work market—specifically the constant need for domestic servants. The Otago Provincial Government was concerned that the influx of single men drawn to their goldrushes would lead to drunkenness and lawlessness; single women could provide a calming influence. Their arrival would also lead to marriages and stable family units, which would help the province prosper; one migration would mitigate the negative effects of another.⁹³

⁸⁹ Blondell, ‘*A Bright Eye to the Main Chance*’, p. 40.

⁹⁰ Blondell, ‘*A Bright Eye to the Main Chance*’, p. 44.

⁹¹ Jill Harland, “Spin Doctors or Informed Lobbyists? The Voices of Four Presbyterian Ministers in the Emigration of Scots to the Antipodes, 1840-80,” *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* Vol 10, No. 1 (2020): pp. 30-31.

⁹² Charlotte Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character: Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in Nineteenth-century New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Limited, 1990), p. 4.

⁹³ Siobhan Freeland, *Hearts Broken Here, Homes Wasted There: Maria S. Rye and Assted Female Migration to Provincial Otago* (MA Thesis: Massey University, 2023), pp. 7-9, 21-26.

The agents in Britain hired by the provincial governments to assist with these schemes raised concerns about how achievable the aims were. They were expected to find women between 12-35 years of age, unmarried, of suitable moral character, who could pay for most of their passage, and were trained domestic servants, and all with testimonials to prove such.⁹⁴ The high cost of the journey to New Zealand meant that most domestic servants could not afford to immigrate. Richard Harman, the first immigration agent for Canterbury province, apologised to his superiors for the lack of single women he had recruited.⁹⁵ The agents eventually complained to the provincial governments that the terms of admittance to the schemes were too restrictive, arguing that they should be given “authority to offer more liberal terms to ‘respectable females’.”⁹⁶ Exceptions were made when women were found who did not fit all of the scheme’s requirements; older women of good moral character were accepted as they could be used as mentors for younger vulnerable women. Macdonald’s analyses of passenger lists reveal more on the selectiveness of agents in finding recruits. She found that most recruits came from rural areas in England and even those from London had originally come from rural areas where work was difficult to find. Contrary to their directives, the agents also found women from an array of occupations including farm labourers, schoolmistresses, upholsterers, and scripture readers.⁹⁷

There were misgivings about the type of woman migrant being brought to the colony. Macdonald notes that agents frequently turned to intermediaries such as clergymen and schoolmasters to find suitable candidates, but there were still complaints. One shipload of young women was condemned as “a collection of the prostitutes and thieves of London.”⁹⁸ The emigration agents were regularly chastised for sending women who were “inexperienced, unwilling as domestic servants and – worst of all – Irish.”⁹⁹ The provincial governments were also wary of private societies in Britain which offered to assist sending young women to the colony, as they believed such societies wanted to rid Britain of unwanted characters more than supply desirable migrants.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Freeland, *Hearts Broken Here, Homes Wasted There*, pp. 26-27.

⁹⁵ Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*, pp. 22-23.

⁹⁶ Freeland, *Hearts Broken Here, Homes Wasted There*, p. 28.

⁹⁷ Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*, pp. 43-49.

⁹⁸ Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*, p. 27.

⁹⁹ Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁰ Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*, p. 36.

Macdonald conceded that attempts to trace broad patterns of the single women who emigrated to New Zealand led to a “series of glimpses rather than a satisfying picture.”¹⁰¹ Examining the migrants one by one removes them from the broader context and invariably makes it harder to find similarities between them. Likewise, it is difficult to determine which aspects of the rapidly changing environments of England, Scotland, and Ireland should be attributed as causes for migration in such a small group of migrants. Invariably these women are indistinguishable from their peers until they donned the title of migrant.¹⁰²

Similarities have been noted between Australia before Federation in 1901 and New Zealand during the Provincial Period and how their immigration policies developed. Throughout the Victorian era the Australian colonies functioned independently, were disconnected except by sea, and pursued trade policies that led many to open rivalry. Immigration policies, usually closely tied to economic policy, were also a source of contention between the colonies.¹⁰³ Australia’s colonies subsidised immigration for migrants deemed desirable; assisted passage was almost constantly offered for domestic servants who were in short supply in every major city. This included during and after the goldrush era when the colonial governments attempted to bring in single women to temper the influence of large groups of single men seen as morally deficient.¹⁰⁴

The reasons many, especially those from Britain, emigrated to Australia are remarkably similar to the reasons people emigrated to New Zealand—opportunity, work, and land.¹⁰⁵ Eric Richards recognised that Australia was more controlling of its immigration in comparison to New Zealand during the Victorian era. It sought more British immigrants and deterred immigration from the European continent, as well as from Asia. This was due to a fear in colonial governments of racial decline. New Zealand had a different approach to its immigration: Europeans were actively sought to supplement migrant numbers; while Asians never migrated in large numbers during the colonial period due to distance.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*, p. 71.

¹⁰² Macdonald, *A Woman of Good Character*, p. 71.

¹⁰³ Eric Richards, *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia Since 1901* (Sydney NSW: University of New South Wales Press Ltd, 2008), pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ Richards, *Destination Australia*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁵ Richards, *Destination Australia*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁶ Richards, *Destination Australia*, pp. 21-22.

Provincialism

Understanding the Albertland settlers and their origins requires examining the historical context in which they arrived in New Zealand and the associated literature. The period of the Albertlanders arrivals, 1862-1865, coincided with the middle of the Provincial Period of New Zealand government, 1852-1876. Albertlanders were outspoken on their views regarding the provincial system; therefore, expanded context is required to understand those views.

Scholarship regarding the Provinces of New Zealand has been limited. W. P. Morrell wrote the first work of scholarly depth on the provinces and acknowledged that “the provincial system in New Zealand has come to be regarded as having been a factor of only secondary importance in the history of the Dominion.”¹⁰⁷ Another work, *Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand’s Provinces, 1853-76*,¹⁰⁸ was authored by André Brett 80 years after Morrell’s work; while supplementary it does not always agree with Morrell’s conclusions. Neither work explicitly mentions the Albertlanders, although Brett makes a passing mention of Kaipara settlers, most likely the Albertlanders.¹⁰⁹ Other smaller works regarding individual provinces have also been published. However, these have been few and far between; other aspects of New Zealand’s history have garnered more attention.¹¹⁰

The decade and a half preceding the arrival of the Albertlanders saw the development and implementation of the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852, establishing both a centralised representative government and six relatively self-governing provinces.¹¹¹ This system was implemented due to a mixture of governmental necessity, private interest, and settler practicality. The slow communication between the widely dispersed settlements in New Zealand and the central government became an obvious issue during the tenures of Governors Robert Fitzroy and George Grey. William Wakefield’s New Zealand Company had made numerous attempts at settlement in New Zealand, including special religious settlements, but none had reached the level of success he had sought. However, as each

¹⁰⁷ W. P. Morrell, *The Provincial System in New Zealand, 1852-1876* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1964), p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ André Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand’s Provinces, 1853-76* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016).

¹⁰⁹ Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier*, p. 176.

¹¹⁰ David Gordon Herron, ‘The Structure and Course of New Zealand Politics, 1853-1858’ (PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 1959); David Gordon Herron, “Provincialism and centralism 1853-58,” in *Studies of Small Democracy: Essays in honour of Willis Airy*, eds. Robert Chapman and Keith Sinclair (Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul for the University of Auckland, 1963), 10-32; R. C. J. Stone, “Auckland Party Politics in the early of the provincial system, 1853-1858,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 14, No. 2 (1980): 153-178.

¹¹¹ New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 (Imp) 15 & 16 Vict. c. 72.

settlement grew their differences became more apparent and they began to compete for settlers to meet their specific needs. The settlers themselves, still small in population throughout the colony, also regarded their own local issues with more urgency than those facing the colony.¹¹²

The creation of the provinces was intended to help localise public works. Each province created and financed its own development while the central government concerned itself with larger projects; any issues concerning Māori were also kept firmly in the grasp of central government. By 1857 the provinces were largely autonomous and controlled their finances as they pleased. Wellington province began to borrow money for larger projects and the southern provinces of Canterbury and Otago were reaping the rewards of a fast-growing pastoral industry.¹¹³ However, the first cracks began to appear when infighting started to occur between Superintendents and their respective Provincial Councils, especially in Otago and Wellington.¹¹⁴

It also became apparent that the main beneficiaries of provincial public works were the seats of the provincial governments; smaller settlements, usually inland, were being neglected, and this led to calls for secession and the creation of new provinces. The New Provinces Act of 1858 allowed for the creation of new provinces and four more subsequently appeared, Hawke's Bay, Marlborough, Westland, and Southland.¹¹⁵ However, Southland was readmitted as part of Otago after nine years and Westland spent five years as an autonomous county before becoming a full province just three years before the abolition of the system.¹¹⁶ Rather than strengthening the system, the New Provinces Act undermined provincialism by making the creation of new provinces all but automatic. It created provinces that were unable to financially support themselves, and accentuated the shortcomings of the existing provinces' public works.¹¹⁷

The failure of the provincial system is typically attributed to the growth of communication networks undermining the reason for their creation, warfare in Taranaki and Waikato bolstering the power of the central government, and a lack of borrowing power

¹¹² Morrell, *The Provincial System in New Zealand*, pp. 11-15, 24-25.

¹¹³ Morrell, *The Provincial System in New Zealand*, pp. 49, 101.

¹¹⁴ Morrell, *The Provincial System in New Zealand*, pp. 102-103.

¹¹⁵ New Provinces Act 1858 (21 and 22 Victoriae 1858 No 70).

¹¹⁶ Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier*, pp. 97-98, 214-215.

¹¹⁷ Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier*, pp. 242-243.

hindering the financing of public works.¹¹⁸ However, Brett notes that Governor Grey probably never intended the provinces to survive, as they were “created in such a short-sighted manner that they did not take into account potential new settlements beyond the six major ‘colonies’ already established.”¹¹⁹ He further contends that warfare was a limited factor in their abolition. The main cause of their demise was twofold: discontent amongst hinterland settlements which viewed the central government as the only governmental body assisting their development; and the implementation of Vogel’s expansive public works scheme in 1870.¹²⁰ Both points link into the story of Albertland.

Early Special Settlement Schemes

Special settlement schemes were a feature of New Zealand’s early European settlement and throughout the provincial period. Both private interests, national governments, and provincial governments used such schemes, often aimed at establishing or supporting communities of specific national, class, or gender composition, to further their own needs. Though there had been attempts prior to 1840 at private organised settlement in New Zealand, these had failed to maintain both funding and interest.¹²¹ It was not until the formation of the New Zealand Company that planned special settlements began in earnest. However, Wakefield, like the proponents of other special settlement schemes, discovered that settlements would develop organically and beyond the control of their instigators.

Wakefield’s initial New Zealand Company settlements of Port Nicholson, later renamed Wellington, Whanganui, New Plymouth, and Nelson, did not live up to his expectations, so he shifted his approach to establishing settlements of a specifically religious character in the south of New Zealand.¹²² Wakefield believed his first settlements fell prey to what he saw as the worst aspects of frontier life: drunkenness, transience, and lack of opportunity. He believed that through the addition of a religious foundation these could be avoided and his settlements thrive.¹²³ A Scottish Presbyterian colony was planned with the

¹¹⁸ Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier*, p. 21.

¹¹⁹ Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier*, p. 55.

¹²⁰ Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier*, p. 242.

¹²¹ Paul Moon, “Thomas Shepherd and the First New Zealand Company,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 47, No. 1 (2023): p. 22.

¹²² Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Group (NZ), 2012), pp. 171-174.

¹²³ Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984), p. 31.

aid of the New Zealand Company's subsidiary the Otago Association, birthing the city of Dunedin and later the surrounding province of Otago. The Canterbury Association, comprising English Anglicans, established the city of Christchurch and later the province of Canterbury.

Wakefield himself was not the instigator of the Otago and Canterbury settlements but acted as a consultant for these ventures. The Otago settlements thrived, and Dunedin grew to become New Zealand's most industrialised and, at times, most densely populated city. However, much of the success came from the gold rushes in the 1860s rather than Wakefield's systematic colonisation.¹²⁴ The unique make-up and well documented early years of the Otago settlements have made them a prime candidate for the study of microhistories in New Zealand, and the individual towns and settlements of Otago province have also been studied within the context of the larger colony.¹²⁵

The Canterbury Association was established in early 1848 by John Robert Godley, who, with the blessing of the Archbishop of Canterbury, planned to create a special Anglican settlement on Banks Peninsula. While the exclusivity of the settlement was superficial, all 84 members of the association were active within the Anglican Church and could count priests or even bishops as family members.¹²⁶ There was also the stipulation that anyone wishing to emigrate with the aid of the Association had to present a written letter of approval from their parish priest. The Association specifically advertised for emigrants with farming and labouring backgrounds to avoid reliance on labour from outside the settlement.¹²⁷ Godley himself went ahead of the main body of settlers to oversee the surveying of roads, allotments, and public lands. However, the debt of the Association mounted quickly, and it relied heavily on loans even after the arrival of the first settlers and sale of lands.¹²⁸ Within four years of the Association's first meeting over 3,000 settlers had arrived in Canterbury. Even after the establishment of the province of Canterbury the Association was allowed to continue as an administrative entity with the right to forgo any responsibilities it no longer wished to manage.¹²⁹ Subsequently, with mounting debts and a downturn in those emigrating to the

¹²⁴ Olssen, *A History of Otago*, p. 31.

¹²⁵ Erik Olssen et al, "Urban Society and the Opportunity Structure in New Zealand, 1902-22: the Caversham Project," *Social History* Vol. 24, No. 1 (1999): p. 40.

¹²⁶ Michael Blain, *The Canterbury Association: A Study of its Members Connections: A Tribute on the 150th of the Canterbury Settlement* (Christchurch: Archives Committee, Anglican Diocese of Christchurch, 2000), pp. 1-2.

¹²⁷ Blain, *The Canterbury Association*, pp. 18-19.

¹²⁸ Blain, *The Canterbury Association*, pp. 18-19.

¹²⁹ *New Zealand Constitution Act 1852* (15 & 16 Vict. c. 72), No. 2, Clause 76 (UK).

region, the Association forfeited its power and handed over administration of the colony to the Canterbury Provincial Government.¹³⁰

Later Special Settlement Schemes

The settling of the Albertlanders, and their contemporaries in Waipū and Pūhoi, north of Auckland was part of a government scheme to expand infrastructure that spanned from 1850 to 1870. Julius Vogel, who held numerous government roles throughout the 1860s and 1870s, including Premier and Colonial Treasurer, spearheaded the campaign to aid settlers to come to the colony with the promise of land ownership and work. The colonial administration had insufficient revenue and faced rising settler demand for land as well as a lack of infrastructure outside the main centres of Auckland and Christchurch. It was hoped that settlements in new areas would serve as bases for the clearing of land, allow new settlements to be established further from larger centres, and produce new self-sustaining local economies.¹³¹ All three of the Northland settlements were assisted by the Auckland Provincial Government and all had stark contrasts in their ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic traditions. Once Julius Vogel became Premier the Auckland Provincial schemes became part of a dramatically expanded national programme. The largest contract to come from this scheme was Vogel's deal with the firm John Brogden and Sons; the latter provided 4,000 workers to build six railway lines across the colony.

By the end of the 1860s, the New Zealand Provincial Governments were competing to divert to their provinces some of the streams of European migrants flooding to America, Canada, and Australia after the end of the American Civil War. Vogel provided 100,000 acres in the Manawatū region to Colonel William Feilding, which became a bustling settlement and helped open the lower North Island interior to settlement.¹³² Belich refers to Feilding as an example of the hopeful expectations of the working towns of this period. The growth of mining towns and development of military camps into fixed settlements prompted many settlers to begin to think of the future and “each trumpeted its local version of the Pākehā prospectus, featuring their particular infant prodigy as the London of the South.”¹³³

¹³⁰ King, *Penguin History of New Zealand*, pp. 172, 202, 205.

¹³¹ Raewyn Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician* (Auckland: University of Auckland Press, 1986), pp. 145-147.

¹³² Dalziel, *Julius Vogel*, pp. 145-147.

¹³³ Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp. 371-373.

However, despite these ambitions, many towns failed to live up to their grand expectations; Feilding, for example, was described in 1893 as being more of a collection of isolated farms than a town.¹³⁴ This may not be an entirely accurate depiction. Settlers separated by unsold sections were not deterred from interacting with one another. They could still form a community, one that would develop further with the arrival of new settlers.¹³⁵

Near the Feilding settlement, in the heavily forested Wairarapa, Scandinavians—specifically Swedes and Norwegians—formed most of the population. Unlike the other planned communities, which were run by interested business parties, religious groups, charitable firms, or other ethnic groups, these Scandinavians were shipped in directly by the colonial government under Vogel. The latter’s enthusiasm for new settlers is echoed by his rival Robert Stout, who exclaimed that if “the emigrant possesses qualities that will enable him (or her) to become a good colonist, the place of birth is of no importance.”¹³⁶ Scandinavians were chosen primarily due to their similarities with British settlers through their Protestantism, and that they had already migrated in large groups to the United States and Canada.¹³⁷ The presence of the nearby Karere settlement of Danes established by Bishop D. G. Monrad, a former Premier of Denmark, was also a deciding factor. Danes were the largest group of Scandinavians to settle under this scheme, numbering almost double the combined Swedish and Norwegian groups.¹³⁸ Overall, similarities allowed the Scandinavians to seem British and made them a useful ally to those who wished to exclude the Catholic Irish.¹³⁹

The name of the Danish settlement, Dannevirke, translates to Work of the Danes. It was named for a fortification that had fallen into Prussian control after the 1864 Second Schleswig War, a fresh memory for many of the settlers. G. C. Petersen states that the distinct ethnic identity of these Scandinavian settlements was sustained because they spoke their own language and were determined to pass it on. There were reports of Danish still being spoken in Dannevirke in 1900 and Norwegian being the first language of some in Norsewood as late

¹³⁴ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 419.

¹³⁵ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 419.

¹³⁶ Robert Stout, quoted in “The Supply of Immigrants,” *Lyttelton Times*, Volume L, Issue 5516, October 26, 1878, p. 5.

¹³⁷ George Conrad Petersen, *Forest Homes: The Story of the Scandinavian Settlements in the Forty Mile Bush, New Zealand* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1956), pp. 6-7.

¹³⁸ King, *Penguin History of New Zealand*, p. 229.

¹³⁹ King, *Penguin History of New Zealand*, p. 175.

as 1920.¹⁴⁰ The Scandinavian settlers named their settlements themselves, thus cementing a non-English connotation and, subsequently, outsiders were unable to assimilate or vice versa, due to stark cultural differences.¹⁴¹ The slower assimilation of the Scandinavians compared to the Northland communities can also be attributed to their inland geographic isolation, which meant they were without access to ocean routes to other settlements. Albertland was established at a time when small special settlements were not unheard of. Despite the different national and religious foundations of the settlements, they were all established by provincial and national governments with the intention of opening land to settlement and strengthening local economies.

Community History in New Zealand

Local and community history in New Zealand has evolved over the 150 years since first beginning to develop as a field of historical research. Historians have identified various shifts in the field which chart how local and community histories are researched, written, and engaged with by different audiences. Graeme Davison isolated five styles but notes that they could overlap in their development and coexist as styles of research in the same works.¹⁴² The first local histories were the journals and reminiscences of settlers within those early communities; these are what Davison termed pioneer histories.¹⁴³ These were narrative works which told stories of material and social progress and had “‘long lists of firsts’ – the first European ‘discovery’, the first river crossing, the first school and so on.”¹⁴⁴

Following the pioneer histories was a change in vocabulary from memory to commemoration, which bore a new style Davison termed patriarchal history.¹⁴⁵ Across New Zealand and Australia the collection of documents written by settlers, for use in anniversaries and jubilees, led to the formation of local historical societies. Many of these societies wanted to promote local history besides just preserving it. Before the Second World War such societies organised events of commemoration, the erection of monuments, and celebration of

¹⁴⁰ Carl Walrond, “Scandinavians,” in *Settler and Migrant Peoples of New Zealand*, ed. Jock Phillips 236-240 (Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2006), pp. 237-239.

¹⁴¹ Petersen, *Forest Homes*, pp. 44-46, 134.

¹⁴² Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2000), pp. 198-199.

¹⁴³ Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, p. 199.

¹⁴⁴ David Carment, “‘For their own purposes of identity’: Tom Stannage and Australian Local History,” *Public History Review* 20, (2013): p. 71.

¹⁴⁵ Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, p. 202.

local people.¹⁴⁶ However, after the Second World War a noticeable change took place—academic historians began to take an earnest interest in local histories.¹⁴⁷ This professional style of local history has continued to the present day, running concurrently with preservationist and community history. In the former style, younger generations with no familial links to a locale acted to preserve its heritage as a way of offering themselves a feeling of permanence. The latter explored more “popular methods of publication, display and performance. The video, the tape recorder and the personal computer have given the local community a new range of ways of exploring their past.”¹⁴⁸ Most works on local or community history by academics fall into the realm of the professional style, but there may still be occasions where historians have had personal connections to communities and their work may be an amalgamation of different styles.

The growing interest in historical communities and social history amongst New Zealand historians since the third quarter of the 20th century has coincided with a change in how New Zealanders have viewed their history. The Māori renaissance, burgeoning land rights movement, and discussion of the prejudices and assumptions New Zealanders had about the nation’s history, led to a recognition of a bicultural historical narrative that presented a dichotomy between “Māori and Pakeha monoliths.”¹⁴⁹ This developed in lieu of the “one New Zealand narrative,” and in turn heralded a large revision of the intricacies within colonial history.¹⁵⁰ However, biculturalism has served not only as the focus of new studies but as the theory behind them. This is particularly evident in general histories which aim to be inclusive rather than focus on a political elite, such as Michael King’s *Penguin History of New Zealand*.¹⁵¹ Jacob Pollock states that “the general history takes as its object the nation... every moment of the history is deeply concerned with making the nation in the present.”¹⁵²

The bicultural approach to history emphasised continuity in specific communities but failed to explore how common occurrences and experiences could have parallels in other

¹⁴⁶ Carment, “For their own purposes of identity,” p. 71.

¹⁴⁷ Carment, “For their own purposes of identity,” p. 71.

¹⁴⁸ Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History*, p. 215.

¹⁴⁹ Tom Brooking, “Sharing Out the Haggis: The Special Scottish Contribution to New Zealand History,” in *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration & New Zealand Settlement* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003), p. 53.

¹⁵⁰ Jacob Pollock, “Cultural Colonisation and Textual Biculturalism: James Belich and Michael King’s General Histories of New Zealand,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 41, no. 2 (2007): pp. 180-181.

¹⁵¹ King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*.

¹⁵² Pollock, “Cultural Colonisation,” p. 182.

groups. Māori and Pākehā history were separated; Māori views of the past and the future were excluded from histories of other groups regardless of their intertwining nature. Belich's work *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* split New Zealand history into distinct Māori and Pākehā spheres effectively removing Māori influence from the history of Pākehā groups.¹⁵³ This approach to history has been the recipient of criticism. Donald Akenson criticised biculturalism in New Zealand history in his study of the Irish diaspora. He stated that biculturalism denied "the complexity of the nineteenth and twentieth century Pakeha culture"¹⁵⁴ and that it was "as misleading as to accept gross generalisations about Māori society."¹⁵⁵ He remarked further that modern New Zealand may be bicultural but historically New Zealand was multicultural.¹⁵⁶ Nēpia Mahuika also challenged the bicultural model by referencing Tipene O'Regan who asserted "the past belongs to all New Zealanders, but first it is ours"¹⁵⁷ and added that "thinking about New Zealand history as Māori history does not mean denying the histories of European, Asian and Pasifika immigrants."¹⁵⁸

The strict biculturalism in New Zealand histories gave way to a greater focus on individual groups or events. Michael Belgrave remarked in 2024 that the atomisation of New Zealand history has allowed in-depth research into unique groups but has simultaneously made it difficult to understand how smaller conflicting stories are connected to each other.¹⁵⁹ "History as taught in schools, even when it is New Zealand history," he observes, "has become a meal of tiny and unrelated portions."¹⁶⁰ An interesting challenge is therefore presented. This thesis focuses on a specific group of settlers, the Albertlanders, and challenges the bicultural narrative that assumed the European settlers of New Zealand were a homogeneous group. However, it also attempts to acknowledge the role of Māori, particularly Ngāti Whātua, in the history of Albertland, something which has been marginalised in previous histories.

¹⁵³ Michael Belgrave, *Becoming Aotearoa: A New History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2024), pp. 28-29.

¹⁵⁴ Donald Harmon Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990), p. 196.

¹⁵⁵ Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p. 196. Danny Keenan has similarly cautioned against generic accounts of 'Māori History' noting that some Māori historians believe such accounts do not capture the unique experiences of iwi. Danny Keenan, "Predicting the Past: Some Directions in Recent Maori Historiography," in *Te Pouhere Korero* 1, No. 1 (1999): 24-35.

¹⁵⁶ Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p. 196.

¹⁵⁷ Nēpia Mahuika, "New Zealand History is Māori History: Tikanga as the Ethical Foundation of Historical Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History* 49, No. 1 (2015): p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ Mahuika, "New Zealand History is Māori History," p. 5.

¹⁵⁹ Belgrave, *Becoming Aotearoa*, p. 27.

¹⁶⁰ Belgrave, *Becoming Aotearoa*, p. 28.

Rather than assume the settlers of New Zealand were a homogeneous, predominantly Anglican, English group, as is the case in general histories made popular by the bicultural approach, many historians have since dedicated studies to other communities. Examples include the Scottish settlers of Otago, Irish settlers, Irish navvies, the Scandinavians and Germans of the lower North Island, and the Eastern Europeans who also made New Zealand their home. These studies have replaced general histories as the academic mainstay, and in the process have blurred the lines between sociology, anthropology, and history. They range from large demographic analyses of specific regions to focused in-depth works based around historical fields such as gender or class.¹⁶¹ Within these new community studies historians have drawn upon either qualitative or quantitative sources. Some have expanded the use of qualitative sources, such as Anna Green in her community history of Frankton Junction which relied heavily on oral history.¹⁶² Green notes the limitations and usefulness of oral interviews by stating that transcripts alone omit the timbre of the voice and can lose the intended meaning, such as sarcasm, but can show more about subjects such as domestic life, which can be neglected in photographs.¹⁶³ A third group of researchers use both sets of sources equally and are best represented by Rosalind McClean. McClean's use of quantitative data gives a demographic context to her discussions of the lives of Scottish women in New Zealand, and allows the qualitative resources—letters, journals, newspapers—to add depth to the narrative.¹⁶⁴

The diverse and scattered communities north of Auckland have acted as a rich resource for this field of community research, with the Scots of Waipū, the Bohemians of Pūhoi, and Dalmatian communities being the subject of numerous studies.¹⁶⁵ However,

¹⁶¹ Bob Hall, "The Historical Reconstruction of Rural Localities: A New Zealand Case Study," in *Interpreting the Past, Understanding the Present*, eds. S. Kendrick, D. McCrone, P. Straw (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1990), pp. 100-101.

¹⁶² Anna Green, "Returning History to the Community: Oral History in a Museum Setting," *The Oral History Review* 24, no. 2 (1997): 53-72.

¹⁶³ Green, "Returning History to the Community," p. 58.

¹⁶⁴ Rosalind McClean, "Reluctant Leavers? Scottish Women and Emigration in the mid-Nineteenth Century," in *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration & New Zealand Settlement*, edited by Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman, 103-116 (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003), pp. 107-110.

¹⁶⁵ Flora McPherson, *Watchman Against the World: The Remarkable Journey of Norman McLeod & his People from Scotland to Cape Breton Island to New Zealand* (Wreck Cove N.S., Breton Books, 1993); John McClean, *Sailors and settlers: the migration of Highlanders from Nova Scotia to New Zealand in the 1850s and 1860s* (Wellington: Winter Publications, 2010); Iain Watson, "Revisiting the Waipu Migration Story – an Atypical and Malleable Migration Narrative," *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 11 (2023): p. 15, <https://doi.org/10.57132/jiss.217>; Majorie Hurrey, *Down the Years: A Scrapbook Chronicle of Pūhoi A New Zealand Bohemian Settlement 1861-1986* (Pūhoi: Christine Krippner, 1986); Maureen Roase, *Making Melody: Pūhoi, 1863-2001* (Orewa: Roase Publications, 2001); Andrew, Trlin, *Now Respected, Once Despised:*

regardless of the widespread interest in community studies, historians have not yet taken this lens to the Albertland settlers. The two popular histories of this community were published before the shift in methodology, and both were authored by amateur historians rather than academics. Indeed, the earlier work was written by Henry Brett, a participant of the settlement scheme, and the latter borrowed heavily from its predecessor's bibliography.¹⁶⁶ This thesis contributes to the newer wave of social histories by exploring the Albertland settlement to provide an analysis of the social, economic, and religious lives of the people who settled there and the communities they created. This is conducted alongside a discussion of the contemporary challenges the settlers had to contend with, the implications their actions had within a wider New Zealand context, and how outside forces affected their survival as a coherent and distinct group.

The Special Settlements of Northland

Albertland was located near two other small, insulated communities in the North of New Zealand, Waipū and Pūhoi. It represented a government-backed scheme for settlement in a hitherto unsettled area and was also the last religious settlement scheme in the colony's history. Waipū and Pūhoi offer an interesting point of contrast with Albertland. Their settlers held different religious convictions, had emigrated from different locations, and had travelled different routes to New Zealand. There is an extensive literature regarding Waipū and Pūhoi that includes new and unique approaches to community studies.

Maureen Molloy explored one of these special settlements in her book on the Waipū settlers, *Those Who Speak to the Heart: The Nova Scotian Scots At Waipū 1854-1920*.¹⁶⁷ Based on her PhD thesis, this work traced the Waipū community from their origins in Scotland, their first migration to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island in Canada, their second migration to Australia, and finally their journey to New Zealand. This was not the first work

Yugoslavs in New Zealand (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1979); Hazel Petrie, "Croatian Immigration to New Zealand Before World War Two," in *Look North: Over the Hills and Far Away*, V. Parker and K. Vautier (Auckland: Forum North, 1979); Gertraut M. Stoffel, "The Austrian Connection with New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century," in *The German Connection: New Zealand and German speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, James Bade (Auckland: O.U.P. 1993); Hans-Peter Stoffel, "Dialect and Standard Language in a Migrant Situation: The Case of New Zealand Croatian," *New Zealand Slavonic Journal* (1994): 153-170; Alfred Reed, *The Kauri Gumdiggers* (Auckland: The Bush Press of New Zealand, 2006).

¹⁶⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*; Borrow, *Albertland*.

¹⁶⁷ Maureen Molloy, *Those Who Speak to the Heart: The Nova Scotian Scots at Waipū 1854-1920*, (Palmerston North; Dunmore Press, 1991).

on the Waipū settlers; as their history had been previous works as early as the 1930s.¹⁶⁸ Molloy's methodology uses both genealogical and historical research techniques to construct an idea of the community as the settlers understood it. This is done to dispel what she termed collective forgetfulness, an intergenerational change in values that leads to the omission of certain information in genealogical research.¹⁶⁹

Molloy employs genealogy to trace the settler families of Waipū and their relationships to each other. This allowed her to uncover that those who seemingly travelled alone were in fact part of larger kinship groups. These kinship groups intermarried extensively over the course of their migration and openly encouraged cousin-cousin marriage. This was a continuation of her earlier work where she explored marriage patterns of the Waipū settlers from 1800-1916.¹⁷⁰ Molloy attributes the cousin-cousin marriage not to a lack of suitable spouses or religious division in the community, but to the clan system of marriage in Highland Scotland where these families originated. She demonstrates this by showing the genealogies of a selection of families before the migration and how they followed the clan tradition to keep property within the kinship group.¹⁷¹ However, Molloy also expresses reservations about previous genealogical work surrounding Waipū. She argues that modern constructs of family, usually confined to parents, children, and grandchildren, differ greatly from the views of the Waipū settlers. Scholarship that does not attempt to understand the clan definition would be misled in its conclusions: "—The books, at least at first glance, tell us much more about concepts of kinship and community in the mid-20th century than about what those terms might have meant to those who were the founding fathers and mothers of the Waipū community."¹⁷² Genealogy, as argued by Molloy, can tell us as much about the genealogist as the ancestors.

Molloy's scepticism of unnuanced genealogical narratives sets her work apart from others more willing to accept such narratives without review. Whilst the narratives a

¹⁶⁸ Norman McKenzie, *The Gael fares forth: the romantic story of Waipu and her sister settlements* (Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1935); Neil Robinson, *Lion of Scotland: Being an Account of Norman McLeod's Forty Years' Search for a Land Where He and His Followers Could Live as They Wished; of the Voyage, in 1817, From the Western Highlands to Nova Scotia; to Australia in the 1850s; and Finally to New Zealand; and How They Built a Community for Themselves* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1952).

¹⁶⁹ Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, p. 141.

¹⁷⁰ Maureen Molloy, "'No Inclination to Mix With Strangers': Marriage Patterns Among Highland Scots Migrants to Cape Breton and New Zealand, 1800-1916," *Journal of Family History* 11, Issue 3 (1986): pp. 221-243.

¹⁷¹ Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, pp. 22-24, 39-40.

¹⁷² Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, p. 11.

genealogist can weave from newspapers, journals, and letters can be entertaining, Molloy asserts there is an inherent danger of romanticising the past through historical revisionism; especially when the histories are written by the descendants themselves.¹⁷³ However, genealogical research has developed since the time of Molloy's writing; the influence of academic research has encouraged less subjective views of family stories amongst genealogists. It is generally accepted that the Waipū migrants were subject to religious persecution from the established Scottish church, and thus, under the leadership of preacher Norman McLeod, made their journey to Nova Scotia. McLeod is oft recognised as the hero and founder of the Waipū Scots. At the centenary, descendants of the original settlers celebrated their Scottishness with highland dancing, bagpipes, and speeches in Gaelic, while giving McLeod's descendants special status at all gatherings—even though such celebrations did not accord with McLeod's desire for an austere community.

Gaelic in Waipū survived into the 20th century but was relegated to church services. English became the residents' vernacular and successive generations spoke less and less of the original settlers' language.¹⁷⁴ Dancing of any kind was discouraged and kilts and bagpipes were viewed with suspicion by the settlers even years after McLeod's death.¹⁷⁵ In general, the practice of traditions and rituals by descendants would indicate an attempt to link the past and the present through an unchanging constant.¹⁷⁶ However, in the case of Waipū any such link to tradition was invented in an attempt to maintain an identity after decades of assimilation into New Zealand society. McLeod himself was just another member of the community, albeit a prominent one, and had just as many enemies as he did followers. Before the migration to New Zealand, he even considered travelling to Ohio in the United States due to alienation from much of the community because of his outspoken nature. The decision to move from Australia to New Zealand may have been at the instigation of other members of the community, not McLeod.¹⁷⁷ The historical lack of cultural and leisure practices in Waipū has been noted by other historians. Tom Brooking states Waipū is atypical of Scots in New Zealand, especially Southland where Lowlanders and Highlanders were interspersed. Waipū did retain strong kinship networks as the settlers were not separated geographically, but

¹⁷³ Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, p. 140.

¹⁷⁴ Martin George Holmes, "The Language of Eden in God's Own Country: Gaelic Presbyterianism in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Journal of Australian, Canadian, and Aotearoa New Zealand Studies* 4 (2024): p. 34.

¹⁷⁵ Watson, "Revisiting the Waipu Migration Story," p. 15.

¹⁷⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-2.

¹⁷⁷ Neil Robinson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Norman McLeod and the Highlanders' migration to Nova Scotia and New Zealand* (Auckland: Harper Collins, 1997), pp. 101-102.

Brooking argues that their lack of culturally distinct leisure practices meant that they lost their identity much faster than Scots elsewhere.¹⁷⁸ Their descendants were forced to rediscover their identity using the traditions of other Scottish settlements as “an Anglocentric tradition had dominated.”¹⁷⁹

The Waipū settlers took more than just religious and cultural factors into consideration when making the decision to emigrate. Economic factors such as the forced migration of Highlanders after 1745, the Nova Scotian recession of the 1840s, and the shortage of land on Cape Breton Island were all influential.¹⁸⁰ There was an intergenerational shift in the Waipū settlers and their descendants expressed their identity. The younger generation grew up in a community where austere religious belief could not provide the stability that inherited kinship relations and perceived cultural identity could.¹⁸¹ Romanticised or not, the demonstration of kinship was just as important a narrative as “what we call ethnicity – a sense of common identity and history,” which is “much more than the public display of trappings from an ancestral culture, however authentic or spurious these may be.”¹⁸²

The Bohemian settlers of Pūhoi brought with them a language and folk traditions that were distinct from the other Northland settlements. These have offered an interesting focal point for researchers: works on the settlement were published as early as the 1920s and 1930s, with another surge in interest following the settlement’s centenary celebrations in 1963.¹⁸³ Unlike the Albertland settlement which was mapped before migration from Britain the Bohemian township was unplanned—the intention was for the village to develop organically over time. Pūhoi, like Albertland, had a charismatic figure at its centre. Captain Martin Krippner visited the area intended for the settlement before campaigning for migrants from his homeland. He portrayed a land of milk and honey to tradesmen and labourers who

¹⁷⁸ Brooking, “Sharing out the Haggis,” pp. 50, 55.

¹⁷⁹ Brad Patterson, “Celtic Roots Amidst the Fern: Irish-Scottish Studies in New Zealand,” *Journal of New Zealand Studies* No. 2/3 (2004): p. 197.

¹⁸⁰ Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, p. 129.

¹⁸¹ Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, pp. 142-144.

¹⁸² Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, p. 125.

¹⁸³ Daniel Vincent Silk, *History of Puhoi: An Historical Narrative of the People of Puhoi Dedicated to the Pioneers Living and Dead* (Dunedin: N.Z. Tablet Printing & Publishing, 1923); Ruth Elsa Schmidt, *The Settlement of Puhoi: An Incident in the Overseas Expansion of Central Europe* (M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand, 1934); Erle Rose, *Old Puhoi* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1937); Kay Margaret Mooney, *From the Heart of Europe to the Land of the Southern Cross: A Story of Puhoi, 1863-1963* (Puhoi: Puhoi Centennial Publications Committee, 1963); Werner O. Droescher, *The Egerland-German Dialect of Puhoi (North Auckland), New Zealand* (Auckland: W. O. Droescher, 1969).

were enamoured with the idea of land ownership.¹⁸⁴ Krippner and a small group of others from the settlement served in a militia during the Waikato War, gaining as their reward 50 acres each around Ōhaupō. Ōhaupō remained a small village but developed the same Bohemian influence as Pūhoi. Though Pūhoi failed to reach its anticipated heights, Krippner remained and took on the role of schoolteacher with his wife Emily.¹⁸⁵

The identity of the settlers at Pūhoi is usually stated as Bohemian, historians argue that this does not accurately display the intricacies of their origins. Genealogical research shows a mixture of Germanic and Slavic names amongst the settlers, and that they referred to themselves as Austrians—Bohemia being part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time. The part of Bohemia from which they had travelled also spoke the North Bavarian dialect of German rather than Czech.¹⁸⁶ The Bohemians of Pūhoi considered themselves German-Austrians, and it was in New Zealand that they cohered under the moniker of Bohemian. Despite the school at Pūhoi teaching English extensively from 1869 onwards, the Pūhoi settlers did not see their identity being lost to a predominant English presence in the colony.¹⁸⁷

Understanding of the musical traditions in Pūhoi further enhances understanding of the settlers. Traditional government sources show a tight-knit township, but private correspondence, most of it translated from German, establishes a sense of the individuals in this community and how their musical culture flourished. Families passed on the knowledge of the dudelsack—Bohemian bagpipe—and the accordion, although as the settlement became more connected to the wider region use of the dudelsack waned.¹⁸⁸ The decline of the community, commonly attributed to intermarriage with non-Bohemians, coincided with the rising popularity of the British-style brass band in New Zealand, and so may be directly linked to their musical traditions changing.¹⁸⁹

The Dalmatian migrants working the gumfields were another distinct community in Northland, but unlike those at Waipū and Pūhoi they did not have a specific township they

¹⁸⁴ Jana Procházková, “Bohemians in New Zealand – The History and Situation of the Puhoi Village,” *Český Lid*, Vol. 97, No.1 (2010): pp. 20-21.

¹⁸⁵ Roger Buckton, *Bohemian Journey: A Musical Heritage in Colonial New Zealand* (Wellington: Steele Roberts Publishers, 2013), pp. 105-108.

¹⁸⁶ Procházková, “Bohemians in New Zealand,” pp. 21-22.

¹⁸⁷ Procházková, “Bohemians in New Zealand,” pp. 21-22.

¹⁸⁸ Buckton, *Bohemian Journey*, pp. 135-137, 146-147.

¹⁸⁹ Buckton, *Bohemian Journey*, pp. 135-137, 146-147.

called home. Research on the Dalmatian migrants of 19th century Northland has focused on their place as gum-diggers and the nature of their more transient communities. There are ongoing debates over who should be included under the term Dalmatian, or whether the alternative term Croatian should be used. In the multi-ethnic and multi-national dual Austro-Hungarian Empire, of which Dalmatia and Croatia were parts, Croatia was administered by Hungary and Dalmatia by Austria. The migrants are noted to have used Austrian passports and were accordingly registered in New Zealand documents as Austrian. Nevertheless, while Croats considered Dalmatia to be part of Croatia, the Dalmatians saw themselves as a separate entity.¹⁹⁰ It is uncertain when migrants from Dalmatia arrived in New Zealand and whether the first arrivals were deserters from Austrian naval vessels or drawn here from their impoverished region by the promise of honest wages for manual labour. The Austrian ship *Novara* docked in Auckland in 1858 with many Dalmatians crew members, but there is no evidence any deserted while in New Zealand.¹⁹¹ There were some gold miners with Croatian surnames listed in the 1860s, but few of them settled permanently. It is possible that after the gold rushes ended many Dalmatian diggers simply moved North to the gumfields where they could undertake a similar enterprise.¹⁹²

The majority of Dalmatian migrants had no desire to settle in a specific township or area permanently. A majority had no desire to settle in the area permanently, rather looking to earn enough money to support themselves and then return home. While in New Zealand the Dalmatian gum-diggers developed relationships with many different groups, including their Māori co-workers with whom they shared an affinity. Although from opposite ends of a cultural spectrum, the Dalmatians and Māori shared the common experience of being from the peripheries of European empires and being disadvantaged because of the policies of imperial/colonial governments. It was this shared experience of subjugation by a foreign power and being treated with suspicion by a dominant British community in New Zealand that brought them together.¹⁹³ The Dalmatian migrants found Māori gum-diggers, like themselves, preferred to work in groups on larger digging projects as opposed to diggers of

¹⁹⁰ Ivanica Vodanovich, "Review of *Tarara: Croats and Maori in New Zealand; Memory, Belonging, Identity*. Božić-Vrbančić, Senka," *New Zealand Sociology* 24, no. 2 (2009): pp. 127-128.

¹⁹¹ Stephen A. Jelich, *From Distant Villages: The Lives and Times of Croatian Settlers in New Zealand, 1858-1958* (Auckland: Pharos Publications, 2008), p. 26.

¹⁹² Senka Božić-Vrbančić, *Tarara: Croats and Maori in New Zealand memory, belonging, identity* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2008), p. 59.

¹⁹³ Vodanovich, "Review of *Tarara*," p. 126.

British origin who worked alone.¹⁹⁴ This communal effort brought with it greater success on the fields—but also disdain from their British counterparts.¹⁹⁵

General disdain for gum-diggers caused an inquiry to be launched into the Dalmatian migrants. There were claims of 5,000 men readying to make the journey to New Zealand with 800 already present in the gumfields, but in truth the Dalmatians made up less than ten-percent of the gum-digging workforce.¹⁹⁶ However, the inquiry praised the Dalmatians, going as far as to say the claims against them were exaggerated and that they were “hardy, sober, industrious, law-abiding people...The Austrians – laborious, energetic, resourceful, well-behaved- would make admirable settlers.”¹⁹⁷ Despite the glowing review of their character, the Dalmatians were still restricted by an act of parliament the same year. Unlike the settlers of the Vogel schemes and other special settlements, it seems most Dalmatian migrants had no intention of ever settling permanently in the colony. Of 6,000 migrants who arrived between 1880-1914 only 2,000 remained by 1916. Their different language and culture may have made it too difficult to assimilate into wider New Zealand society, so they opted to return to Europe. Their exodus could also be due to animosity towards them as the people of an enemy state during World War I.¹⁹⁸ Scholarship on the Dalmatian migrants of the 19th century reveals a group who were transient and treated with suspicion by others, but who still acted as their own independent community while in New Zealand.

Understanding Communities

The Irish community in New Zealand has been discussed less extensively than the Scottish but has recently received renewed interest with the diversity of New Zealand’s colonial society being explored in academic circles. It has long been assumed that New Zealand’s Irish migrants were predominantly Catholic and were therefore similar to those who immigrated to Australia; however, Irish Protestants totalled almost half of New Zealand’s Irish. Even this group was diverse as most were Scots-Irish Presbyterians rather than Anglo-Irish Anglicans. The abundance of information on Irish Catholics in colonial historiography

¹⁹⁴ P. D. Mataga, *Red Wine to Kauri Gum: The History of Dalmatian Emigration to New Zealand’s Kauri Gumfields prior to World War I* (Auckland: Opuzen Press, 2015), p. 21.

¹⁹⁵ Vodanovich, “Review of *Tarara*,” p. 126.

¹⁹⁶ Mataga, *Red Wine to Kauri Gum*, p. 25.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Kauri-Gum Industry (Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission On),’ *Appendices to the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1898, Session 1, H– 12, pp. 7-9.

¹⁹⁸ Mataga, *Red Wine to Kauri Gum*, pp. 90-91.

is largely due to their visibility in traditional sources such as newspapers, where they were portrayed as disloyal or lazy.¹⁹⁹ The arrival of a group of Irish in Otago was met with vitriol from local newspapers who described the new arrivals as certified-scum.²⁰⁰ Meanwhile, the Protestant Irish are overlooked because of the tendency to see them as British, rather than Irish, and their easy assimilation into the colony's society.²⁰¹ It has been commonly claimed in migration studies that the second generation of settlers are usually the ones to take up their cultural identities rather than the first generation who want to establish reputations of Britishness.²⁰² In the case of Irish migrants there appears to have been no intention to pass on their Irishness; the only large attempt to preserve Irish Gaelic in New Zealand came in 1916 with the establishment of the Maoriland Irish National Association.²⁰³

Research into the Katikati special settlement has revealed much about Irish settlers and their expectations of the colony, while challenging previous notions on the nature of Irish settlers which have tended to emphasise Catholic and nationalistic themes.²⁰⁴ The European presence in the Katikati area began during the Waikato War of the 1860s, in which government forces wished to engage the Bay of Plenty tribes to stop them joining with Kingitanga forces in Waikato. After hostilities ended, the Katikati block was purchased hurriedly by the Colonial Government and five militia volunteers were given permission to settle there.²⁰⁵ Through the aid of various Northern Irish sympathisers in the Colonial and Provincial Governments, George Vesey Stewart, a businessman turned land speculator, was given permission to bring a group of settlers to New Zealand. Stewart's shrewdness in negotiations is noteworthy: he relied on the old-world loyalties of colonial administrators and brokered an arrangement in which the government laid out roads and surveyed the block at their own expense before the settlers arrived.²⁰⁶

The first group of settlers who travelled to New Zealand in 1875 were chosen specifically for their abilities as farmers and labourers. Stewart wanted his settlers to be self-

¹⁹⁹ Alasdair Galbraith, "The Invisible Irish? Re-Discovering the Irish Protestant Tradition in Colonial New Zealand" in *A Distant Shore: Irish Migration & New Zealand Settlement*, edited by Lyndon Fraser, 36-54 (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2000), pp. 36-39, 41-44, 47.

²⁰⁰ Galbraith, "The Invisible Irish?" p. 43.

²⁰¹ Galbraith, "The Invisible Irish?" pp. 36-39, 41-44, 47.

²⁰² Patrick O'Farrell, "Varieties of New Zealand Irishness: Meditation" in *A Distant Shore: Irish Migration & New Zealand Settlement* edited by Lyndon Fraser, 25-35 (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2000), p. 28.

²⁰³ Richard P. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868-1922* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1974), pp. 195-196.

²⁰⁴ Galbraith, "The Invisible Irish?" p. 37.

²⁰⁵ E. T. Jordan, *Katikati in Legend & History* (Katikati: E. T. Jordan, 1989), pp. 66-67.

²⁰⁶ Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, pp. 126-128.

sufficient and believed that “small capitalist farmers living on, and working individual allotments”²⁰⁷ would achieve this. The second group who travelled three years later in 1878 were from the professional middle classes and took advantage of the established labour force by setting up businesses. Many settlements were able to shed their old-world social statuses to some extent, but Katikati seemed to inherit many of them. Ireland’s northern province of Ulster had a diversified economy and Protestant Irish were represented in all strata of society, whereas in the south the Protestant Irish represented a wealthy and privileged minority.²⁰⁸ The Protestants of counties Antrim and Down were more secure geographically, while those in border counties were more open to persecution by Catholic neighbours. These secure Protestants were able to build up a mercantile economy, aided by their proximity to the coast and cities such as Belfast, leaving the other counties to rely on small tenant farming. While these social groups were separated geographically in Ireland, they shared a common faith, but when living together in Katikati the socio-economic differences between them became more apparent.²⁰⁹ The maintaining of the old-world social strata in Katikati could be considered the cause of the community’s politically conservative nature in the decades after its founding.²¹⁰

The Katikati settlement’s founding at a time when Catholic Irish settlers were being treated with suspicion exacerbated some existing political issues. Catholics had argued that due to the religious nature of the Otago and Canterbury settlements they should be allowed to settle in smaller communities throughout the colony. If an exclusively Protestant Irish settlement was founded, then the colonial government would have no choice but to give way to Catholic demands for similar treatment.²¹¹ However, many felt that religious settlements were perfectly legitimate and that the true cause of consternation Catholic Irish had with the settlement was its connections to the Orange Order, a group whose beliefs had a political emphasis. Others have pointed to the establishment of Freemason and Oddfellow lodges as societal safety nets and argued that the political goals of the Orange Order may not have travelled with the settlers who just wanted a sense of familiarity in a strange land.²¹² The Orange lodges did get involved in politics in New Zealand when the question of religious teaching in schools arose. They opposed religion in schools out of fear it meant concessions

²⁰⁷ Thomas L. Stevenson, *The Katikati Special Settlement* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1975), p. 41.

²⁰⁸ Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, p. 133.

²⁰⁹ Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, pp. 133-137.

²¹⁰ Akenson, *Half the World from Home*, pp. 133-137.

²¹¹ Davis, *Irish Issues*, pp. 32-34.

²¹² Davis, *Irish Issues*, p. 51.

to Catholics. Their political beliefs, especially over property rights in Ireland, may also explain the Katikati settlement's social conservatism and hierarchy.²¹³

Gender in Colonial History

In the 19th century New Zealand suffered from a gender imbalance—there were more men in the colony than women.²¹⁴ Thus, there is an inherent danger that gender-based distinctions in research could favour the male experience over that of women. Much of the current historiography focuses on male-dominated narratives and only glances at, or even omits, the significance of women in events. In publications such as the *New Zealand Journal of History* between 1993 and 2018, only 22 articles had women as their main subject.²¹⁵ However, there are significant studies on the lives of women within New Zealand settler communities.

Caroline Daley's study of Taradale from 1886-1930 uses the lens of gender but does not assume that it can tell a complete historical narrative of the community by doing so. Daley states that researching settlers of a certain gender does not discount the contributions of others but "explores some of the ways that gender has shaped Pakeha lives."²¹⁶ Traditional accounts of settler life depict a simplistic scene of domestic female subservience to a dominant male figure. Accounts from both men and women of home life in Taradale show that settlers saw themselves as partners with different but just as important roles to play.²¹⁷ Women were dominant financial players within a household, as sons who began earning wages were expected to hand them over to their mother—and only stop doing so when they married and were emancipated from the household economy.²¹⁸ The domestic sphere has traditionally been seen by researchers as a woman's responsibility, but men also played a role

²¹³ Davis, *Irish Issues*, p. 54.

²¹⁴ Caroline Daley, "Men and Women in the City – Man's Country, Woman's City?" *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, December 17 2009, accessed 29.07.2025. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/graph/24590/gender-ratio-1864-1996#:~:text=The%20idea%20of%20colonial%20New,expectancy%20partly%20explains%20the%20difference.>

²¹⁵ Grace Millar, "Women's Lives, Feminism and the *New Zealand Journal of History*," *New Zealand Journal of History* 52, no. 2 (2018): pp. 135-136.

²¹⁶ Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, "Introduction", in *The Gendered Kiwi*, edited by Caroline Daley, Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), p. 7.

²¹⁷ Caroline Daley, *Girls & Woman, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), pp. 161-162.

²¹⁸ Daley, *Girls & Woman*, pp. 32-33.

in the home. Their domestic lives were relegated to certain masculine tasks such as cobbling, carpentry, maintenance, gardening, and other responsibilities included in home ownership.²¹⁹

Women in colonial communities enjoyed far more independence than their counterparts in Britain, as their input into establishing a homestead gave them equal status in the masculine sphere outside of the home.²²⁰ Geographic distance from services such as markets and schools made the assistance of children in running a homestead vital, meaning young girls participated in activities such as hunting, fishing, and riding with male siblings. This fostered an independence of character and solidified a new familial culture.²²¹ Changes to how women viewed themselves within the colonial world were caused by efforts to “reconcile the competing pressures of changing social relations.”²²² The settler woman was subjected to the same hardships as her male counterparts, and from this came the justification for women’s suffrage and women’s equal treatment in financial matters.²²³ By examining the interactions of men and women in public and private domains, we gain insight into the community’s expectations of gender and how—regardless of their interactions in common spaces—male and female settlers had different methods and expectations of colonial and provincial life.²²⁴

Utopianism and Atomisation in Colonial New Zealand

The understanding of organised settler communities in New Zealand and how these communities were planned, peopled, or perished warrants a discussion of Utopianism. Settler Utopianism or Arcadian idealism, the portrayal of new worlds as devoid of inhabitants and abundant in natural resources, was often cited as the major driving force for the mass exodus of peoples from Europe to colonies across the globe. Marketing campaigns for settlement schemes were designed to portray a picturesque lifestyle for those willing to leave their

²¹⁹ Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law, “Situating Gender,” in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men & Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939*, ed. Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law (Auckland: University of Auckland Press, 2003), pp. 1-14.

²²⁰ Raewyn Dalziel, “The Colonial Helpmeet: Women’s Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand,” *New Zealand Journal of History* Vol. 11, No. 2 (1977): pp. 112-113.

²²¹ Erik Olssen, ‘Families and the gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-1880’, in *The Gendered Kiwi*, edited by Caroline Daley, Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), p. 43.

²²² Deborah Montgomerie, “New Women and Not-So-New Men: Discussions About Marriage in New Zealand, 1890-1914,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 51, no. 1 (2017): p. 40.

²²³ Montgomerie, “New Women,” p. 40.

²²⁴ Daley, *Girls & Woman*, pp. 2-7, 161.

homes and settle in a new land. The idealism would hopefully appeal to those deemed respectable, hardworking, and necessary to build a community with the infrastructure and investment required for success.²²⁵ Utopianism is best summarised by Fredric Jameson, “the people without land supposedly [meet] ‘the land without people.’”²²⁶

Those immigrating to the Anglosphere, British or American colonies, also found themselves bombarded with images, not only of secular Arcadia but also the biblical promised land featuring societies with a conscience—social and moral. Coupled with the sincere belief in hard work and communal support, the new religious awakening of the early 19th century helped fuel the settler exodus through its promise of self-determined reward. In the 1840s-1850s almost two-thirds of British emigrants were non-conformists and less than a fifth were Anglican or members of a national church.²²⁷ When the settlement was not advertised as a government or commercial venture, religious leanings were made more apparent—as in New Zealand with the Scottish settlers in Waipū or the non-conformists in Albertland. Secular variants were rarely able to last and were usually an external response to a colonial administration’s inability to invest in certain areas, such as the proposed Britannia settlement in southern New Zealand.²²⁸

The view of colonial New Zealand society in general histories and works based around smaller communities has remained steady in recent decades. Historians have generally held that while settlers may have been isolated geographically, they were still part of a wider community through the institutions and communications available. This was most notably discussed in Miles Fairburn’s 1989 study, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundation of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*. Fairburn claimed that colonial New Zealand was an atomised society.²²⁹ Casting aside the views of his peers, he asserted that New Zealand society was such that no community, or sense of community, could have truly developed due to the transience of the population and their isolation from others.²³⁰ Fairburn’s work was split into three sections: what the settlers thought of their society; what historians have

²²⁵ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, pp. 153-154.

²²⁶ Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Call ed Utopia and Other Science Fictions*, (London: Verso, 2005), p. 205.

²²⁷ Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, pp. 163-164.

²²⁸ Lyman Tower Sargent, “Utopianism and the Creation of New Zealand National Identity”, *Utopian Studies*, Vol 12, No. 1, (2001): pp. 5-6.

²²⁹ Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989).

²³⁰ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*.

thought about their society; and finally what he himself believed. He stated that settlers believed themselves to be in an Arcadia, a land of plenty where there would be bountiful harvests and an abundance of mineral wealth.²³¹

Regarding the views of other historians, Fairburn states that “although none of these historians say so explicitly, the implication of their view is that the tightly knit local community was a virulent breeder of oppressive status conformity.”²³² All settlers would have to conform to a communal ideal and there was no room for dissent, creativity, or change. This theoretical basis is an attempt to disregard the development of categories or sub-genres in social history, such as class, gender, race, and build an argument from a neutral position. It is a somewhat postmodernist approach: the historian decides categorisation hinders understanding of the past and is more suited for “ideologues convinced that what is important in the present must have been just as important in the past.”²³³ Fairburn asserts social history requires an overarching ideal to make a society cohesive and such an ideal, he argues, did not exist in colonial New Zealand.

Fairburn’s theory has been subjected to high levels of criticism. Belich dedicates half a chapter of *Making Peoples* to discussing Fairburn, with the acknowledgement that “no general historian can hope to match his use of statistics.”²³⁴ Belich argues that while transience can be traced through arrest records and that the number of permanent residents in new settlements was small, Fairburn’s theory cannot be corroborated as he has not provided evidence that it disrupted a sense of community. The growth of voluntary organisations may have allowed settlements to quickly incorporate newcomers.²³⁵ Belich’s main disagreement with Fairburn is that transients and drifters seemed to multiply in the 1880s, precisely when Fairburn says atomisation was declining. Fairburn’s statistics were also bolstered by imperial soldiers, gold-diggers, and sailors who were never truly resident in the colony.²³⁶ Nevertheless, Belich concedes that, “just as Fairburn is unable to show that his likely causes of, or prerequisites for, atomism actually produced it, so am I unable to show that likely

²³¹ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, pp. 29-32.

²³² Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, p. 159.

²³³ Fairburn, *The Ideal Society*, pp. 10-11.

²³⁴ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.413.

²³⁵ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 416.

²³⁶ Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp. 422-423.

causes or prerequisites of community actually did the job.”²³⁷ The burden of proof remains with Fairburn.

Fairburn’s characterisation of society as atomised is like the 1960s’ North American argument which claimed that the vagrancy of unskilled young male workers caused a continuous cycle of economic stagnation for the lower classes. However, this argument did not focus on the purpose of migration, merely its outcomes.²³⁸ Clyde Griffen, unlike others, does take issue with Fairburn’s use of statistics. He argues that Fairburn’s statistical findings are flawed due to the focus on a generalised context, New Zealand nationally, rather than on specific locales. Assuming locations in different regions with different economic priorities were the same skews the data beyond any reasonable interpretation.²³⁹ It also ignores the possibility of gender ratios being a factor in why people moved. Fairburn places emphasis on migrant motives for moving to a colony, but not on why they would move between regions.²⁴⁰

North American studies have an abundance of census information which New Zealand studies lack, thus Fairburn is assuming that the transients he is studying were not returning to a community with which they already had connections. Griffen states that Fairburn was right to emphasise the role of southern miners in an attempt to show the social isolation of these individuals. North American studies, though, have shown similar migrant communities were family dominated. Griffen points out that the divergence here is due to Fairburn not taking into account chain migration, the habits of seasonal workers, and whether these individuals were extended family.²⁴¹ There is also a lack of emphasis on those who relied on a community for support, business owners and missionaries being examples. Fairburn briefly touches upon this through a description of the slow process of building lodges and churches, Griffen retorts that claims about the process being slow and contributing to feelings of isolation across New Zealand are unfounded because no comparison was made with any other community.²⁴² Fairburn’s generalisations and rejection of the categorisation of

²³⁷ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 423.

²³⁸ Clyde Griffen, “Fairburn’s New Zealand from a Vantage Point of North American Studies,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 25, no. 2 (1991): p. 98.

²³⁹ Griffen, “Fairburn’s New Zealand,” pp. 99, 102.

²⁴⁰ Griffen, “Fairburn’s New Zealand,” p. 102.

²⁴¹ Griffen, “Fairburn’s New Zealand,” p. 102.

²⁴² Griffen, “Fairburn’s New Zealand,” pp. 103-105.

social history “make this reader [Griffen] wonder whether he has overstated what the historians have claimed.”²⁴³

Erik Olssen’s review of Miles Fairburn’s theory of atomization offered praise for the use of statistics and attempt to avoid the fragmentation within the social history discipline.²⁴⁴ However, the period Fairburn covers omits the settlers of the 1840s, the Wakefield settlements including Christchurch and Dunedin, missionaries, and the relationship of Māori to settler communities. Olssen states this simply means the “argument is focussed too narrowly to be entirely persuasive”²⁴⁵ and that categorising the discipline and studying groups such as women can show us more about a historical community’s make-up and workings. While Fairburn sparked a heated discussion of the nature of transience, his arguments when scrutinised do not offer any credible justification for avoiding categorising parts of historical studies by age, gender, or class.

Otago and Caversham

Perhaps New Zealand’s most extensive study of an historic community is the ongoing interdisciplinary Caversham Project. Caversham was one of the former boroughs south of Dunedin which merged with the city and was subsequently split into six suburbs. Since the project’s beginning in the 1970s, there has been an ongoing process of data collection, correlation, and analysis about the people living there. Historians have used this as a model for comparison when studying internal migration, class, and gender in wider New Zealand.²⁴⁶ The project has relied heavily on demographic information gleaned from directories and census data and, as a result, the early findings were skewed towards information on males, the employed, and homeowners. Later publications using data from the Caversham project expanded their focus to include the lives of women, families, and class consciousness.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Griffen, “Fairburn’s New Zealand,” p. 111.

²⁴⁴ Erik Olssen, “Miles Fairburn. The Ideal Society and Its Enemies. The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900,” *International Review of Social History* 35, no. 2, 281-283 (1990): pp. 281-83.

²⁴⁵ Olssen, “Miles Fairburn,” p. 282.

²⁴⁶ Olssen et al, “Urban Society,” pp. 47-48.

²⁴⁷ Erik Olssen, *Building the New World: Work, Politics and Society in Caversham 1880s-1920s* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995); Barbara L. Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law, *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003); Erik Olssen, “‘For Better or Worse’: Marriage Patterns in Dunedin’s Southern Suburbs 1881-1938,” in *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2005); Erik

The rapid growth of the southern half of Dunedin appears to have been the result of occupational mobility. Those working in construction were able to find work building homes in new suburbs such as Caversham. With the financial capital they earned, many started their own businesses and employed others who moved south. This facilitated new arrivals who brought more financial capital, which enticed even further migration to the area.²⁴⁸ Using *Stone's Directories*, the Caversham project was able to trace the movements of many tradespeople and discovered that most only went to a neighbouring borough. However, the directories' occupational lists show most of those who moved went on to start their own businesses, confirming a correlation between spatial mobility and occupational mobility.²⁴⁹ Again this data was skewed in favour of men, as women were omitted from the directories unless they owned a business.

The Caversham Project's attempt to show links between spatial and occupational transience, and social mobility has proved more difficult. Occupation can be traced through written sources and spatial mobility observed, but the project had to find a system of quantifying and measuring social status. Olssen turned to home ownership and rental records to provide insight into social mobility.²⁵⁰ Rental properties made up almost 40 percent of the Kensington and South Dunedin suburbs. Many young men and women moved into these areas, and a few years later moved back into the suburbs of St Kilda or wider Caversham. Marriage records show these were usually young couples moving into their first home together, a rental, and then moving back to the other suburbs when they purchased a home.²⁵¹ Owning, rather than renting, was an indication that they had climbed the social ladder. Supporting this were school rolls, which showed children changing to schools in more affluent parts of the study area while remaining at the same residential address. The majority who did leave school, however, either moved away from the district, left due to illness, or left to begin working.²⁵²

Olssen and Maureen Hickey, *Class and Occupation: The New Zealand Reality* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2005); Erik Olssen, Clyde Griffen and Frank Jones, *An Accidental Utopia? Social Mobility & the Foundation of an Egalitarian Society, 1880-1940* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2009).

²⁴⁸ Judi Boyd and Erik Olssen, "The Skilled Workers: Journeymen and Masters in Caversham, 1880-1914," *New Zealand Journal of History* Vol. 22, No. 2 (1988): pp. 120-121.

²⁴⁹ Boyd and Olssen, "The Skilled Workers," pp. 121-122.

²⁵⁰ Erik Olssen, "A Case Study of Southern Dunedin in Global Context," *Movement and Persistence*, pp. 14-15, accessed 28.05.2024, <https://cresa.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/transience-and-persistence-olsen-final.pdf>.

²⁵¹ Olssen, "A Case Study of Southern Dunedin," pp. 14-15.

²⁵² Olssen, "A Case Study of Southern Dunedin," pp. 14-15.

The advent of the industrial revolution in Britain and especially southern Scotland meant that an overwhelming majority of the first Otago settlers were tradespeople whose fields had been overwhelmed by automation and were now superfluous. The occupational upper class of Caversham consisted of shopkeepers and farmers, very few settlers having owned land before immigrating.²⁵³ The Caversham project eventually expanded to include a larger period, 1881-1940, and the adjacent boroughs of St Kilda and South Dunedin. The decision to expand the project was made to add socio-economic diversity to the study group and cover a timespan when New Zealand was undergoing “rapid urbanisation, a very rapid decline in fertility and mortality, an acceleration of internal migration to the North Island... and the reorganisation of the nation’s economy.”²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Olssen, *A History of Otago*, p. 35.

²⁵⁴ Olssen et al, “Urban Society,” pp. 39-40.

Methodology: Genealogy and Historical Research

Family history and genealogy are valuable fields that can contribute much to a community history. Their incorporation into a study can reveal the inner workings of families and extended family groups within a community, allow for analysis of community members sharing of beliefs or ideas, and aid in understanding how communities may have viewed themselves in relation to others. However, there has been debate as to whether they are acceptable fields to use in historical research, with the most typically raised issues pertaining to accuracy, authenticity, transparency, and lack of wider social context.²⁵⁵ Moreover, despite debate as to whether there is any difference between the two deeply intertwined fields, a distinction can be identified. Genealogy presents the data relating to a family: birth dates, marriages, date of death, and date of emigration. Family history is the narrative, the story of a family, which might entail the genealogical information but can also function without it.²⁵⁶

Family history has been described by Malcolm Allbrook and Sophie Scott-Brown as the place where two great oceans of research meet, that is, an arena where family historians, often amateur researchers working alone, and academic historians, usually working in a university environment, overlap.²⁵⁷ Academic history has striven to be objective, to extend its subject matter into new fields, and to enlarge its scale of historical enquiry, while family history has maintained a localised and deeply personal sense of identity directly influenced by its authors. The relationship between academic and family historians has often been viewed as negative. Academic historians have harboured feelings of scorn for the nonprofessional nature of family research; family historians have been unwilling to share their works outside of their own circles because of condescension.²⁵⁸ Graeme Davison stated that the “chattering genealogists in public libraries and archives are one of the daily hazards of the academic researcher.”²⁵⁹ However, Davison himself has since published his own

²⁵⁵ Christine Sleeter, “Critical Family History: An Introduction,” *Genealogy* 4, 64 (2020): DOI <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy4020064>.

²⁵⁶ Amy M. Smith, ‘Family Webs: The Impact of Women’s Genealogy Research on Family Communication,’ (PhD Thesis: Bowling Green State University, 2008), p. 6.

²⁵⁷ Malcolm Allbrook and Sophie Scott-Brown, “Family History and the Academy: A ‘Turn or a Tradition?’” in *Family History and Historians in Australia and New Zealand* (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 3, 13.

²⁵⁸ Malcolm Allbrook and Sophie Scott-Brown, “Foreword” in *Family History and Historians in Australia and New Zealand* (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), pp. ix-xi.

²⁵⁹ Graeme Davison, *Lost Relations: Fortunes of my Family in Australia’s Golden Age* (Melbourne: Allen Unwin Publishing, 2015), p. xiii.

family history, *My Grandfather's Clock: Four Centuries of a British–Australian Family*.²⁶⁰ In this work he is far less critical of the use of family history in historical research, stating it merely requires “an oscillation between two modes of inquiry: one, a tracing back to find my ‘lost relations’; the other, a looking forward to consider how their actions and decisions affected their descendants, including me [Davison].”²⁶¹

The lack of regard many academic historians have for family history may stem from the difficulty in categorising such works. They appear in numerous forms—written and oral, extensive biographies and short family trees—and have also been used in the fields of sociology, psychology, demography, and geography.²⁶² The genealogists and authors of these family histories are also seen as highly susceptible to fluctuating societal attitudes, adapting their stories and changing how they classify their data accordingly. For example, co-habitation outside of marriage is now written about openly in family histories, whereas it was once seen as shameful and would be omitted.²⁶³ Recent developments in academic history, such as “experiences of individuals – often in the context of emotional familial relationships; a resurgence of micro-histories of individuals or objects,”²⁶⁴ have made room for family histories and bridged the gap between the two groups. Furthermore, family histories have matured from simple family trees and genealogical data to larger works that seek to place ancestors in the social contexts of their eras.²⁶⁵

Family history, historically reserved for those of the upper class as proof of lineage and pedigree, mirrored the changes in historical thinking after the Second World War. Academic historians began to research history from below. It was thought that writing history from the perspectives of ordinary people, rather than history as a sequence of grand events would make academic historians naturally gravitate to family history. However, new family histories were largely ignored in the first years of the “history from below” movement.²⁶⁶ This was a mistake as family histories can reveal more than the story of one family; they can expose nuances in larger historical narratives as well. However, the family historian may not

²⁶⁰ Graeme Davison, *My Grandfather's Clock: Four Centuries of a British–Australian Family* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2023).

²⁶¹ Davison, *My Grandfather's Clock*, p. 5.

²⁶² Allbrook and Scott-Brown, “Family History and the Academy,” pp. 3–4.

²⁶³ Smith, ‘Family Webs,’ p. 17.

²⁶⁴ Laura King and Jessica Hammett, “Family Historians and Historians of the Family: The Value of Collaboration,” in *Making Histories*, edited by Paul Ashton, Tanya Evans, and Paula Hamilton (Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), p. 238.

²⁶⁵ King and Hammett, “Family Historians and Historians of the Family,” p. 239.

²⁶⁶ Allbrook and Scott-Brown, “Foreword,” p. xi.

be aware that they have uncovered these nuances because their research does not usually extend into the broader context of the period their chosen family lived in.²⁶⁷ By being free of the broader context, family histories seem to not approach history through any specific ideological lens. While they can be susceptible to ideological leanings such as holding to settler narratives—portraying settlers as intrepid explorers venturing into the unknown—they can also upset these narratives by showing the unique experiences individuals may have had.²⁶⁸

The issue of memory and how it should be approached has been an area of contention for historians when using family histories in their research. Where the narratives enclosed in a family history have come from and whether they are true cannot always be verified, unlike genealogical data. Smith argues that in cases where a memory or narrative cannot be verified, the historian should instead be concerned with the effect the memory had on the family and their descendants: “examining meaning and truth within family memories is a critical step toward full awareness of the bearing those memories have upon the family story and/or the family identity.”²⁶⁹ Amongst family historians and genealogists, there appears to be the common understanding that, while genealogical data is important, the narrative and story of the family is the most coveted; it is what allows the facts to come to life and gives depth and meaning to the actions of an ancestor.²⁷⁰

As technology has advanced, the role and place of the family historian has also changed. The advent of websites such as ancestry.com and myheritage.com has shifted the nature of genealogy and family history from a personal pilgrimage to a series of transactions, from a public and voluntary act to a private and commercial one.²⁷¹ Many of the family history and genealogy websites charge fees for the use of their services, and the genealogy niche has grown to be one of the most lucrative markets on the internet.²⁷² These websites offer more than just helping you to track your ancestors; they also offer to put you in touch with unknown distant relatives. The rise of chatrooms means that there is no longer any need for relatives to gather in one place when they can speak to each other from all over the world. The diminishing number of family reunions has also caused the loss of material that might

²⁶⁷ Graeme Davison, “Speed-Relating: Family History in a Digital Age,” *History Australia* Vol. 6, No. 2 (2009): p. 43.9.

²⁶⁸ Allbrook and Scott-Brown, “Family History and the Academy,” pp. 8-9.

²⁶⁹ Smith, ‘Family Webs,’ p. 21.

²⁷⁰ Smith, ‘Family Webs,’ pp. 68-69.

²⁷¹ Davison, “Speed-Relating,” pp. 43.3-43.4.

²⁷² Davison, “Speed-Relating,” p. 43.2.

have been published for the occasion. While the raw data can still be found online, the loss of these resources—which would usually have found their way into archives—leaves historians without access to narratives which may have been included.²⁷³

Whereas the place of the genealogist was once in local archives, libraries, and genealogical societies, they have increasingly become solitary researchers. The access that genealogical websites have afforded them means the information they require is accessible from their own computer. This also affects the research of historians who still use these traditional archives; the genealogist may upload digitised diaries, photographs, or documents to a genealogical website but forgo leaving copies with an archive. Unless the historian is willing to use these websites in their research, large swathes of documents may be excluded from their work.²⁷⁴

These websites can also cause issues for the genealogist. Digitisation can favour certain data over others; for example, documents that are easily scannable or can be transcribed into a set format will become more accessible than others. Genealogists therefore risk losing information if they rely solely on digital or website sources. They also risk conflating the importance of certain documents over others or misidentifying documents altogether.²⁷⁵ Davison remarks on the loss of holding a source such as a letter or diary in your own hands. Such experiences can offer genealogists deeply emotional moments in their search for their own identity or the identity of their ancestors.²⁷⁶ Michael S. Sweeney warns against such acts of emotion when conducting genealogical research as it gives way to what he termed the “genealogical assumption”: the assumption that who a person’s ancestors were, even in the distant past, determined who they themselves grew to become. This assumption could relate to the ancestor’s actions as well as their race, gender, class, sexuality, and religion. Since these topics may not have been accurately recorded or actively discussed, the genealogist would be inhibited by emotional connections to inaccurate information or representations.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ Catherine Lucy, “Research Trends & Emerging Technologies for Genealogists,” *School of Information Student Research Journal* Vol. 5, No. 2 (2015): p. 1. Accessed 21.08.2024.

<https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1217&context=ischoolsrj>

²⁷⁴ Lucy, “Research Trends,” p. 1.

²⁷⁵ Thomas Daniel Knight, “Genealogical Ethics in the United States and the Popularization of Genealogical Research in the Digital Age,” *Genealogy* Vol. 8(3), No. 78 (2024): pp. 12-13. Accessed 21.08.2024. <https://www.mdpi.com/2313-5778/8/3/78>

²⁷⁶ Davison, “Speed-Relating,” p. 43.6.

²⁷⁷ Carolina Jonsson Malm, “Genealogy, Archives and Uses of the Past,” Lecture, Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) Conference, Montreal, Canada, 7 June 2016, p. 2.

To use genealogy and family histories in historical research requires careful consideration of the possible inaccuracies, how stories were significant to those who recorded and preserved them, and how omissions from datasets and stories may be as important as what was included. Any use of these resources should be coupled with the use of other sources that support their assertions. Genealogical data can be obtained from other databases, and the sources (if provided) used in family histories can offer insight into the work of the researcher, their intentions, and whether the work requires additional corroboration.

Most historians in the field of community studies have relied on material from physical archives containing journals, letters, and diaries. However, with the advent of online resources and digitised archives, many have found a more accessible avenue through which to study individuals within communities without needing an immediately accessible physical archive.²⁷⁸ As more countries and localities digitise their printed and archival records, the possibilities for both professional and amateur researchers to locate previously hard to find sources increases significantly; although it must be noted that as yet only a fraction of archival sources have been digitised, necessitating continued visits to archives.

Genealogical and family websites (such as Ancestry.com, MyHeritage.com, and Wikitree.com) have also allowed anybody with internet access to create digital family trees and link them to official documentation. Another aspect of these websites is they act as a forum for nonprofessional researchers to communicate with others and share their findings. This has caused some concern amongst academics, as these websites are created by those who have personal stakes in the history they are writing and are used by “amateur researchers with an amateur audience.”²⁷⁹ This thesis explores the usefulness of such sources and the approach of family historians to community histories. Engaging with this new form of historical research as a reference, or as a link to digitised primary sources, can allay the fears of historians who warn of the inaccuracy of these websites. It also allows this avenue of research to be used while the debates of its implications on historical methodology continue. This thesis, then, recognises that family histories offer a useful and credible way of interpreting the past, one which can allow for fruitful dialogue between genealogists and academic historians.

²⁷⁸ Alexandra Chassanoff, “Historians and the Use of Primary Sources Materials in the Digital Age,” in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 76, 2 (2013): p. 459.

²⁷⁹ Jerome de Groot, “On Genealogy,” in *The Public Historian* Vol. 37, No. 3 (2015): p. 103.

This research follows a similar methodology to other works in the field, tracing settlers through demographic studies, such as census records and electoral rolls, to understand how they functioned as a collective. In addition, there has been a lack of scholarship regarding the property records of the Albertland settlement. This set of records produces previously unknown links between those who remained in the settlement, intermarried with outsiders, moved away, or maintained ownership of property while not being present on the land, thus making the social and economic workings of the settlement more apparent. The research also uses primary sources such as diaries, journals, letters, and newspapers as a gateway into the lives of the Albertland settlers. Through the additional usage of genealogical websites, it conducts a genealogical survey of the Albertland settlement, gleaning the “peoples history written by the people.”²⁸⁰

It is important to acknowledge the place of Ngāti Whātua in this research. That the iwi does not feature heavily in this study is not to minimise their role and interactions with the Albertland settlement or settlers, or to ignore their place as mana whenua of the region. It is simply that this study focuses on the lives of the Albertlanders, their views and aspirations, and the story they have formed of themselves and their ancestors. Despite Ngāti Whātua attempting to interact with the settlement, especially in its early years, the Albertlanders did not return that interest, and the two groups remained separate and autonomous. For settlers, the place of Ngāti Whātua in the story of Albertland was relegated to the settlement’s early years.

The descendants of the Albertlanders have spread far and wide, but those who remain in the district have taken every step to preserve their heritage. The Albertland & Districts Museum state their mission is “to chronicle the story of the Albertland Non-conformist Society of the 1860s” and that the “museum is home to a rich and exciting range of family archives, records, photographs, memorabilia and artefacts.”²⁸¹ With the aid of Albertland descendants, the museum has built files on the most recognisable family names from the Albertland scheme and, while at times sparse, these contain a myriad of documents including birth records, marriage records, and family histories not available online. The most expansive collections in the museum are the Harold Marsh Collection, which includes photographs

²⁸⁰ Jonathan Healey, “Why Local History Matters,” Continuing Education from Oxford University. Special Presentation at Oxford University, Oxford, UK, 14 November, 2012.

²⁸¹ “About the Museum,” <https://albertlandmuseum.co.nz> Accessed 31.05.2020; “About the Museum,” <https://albertlandmuseum.co.nz> Accessed 31.05.2020.

dating from the 1860s to the present day, and the Brookes Family Collection, which contains the diaries and correspondence of the Brookes family who became a dominant presence in the district.²⁸² The use of these documents, which have been collected over the last several decades, has assisted this research in providing new information about the Albertland settlers.

The nature of the Albertland & Districts Museum's collection and its large number of visual media means there is an opportunity for the inclusion of photographic material in this research. Photographs offer an interesting challenge for historians, as some believe they require specific skills to be analysed, while others argue images are direct windows into the past and require no skill in their interpretation.²⁸³ Photographs can reveal relationships between subjects by how they are positioned, who is included or omitted from family groups, and dispel suppositions about the subjects or the photographers that may have been made due to written sources and evidence.²⁸⁴ Printed photographs from the pre-digital era also allow an exploration of material culture. Whether the image was given prominence in a home or kept as a personal keepsake in a locket shows the owner's relationship to the people in the photograph.²⁸⁵ The benefits of using visual media in New Zealand community studies have already been shown in works such as Olssen's extension of his Caversham project *Working Lives*.²⁸⁶ While images can provide insight into individuals and events they also contain an emotional impact that can cement their place in memory and influence a historian's research.²⁸⁷ To avoid this influence, this research uses photographs and images in a supplementary manner such that they add to discussion rather than being its focal point.

Social history has been influenced by creative engagement with other disciplines. The definition of community in the social sciences is a fluid term that differs from discipline to discipline. Sociology and psychology have defined community, largely through the MacMillan and Chavis system developed in 1986, as a social unit that meets four main criteria: membership defined by a barrier or symbol; ability of members to influence each other; fulfilment of needs and rewards for participation; and emotional connection to others

²⁸² "About the Museum," <https://albertlandmuseum.co.nz> Accessed 31.05.2020.

²⁸³ Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London: Hodder Education, 2006), p. 164.

²⁸⁴ Robert Alan Achterberg, *Photographs as Primary Sources for Historical Research and Teaching in Education: The Albert W. Achterberg Photographic Collection* (Austin TX: The University of Texas at Austin, 2007), pp. 5-6.

²⁸⁵ Penny Tinkler, *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), pp. 2-3.

²⁸⁶ Erik Olssen, *Working Lives c. 1900: A Photographic Essay* (Dunedin: Otago Publishing, 2014).

²⁸⁷ Jordanova, *History in Practice*, p. 93.

within the unit.²⁸⁸ However, the definition of community in historical studies has commonly been tied to small localities and their internal politics and economics over a set period of time.²⁸⁹ The attempt to categorise community studies as a distinct field within history has also led, in part, to the dismissal of family histories as irrelevant to historical study. S. Wright dictates that the focus of community studies should be between the “front doors where the private space of households starts, and the edge of the village or parish where ‘community’ becomes ‘state.’”²⁹⁰ This research will challenge this definition of a community as a group of people living within the same locale. It will demonstrate the place of family histories within community studies, and question whether the term Albertland describes a physical location or a more abstract concept of community.

Albertland Settler Database

To investigate the research questions this research set out to explore who came to New Zealand as intending emigrants to the Albertland settlement, and what happened to them and their wider community after they arrived—this thesis uses both a quantitative and qualitative approach. An important part of the quantitative element was the construction of a database of intending settlers for the purposes of identifying key trends as to who these people were, including their religion, last known place of settlement in Britain, and where they resided after coming to New Zealand. Once these broader trends were determined, a qualitative approach was employed to evaluate the nuances of themes such as community identity and religious practices.

The construction of the database was informed by previous scholarship in the field of prosopography such as that by Louis Henry in the 1950s and the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure in the 1960s and beyond, who developed techniques used in family reconstruction. Henry’s research was focused on fertility rates; to understand birthrates in post-World War 2 France he turned to the past and, through parish records in Crulai, reconstructed family groups to analyse the times between births. This work

²⁸⁸ D. W. McMillan, & D. M. Chavis, “Sense of community: A definition and theory,” in *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14(1) (1986): pp. 6-23.

²⁸⁹ Dennis Mills, *Rural Community History from Trades Directories*, (Aldenhams: Hertfordshire Publications, 2001), p. 9.

²⁹⁰ S. Wright, ‘Image and analysis: new directions in community studies’ in *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis*, ed. B. Short (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 204-205.

was focused on statistical analysis, but it identified family histories and other documents that warranted further qualitative study.²⁹¹ The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Science adapted Henry's techniques for English-focused studies, and they produced a large number of works either discussing or using these methods over the next forty years.²⁹² E. A. Wrigley and Roger Schofield's work in this group is noteworthy: while they followed Henry's plan of linking together different records such as birth, death, marriage, and baptism to reconstitute families, they also identified issues with data collection and reconciling sources containing conflicting information.²⁹³

The foundation of the database for this research was a list of intending settlers and the construction of this list relied on three key sources. The Albertland & Districts Museum have available on their website digitised passenger lists of 12 ships that carried Albertlanders to New Zealand. These were cross referenced with the passenger lists published in various New Zealand and British newspapers from 1862-63, from which were found names not included on the museum website list and possible misspellings of surnames. A record of both spellings was kept as it is not clear whether the errors were from the digital repositories or original newspaper articles. Henry Brett's work, *The Albertlanders*, lists the names of 15 Albertlander ships, three of which were not directly involved in the scheme so not included in the Albertland & Districts Museum database.²⁹⁴ As it is impossible to know who from these other ships was an Albertlander simply from the passenger lists, only Albertlanders from 14 of the 15 ships were identified. Therefore, the 15th ship, *Queen of Beauty*, was excluded from the database. This means the database does not include every intending Albertlander, but it does contain a majority, totalling 2535 names.

The list was then supplemented with information from the Henry Barton Register of Intending Albertland Settlers which contained 1,085 names.²⁹⁵ Eighty-three of these names

²⁹¹ E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 354.

²⁹² E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965); Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Peter Laslett, *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); D.E.C. Eversley, Peter Laslett, W.A. Armstrong, and Lynda Ovenall, *An Introduction to English Historical Demography: From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. E. A. Wrigley (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966).

²⁹³ G. Alter, G. Newton, and J. Oppen, "Re-introducing the Cambridge Group Family Reconstitutions," *Historical Life Course Studies* 9, (2020): p. 25.

²⁹⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 53-66.

²⁹⁵ The Henry Barton Register of Intending Albertland Settlers c1862, 2007, 2007.5.30, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

were excluded as their applications to join the Albertland scheme were denied. The combination of the shipping lists and Henry Barton Register produced a research group of 1,021 names, and this was the focal point of this research.²⁹⁶ To be included in the research group, a name needed to correlate to at least one of the following three categories: an occupation before emigration, religious denomination, or last known address before emigration, or alternatively a capacity to be positively identified as a relative of someone with those points identified. This information provided a starting point from which to search genealogical sources for further details. A decision was made to exclude later arrivals to Albertland from the database. While some later arrivals played large roles in the community, they could distort the quantitative data regarding original members of the scheme. Additionally, setting a cutoff date for when new arrivals would start being excluded would have been a subjective, arbitrary decision. Accordingly, the research focus was on original emigrants.

The settler database is split into two sections: the Master List and the Passenger Links. The Master List contains basic information such as name, dates of birth, death, and marriage, denomination, occupations from before and after arrival, along with the former address in the United Kingdom of each settler. To distinguish familial relationships amongst the settlers, each family was given a family ID along with their familial link to an appointed senior family member. This was usually a parent or in the case of a multigenerational family an adult of the middle generation.²⁹⁷ The Passenger Links database contains URL links to all online evidence and information pertaining to each settler. This includes the information from paperspast and genealogical websites. The picture segment contains copies of images as well as URL links to their source to avoid the risk of images being lost if they are removed from genealogical websites.²⁹⁸ With all this information stored and organised in the database, the writing of a thesis that takes note of individuals and their experiences within a community was far simpler than it otherwise would have been.

There are inherent dangers in using genealogical websites as a resource to construct a database and study a settler group that must be acknowledged. The information on such websites can be contributed by anyone, anywhere, and there is no guarantee it will be correct.

²⁹⁶ An abridged list of the Research Group, including the fields Family Name, First Name, Family ID, Familial Link, Denomination, Ship, and County, can be found in Appendix C.

²⁹⁷ A full list of the data fields recorded in the database is provided in Appendix A.

²⁹⁸ Excerpts of the Passenger Links Database are provided in Appendix B.

However, by cross referencing these websites with other publicly available documents, such as birth, marriage, and death records, a higher degree of accuracy was achieved. Cross-referencing also ensured that any settlers with common names are not being mistaken for others at the time. The information gathered from these sources was then used to find other genealogical records, such as family histories and archival documents that further supplement and corroborate the identities of the settlers. Often, the information on genealogical websites was gathered from these same sources and contained links to the originals. However, further examination of the original documents often confirmed accuracy and revealed information not added to genealogical websites and family trees. The Albertland & District Museum already contains family histories, genealogical documents, and other resources on many of the settlers. Therefore, at times the process could be reversed, and genealogical websites acted as a supplementary source rather than as the basis for information. By corroborating genealogical sources with traditional historical sources, the unnuanced narratives that Molloy warned of in her research into the Waipū Scots could be avoided.

When researching the Albertlanders, it is important to maintain an understanding of the context in which they lived. Maureen Molloy, Caroline Daley, and Deborah Montgomerie warned against making assumptions about New Zealand communities and groups based on contemporary understandings of community dynamics and family.²⁹⁹ Therefore, the research includes a closer examination of the group based on criteria such as gender, class, religion, profession, and locale. This ensures that the research is not overtly focused on one aspect of the Albertlanders, does not make assumptions about their make-up, and critically shows the diversity amongst the group.

²⁹⁹ Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, "Introduction", in *The Gendered Kiwi*, edited by Caroline Daley, Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), p. 7; Molloy, *Those Who Speak to the Heart*, pp. 40-42.

Chapter One: Foundations and Aspirations

*The first thing is to be inspired with an ideal,
the next is to pass the inspiration on.*¹

The Albertland Special Settlement Association did not materialise immediately after William Rawson Brame placed his advertisement in the Birmingham newspapers. It was the culmination of months of effort by numerous individuals, committees, and councils, each with their own aims and intentions for the proposed settlement. The individual lives of members of the scheme's organising bodies before 1861 can reveal more about what Albertland meant to its people, what they hoped it would become, and why. They were leaders, people of influence in their respective communities. This chapter explores how the different environments and relationships of the leaders may have influenced their motives for joining the scheme. It uses both genealogical and archival resources to shed light on their backgrounds, how they may have differed from the prospective settlers who registered with the venture, and whether they were somehow responsible for the initial failure of the Albertland scheme.

The Britain that the founders of the Albertland scheme lived in was one of rapid development and change. Improvements in English agriculture since the 16th century and the sustainability of rural populations led to the development of a family-owned workshop culture that serviced rural society. This era of English industry relied on the expansion of financial capital which encouraged further developments in agricultural production.² The popularity of English silk and textiles throughout Europe in the 1840s helped small rural villages such as Belper, Derbyshire grow into large towns, which then struggled when cities such as Derby and Nottingham industrialised.³ The initial developments benefitted the rural labouring class, but the heavy industrialisation of the north of England allowed urban areas to eclipse the manufacturing output of rural communities. This led to stagnating wages and profits in rural areas, which in turn led to the breakdown of the family workshop culture.⁴ With rural manufacturing collapsing, rural landlords, most often members of the gentry, had to find

¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 13.

² Henry Heller, *The Birth of Capitalism: A 21st Century Perspective* (London: Pluto Press, 2011), p. 178.

³ Alan Frank Jones, *Rural Discontent in Derbyshire 1830-1850* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 2004), p. 19.

⁴ Heller, *The Birth of Capitalism*, p. 178.

other means of maintaining profitable returns—manifesting in the raising of rents. This was untenable for the rural labourer, as they were unable to support themselves through workshop businesses and were forced to move to urban areas in search of lower rents, higher wages, and better opportunities.⁵

These decades of change became known as the First Industrial Revolution and mostly affected the southern and midland counties where most religious non-conformists in England lived. Originally a boon for labourers, the rise of wages and entrepreneurial opportunities led to the development of a new, and stable, middle class. However, the ever-rapid industrialisation, continuous population increase, and urbanisation brought an increase in poverty, lack of housing, and disease. The economic boom of the industrial revolution slowed and many, especially in the north and midlands of England, found opportunities for social and economic advancement lacking.⁶ The advent of the American Civil War deeply affected British production, which by 1860 relied on trade with the United States for three quarters of its cotton imports. Dubbed the Cotton Famine, this led to significant rises in unemployment and poverty throughout the north and midland counties.⁷ Emigration to New Zealand offered opportunities for economic advancement the promise of with property, such as land in the Auckland Province, being gifted to settlers after specified time periods. However, considering the backgrounds of the instigators of the Albertland scheme, many of whom were already successful in material means, the promise of social advancement may have made New Zealand a tantalising option to them.

The Founder of Albertland

Little is known about the life of William Rawson Brame, main instigator of the settlement scheme, before the appearance of his newspaper announcement. What is known comes largely from a small biography in Brett's work *The Albertlanders*. Brett stated that Brame was the son of a Birmingham minister and a young man in his early thirties when the scheme began.⁸ Remote access to archives and the digitisation of the British Census reveals a far more complicated and detailed story. Brame was born in Belper, Derbyshire to parents John

⁵ M. Williams, "Rural England 1840-1900," in *Thomas Hardy and Rural England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1972), p. 2.

⁶ Williams, "Rural England 1840-1900," p. 2.

⁷ Nicola Marie Holmes, *The Impact of the Cotton Famine on the Lace Industry in Nottingham: Economy, Poverty and Global Connections 1861-1865* (Loughborough: Loughborough University, 2022), pp. 15-16.

⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 14.

Brame, a staunch Methodist minister, and Ann Rawson, a governess and schoolteacher.⁹ Because of his father's vocation as a missionary of the Methodist Church, the early years of Brame's life were spent moving where the church sent his father. This mobility meant that each of his younger siblings was born in a different part of the English Midlands. He was the eldest of nine children, seven boys and two girls.¹⁰

John Brame was a determined Protestant and his work as a minister was published several times. This includes a sermon, from his time as the curate of Leigh, titled *The Church of the People Restored According to the Intention of the Reformation*.¹¹ Interestingly, as a Methodist, he preached in favour of the artistry and decoration of the high Anglican Church. He declared that "so far from being popish this ecclesiastical art was the very thing that tended to overthrow popery."¹² His distaste for the Catholic Church was not out of place for an era in which debates over Catholic presence in Britain dominated both the religious and political spheres. This sermon was written 20 years after the implementation of the first *Roman Catholic Relief Act*, and being Protestant was seen as a prerequisite for being a loyal British subject within the popular imagination. Catholics were regarded with suspicion as they owed allegiance to the Pope who, as ruler of the Papal States, was a foreign monarch. The Damascus Affair of 1840 and the involvement of French officials seemed to confirm this in the minds of the British populace; they saw Catholicism being used as an instrument of oppression by a foreign power in contrast to Protestantism, which they believed advocated for personal freedoms.¹³ The victimisation of Jewish men in the Damascus affair unified many Protestant sects in Britain, with many believing most of Britain's Jews to be on the verge of converting to Christianity. This belief was so strong that Lord Ashley, an evangelical Anglican, referred to Judaism as "an association of protestants."¹⁴

The idea that Catholics were not tolerant reached back to 1819 when a bill was introduced to excuse Catholics from taking oaths of allegiance and renouncing

⁹ *Birth Record* [database on-line]. Belper, Derbyshire. 1833. BRAME, William Rawson. Belper. Index Project Number: C06654-1; GS Film Number: 0590679 (RG4 565); System Origin: England ODM, myheritage.com, accessed 09.12.2023.

¹⁰ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 2058; Enumeration District: 28; Page: 709; Image: 42, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

¹¹ John Brame, *The Church of the People Restored According to the Intention of the Reformation. A Sermon etc.* (London: J. Masters, 1847).

¹² Brame, *The Church*, pp. 7-8.

¹³ David Feldman, "Evangelicals, Jews, and anti-Catholicism in Britain, c. 1840-1900," in *Jewish Historical Studies* 47 (2015): 91-104, p. 95.

¹⁴ Feldman, "Evangelicals, Jews, and anti-Catholicism," p. 93.

transubstantiation. A leader of the Protestant Union, Thomas Allan, referred to the bill as “the first step to the establishment of that Religion which affords no Toleration or peace or security to any other Communion.”¹⁵ However, within the debates in Parliament over various emancipation bills for Catholics, such as the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829,¹⁶ the Methodists were noted as particularly hostile to both the Catholics and any Protestants who supported them. Scottish MP Joseph Hume referred to Methodists as “Protestant Jesuits, and declared that the Church of England has more to fear from them than from the Roman Catholics.”¹⁷ The anti-Catholic rhetoric espoused by many Methodists found its way into many of the periodicals issued in the first half of the 19th century. Magazines such as the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* gave the denomination a greater sense of identity that other denominations lacked. The editors and publishers of this magazine, which claimed to give its readers a bearing on political events of importance as well as religious matters, was based in Manchester—which became a centre of Methodist activity.¹⁸

Within this atmosphere of anti-Catholicism, John Brame was a prominent voice. In published sermons he defended the giving of alms to the poor and identified donations being taken from congregations as something uniquely Protestant: “no such provision for the congregational almsgiving exists in the Missal used by the Romanists.”¹⁹ His views were met with consternation from his Catholic counterpart in Leigh. Correspondence between the two became heated. Brame went as far as to accuse his counterpart of sin in not seeking repentance for a grievous schism in Christianity, which Brame believed the Catholic Church had caused. Shortly after these sermons were published the Brame family departed Leigh.

By 1848 the family had settled in Birmingham, a centre of religious dissenters and non-conformists, which was in the throes of a major economic boom.²⁰ The industrial revolution in cities such as Manchester had focused mainly on the cotton trade and replacing human labour with machinery used in large factory settings. Birmingham had used machinery as a supplement rather than a replacement for human skill in the production of either luxury

¹⁵ David Neil Hempton, “Methodism and Anti-Catholic Politics, 1800-1846” (Unpublished Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1977), p. 96.

¹⁶ *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects* (10 Geo. 4. c. 7), (UK).

¹⁷ Hempton, “Methodism and Anti-Catholic Politics,” p. 101.

¹⁸ Hempton, “Methodism and Anti-Catholic Politics,” pp. 172-173.

¹⁹ Brame, *The Church*, p. 17.

²⁰ Timothy Larson, *Friends of Religious Equality: Non-Conformist Politics in Mid-Victorian England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), p. 22.

items or weaponry. Most of the city's industries were split into small artisan workshops.²¹ With a smaller social elite than other English cities, Birmingham was regarded as a place where social and financial advancement was possible—regardless of a person's background.²² The family's income from John Brame's mission work and his wife's work outside the home was enough to enable them certain luxuries in this environment. Their home on Hockley Street was in the coveted Jewellery Quarter of the city, and to care for the children a live-in governess was hired. Brett suggested that William Brame did not follow his father into the ministry due to ill health and what his father perceived as a meekness unsuited for missionary work, though there is no way to confirm this. It seems more likely that the family's proximity to the Birmingham artisan district allowed the missionary's sons to apprentice themselves to financially lucrative manufacturing work instead of a ministerial calling.²³

Both William and his younger brother John became apprentice printers. Their younger brothers took up artisan work. George became a jeweller, Phillip a whip mounter, and Josiah a gold chain maker.²⁴ These appear to be common occupations, as the family's neighbours in 1851 were also apprenticed to manufacturing trades. Head of household, Edward Booth was a master jeweller, and his eleven-year-old son was an apprentice jeweller.²⁵ At the end of William Brame's printing apprenticeship he took up journalism. His quick rise in this field showed that, despite his father's misgivings of supposed weakness, he was a man of above ordinary ability. For a time, he left Birmingham to live on the continent in Brussels. While there he worked as foreign correspondent for his home paper the *Birmingham Mercury* as well as several other papers.²⁶ During this time his literary talents moved beyond the newspaper and into fiction. He published a novel, *The Last of the Czars*, though there appear to be no copies remaining of this work. Shortly before leaving for New Zealand, Brame began working on a second novel, *Excelsior*. This was never completed.²⁷

²¹ Eric Hopkins, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town: Birmingham and the Industrial Revolution* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1998), p. 9.

²² Hopkins, *The Rise*, pp. 135-136.

²³ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 14.

²⁴ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 2058; Enumeration District: 28; Page: 709; Image: 42, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

²⁵ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 2058; Enumeration District: 28; Page: 709; Image: 42, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

²⁶ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 15.

²⁷ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 15.

Assured of his professional position, Brame turned to improving his personal sphere. In mid-1859 he married Elizabeth Wade, the Birmingham-born daughter of stock-broker John Wade, and the two began life together in the north of the city.²⁸ Brame's family also moved to the north of Birmingham and lived close by. This appeared to mark a step-up socially and economically for the family as their new neighbours, while still heavily involved in the trades of the city, were listed as business owners, proprietors, and specialists. John Brame's neighbours were traders of tin and silver, and another was a chandelier draughtsman.²⁹ William and Elizabeth's neighbours were accountants and realtors, and each employed at least two household servants.³⁰

At the same time as his career in the newspaper industry was moving forward, Brame and his brother John started a printing business together. This venture does not seem to have been successful—by January 1860 they were seeking to settle all their business debts through an indenture that included their household furniture.³¹ Unfortunately for the brothers, this did not appear to meet their creditors' demands; they had a certificate of bankruptcy imposed on them three months later.³² It was an entire year, April 1861, before the creditors received their first repayment dividend, and only a few months later Brame wrote his article searching for interest in establishing a non-conformist settlement.³³

Brame was “a propogandist of a high order, but in an age which could become highly censorious.”³⁴ His power of speech and ability to sway people to his cause was a tool learned from his father in his capacity as a missionary. It was said by many that he had a somewhat imposing and clerical nature about him that he used to his advantage (Figure 1). Edwin Brookes Jnr of the Nottingham party of Albertlanders, who became one of Brame's staunchest supporters, remarked “the first striking part of the man is his dress, this being of a decidedly clerical cut, and also of black cloth.”³⁵

²⁸ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 2182; Enumeration District: 1; Page: 16; Image: 25, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

²⁹ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 2182; Enumeration District: 3; Page: 58; Image: 14, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

³⁰ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 2182; Enumeration District: 1; Page: 16; Image: 25, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

³¹ *The London Gazette*, Issue 22347, 20 January 1860, p. 201.

³² *The London Gazette*, Issue 22389, 25 May 1860, p. 2030.

³³ *The London Gazette*, Issue 22502, 16 April 1861, p. 1639.

³⁴ H. Mabbett, *The Rock and the Sky; The Story of Rodney County* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton, 1977), p. 197.

³⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 93.



Figure 1: Image, *William Rawson Brame, founder of Albertland, as a young man*, in Louisa Herd, “The Promised Land,” *New Zealand Geographic*, no. 070, Nov-Dec 2004, accessed 15.09.2021. <https://www.nzgeo.com/stories/the-promised-land/>

The newly formed Albertland Association needed financial capital to enact its plans and provide for meetings, advertisements, enrolments, and the enormous task of moving potential settlers to a distant land. With each enrolment the Association charged administrative costs, 5/- per adult and 2/6d per child, along with admission fees for meetings and information evenings (Figure 2). This was not enough to deal with the mounting costs and compensate the Association members for their time.³⁶ Brame must have had some confidence in the scheme’s success as he was still willing to shoulder much of the Association’s financial burdens, assuming he would see the money returned and even a possible profit for his efforts. In a letter dated 7 December 1861, Brame stated that if for an upcoming meeting in Nottingham a meeting hall could be secured free of charge, he would personally pay for all advertising costs.³⁷ However, despite initial successes in the scheme, the burdens Brame was beginning to feel on his health appeared to be growing. At a tea-room meeting to advertise the scheme, Brame spoke for 40 minutes in a clear and memorable manner, but onlookers noted several times he made pained expressions. In a letter dated 28

³⁶ C. L. Shepherd, *The Albertland Christian Colonisation Movement* (Auckland: Self-Published, 1942), p. 11.

³⁷ Shepherd, *The Albertland Christian Colonisation Movement*, p. 13.

April 1861, Brame stated he was too weak to write longer as he was afflicted with “rheumatism and weakness.”³⁸



Figure 2: Image, *Advertisement for a Lecture on the Albertland Scheme, “Our Story; Planning,”* accessed 06.07.2024. albertlandmuseum.co.nz

As President and Honorary Secretary of the Albertland Association, Brame had the responsibility of choosing which shipping company would be used to transport the settlers to the colony. The first company, Messrs. Willis Gonn & Co., was rejected by Brame as the tween decks of their ships were too small, but he decided the second applicant, Shaw Savill and Co., sufficed. It is this decision that began a series of controversies that eroded Brame’s reputation in the eyes of the Albertlanders.³⁹ The board supported his decision to reject Willis Gonn & Co., but they also inspected and rejected two of the ships offered by Shaw Savill and Co. This led some to question why Brame had chosen that company at all.

Brame inherited from his father a staunch Methodism, supported by a national atmosphere of anti-Catholic sentiment. Living in Birmingham, a city with a high concentration of non-conformists, bolstered his views, and this foundation doubtlessly led to his choice of a religious basis for his settlement scheme. Living in a district with a high concentration of business owners and skilled craftsman showed Brame a world of social and economic mobility. His decision to favour one shipping company over another shows he was aware that the scheme offered him not only an opportunity to advance in a social context but

³⁸ Shepherd, *The Albertland Christian Colonisation Movement*, p. 16.

³⁹ Shepherd, *The Albertland Christian Colonisation Movement*, p. 31.

also reap financial rewards as well. This had severe implications for his image in the eyes of the Albertland settlers and the other leaders of the scheme after their departure from Britain.

Leaders and Administrators of the Albertland Scheme

Brame's most notable ally and assistant in the establishment of the Association was Harper Twelvetrees, an industrialist, distinguished philanthropist, anti-slavery campaigner, and amateur chemist (Figure 3). Twelvetrees was not an intending settler like his fellows on the Association Board, but his professional and financial input allowed the burgeoning association to survive and was seen by him as part of his Christian based philanthropy. Born in 1823 Twelvetrees grew up in Biggleswade, Bedfordshire as one of ten children. His father was a builder and business owner. The 1841 census does not give much detail, but the 1851 census shows that William Twelvetrees employed almost 40 men in his business.⁴⁰ While most of the family stayed settled in Biggleswade, Harper Twelvetrees moved to nearby Pottton to begin an apprenticeship as a bookbinder and printer.⁴¹ Rather than simply saunter through the apprenticeship, Twelvetrees used his access to books and manuscripts in the print shop to his advantage, setting a taxing course of self-imposed study which included literacy, mathematics, history, and chemistry.⁴²

It turned out that the printing profession did not suit Twelvetrees; he decided instead to open his own business selling washing powders in the nearby town of Dunstable. Whilst there, he married Mary Hubbard and they had a son William Harper Twelvetrees. However, this happy situation was short lived as Mary died in March 1849. Twelvetrees sold his business in Dunstable and took his son to London, where they settled with two of his younger sisters and two younger brothers. Financially, Twelvetrees appears to have been stable; he was able to support himself, his son, contribute (with his brothers) to the support of their sisters, and pay a live-in servant.⁴³

⁴⁰ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *HO107*; Piece: *1753*; Enumeration District: *8C*; Page: *561*; Image: *19*, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

⁴¹ Julia Lafferty, "Harper Twelvetrees: Industrialist, Philanthropist, Campaigner," *Hackney History* 13, no 1. (2007): p. 34.

⁴² Lafferty, "Harper Twelvetrees," p. 34.

⁴³ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *HO107*; Piece: *1581*; Enumeration District: *5*; Page: *Unknown*; Image: *Unknown*, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.



Figure 3: Harper Twelvetrees, famed industrialist, businessman, and philanthropist. His association with the Albertland Association gave it the air of credibility and his business acumen greatly assisted in its early financial stability. Photograph, *Harper Twelvetrees*, in Julia Lafferty, "Harper Twelvetrees: Industrialist, Philanthropist, Campaigner," *Hackney History* 13, no 1. (2007): p. 36.

Twelvetrees' time in London proved successful. He married Isabella Noble, a Lincolnshire woman, in 1851 and together they had four children.⁴⁴ Just after moving in 1849, Twelvetrees achieved some renown due to a pamphlet he published about concocting a laundry solution from soda, soap, and lime.⁴⁵ In this pamphlet Twelvetrees made clear his philanthropic leanings. He was not intending to make his fortune from its sale but to relieve "this national burden [laundry work], oppressing most grievously the female portion of our country... for which there is no more necessity than there is for negro slavery."⁴⁶ To further this business venture, Twelvetrees also sold his concoction premade in a powder form (Figure 4). His shop in Holborn was known as Twelvetrees Brothers Manufacturing, which means one or both of his younger brothers was probably involved in the venture as well. Eventually, manufacturing was moved to Lincolnshire and was overseen by his father-in-law and brother-in-law. Quick expansion, which Twelvetrees believed could have been greater, led to him signing an 18-year lease on land in Bromley-by-Bow for a factory and begin an advertising

⁴⁴ Biggleswade History Society, *Descendants of Richard Twelvetrees* (Biggleswade: Biggleswade History Society, 2007), p. 3.

⁴⁵ Harper Twelvetrees, *The Science of Washing* (London: Kent and Richards, 1849).

⁴⁶ Twelvetrees, *The Science of Washing*.

campaign across the British Empire. Twelvetrees' laundry powder became so well known it even made appearances in sea shanties as far afield as Australia.⁴⁷

WASHING MADE EASY!!!

The Miseries of the Washing Day are at an end!

No more dull tedious work and toil, Toss only MOON or NUSE; The Twelvetrees' Washing Powder, new Maiden Army makes tight. You've put on Red the dirtiest clothes For half an hour or so; Then rinse and dry, and there will be As White as driven snow.	No mending is the toil and care, And Soap that's now required; That TWELVETREES' Powder proves to be The very thing desired. Then, women, try this Powder ONCE, We run your laundry round; With three hours' work by breakfast time, Your Washing may be done!!

The "**FAMILY WASH**" is no longer a day of toil and fatigue to women; nor a day of annoyance and vexation to husbands; for it may all be done before breakfast with the greatest ease and certainty, and without the family knowing what is going on, by using

HARPER TWELVETREES' PENNY

PATENT SOAP POWDER!

A Penny Packet is equal to Ten Pennysworth of Soap! Try it! If only once! Try One Penny Packet. Twenty minutes Boiling is sufficient!!! No Rubbing is required!!! Don't condemn the thing untried!!! A Mechanic's wife, not long ago, got her Washing over so easily, that her husband knew nothing about it till a day or two after, when he innocently asked why she had not been washing that week; she laughed, and said "she had got a new plan of washing; she had tried Harper Twelvetrees' Soap Powder, and all her washing was finished, and the clothes put away in the drawers." Sold by Grocers and Druggists everywhere, in Penny Packets.

HARPER TWELVETREES, 130, GOSWELL STREET, LONDON.

Figure 4: An advertisement for Harper Twelvetrees washing detergent. Twelvetrees' business expanded rapidly from soap and detergents to the manufacture of washing and drying machines. *Press Advertisements from 1859*, in Julia Lafferty, "Harper Twelvetrees: Industrialist, Philanthropist, Campaigner," *Hackney History* 23, no. 1 (2007): p. 36.

By the time Twelvetrees was approached to act as a treasurer and board member for the Albertland Association, his reputation as a philanthropist had been recognised widely. Employing 250 people, he had cottages built near his factory for the employees and their families, started a sickness insurance programme for workers, began a clothing club, opened sports clubs, and ran lectures and concerts for the entire community, not just his employees. He also had religious services performed at the factory which catered to no specific denomination. This was to encourage anybody and everybody to attend.⁴⁸ Twelvetrees was also an avid believer in the temperance movement. An observer noted, "the old population is losing its distinctive traits before a new, fresh, and vigorous class that is rapidly settling amongst them, and giving an air of busy life and incessant occupation to a place, which once wore an empty gloom."⁴⁹

Twelvetrees' business ventures, while making him well-known in a professional sense, were not the reason he became a household name in Britain. In 1860, the John Anderson extradition case, in which Canadian authorities refused to return escaped slave John Anderson to the United States, caught the public imagination. When it was learned that

⁴⁷ "On Board of the Kangaroo," c. 1865, No. 00009004, Australian National Maritime Museum Collection, Sydney.

⁴⁸ Lafferty, "Harper Twelvetrees," p. 36.

⁴⁹ Jim Lewis, *London's Lea Valley; More Secrets Revealed* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co Ltd, 2001), p. 90.

Anderson was travelling to Britain, Twelvetrees, a leading member of the London Emancipation Committee, established a group under his own chairmanship and upon Anderson's arrival presented him with a bottle of English soil labelled "John Anderson's Certificate of Freedom."⁵⁰ A nationwide tour commenced with Twelvetrees introducing Anderson at numerous events to further the cause of emancipation and inform the British public of the horrors of slavery in the United States.

Twelvetrees was eventually forced to step back from his duties with the Albertland Association due to financial difficulties at his factory and time constraints. However, he was still afforded the honour of giving the opening address at the embarkation ceremony of the first Albertlander ships on 29 May 1862. A few days previously, he had also held a soiree for emigrants who followed a temperance philosophy, over 60 different temperance societies were represented. Twelvetrees hoped that Albertland would follow a strict temperance ideology in the years following its establishment. His soiree was not well received by some who remarked that as a businessman he was frugal when it came to leisure not associated with his factories. Charles Henry Brookes, an intending migrant, remarked he and his brothers "went to Harper Twelvetrees Tea Meeting and were greatly disappointed, they only allowed us two pieces of cake each. We stopped a little while and then came away."⁵¹ Twelvetrees' interest in the scheme, his name, and the connotations it brought of temperance beliefs and charitable interests certainly assisted the scheme in building a public profile. By 1865 the settlement failed to flourish, so too had Twelvetrees' ventures in Britain, declining so greatly he had to sell his manufacturing business. Nevertheless, his charitable nature was still well respected up until his death in the 1880s.⁵²

The loss of Harper Twelvetrees as treasurer so soon before embarking was a blow to the scheme which desperately needed a talented and business minded individual to oversee its financial workings. Thankfully for the schemes' leaders such a man was already affiliated with the group and, as a firm believer in the Albertland mission, leapt at the chance to show his acumen. Charles Hook was born in the village of Stratton Strawless, Norfolk, in 1815. Little is known of his early life, but he appears to have left the county for the city of London in the 1830s. The next record of him is his marriage to Ann Elizabeth Little, then 18 years

⁵⁰ Lafferty, "Harper Twelvetrees," p. 38.

⁵¹ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 12.

⁵² Lafferty, "Harper Twelvetrees," p. 37.

old, on 2 May 1840 in West London.⁵³ Ann was one of ten children. Her father John Little was sent to London as a young man from the village of Biddestone in Wiltshire by his family to learn a trade. He became an apprentice coachbuilder and settled in London permanently rather than return. In 1808 he married Sarah Brown in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.⁵⁴ Ann's brother Henry and his wife Mary Little also sailed as Albertlanders. As an intending settler, Hook provided not only his own expertise but an extended family of non-conformist tradespeople—perfect for building a new settlement.⁵⁵

The next record of Charles Hook is from 1842 when he and his new bride welcomed their first child, a son named John, whose birth was registered in Northern London around St. Pancras, not in the west of the city.⁵⁶ It is not until the 1851 census that the Hook family are seen in any detail. A daughter and a son, Ann and Richard, had been born and Hook was working as a draper in Shoreditch. It is possible that he ran his own shop as also living with the family were an apprentice and a house servant.⁵⁷ Their neighbours were similar, small business owners and tradespeople employing others, but they also included those not engaged in manual labour such as an accountant and an auctioneer.⁵⁸ By 1861 the family had moved to the village of Chigwell just north of London, the eldest child John had joined his father as a draper, and the younger children were all registered as schoolchildren. Those near them were all still employed in clerical work or were small business owners.⁵⁹ Hook joined the settlement scheme early and was chosen to be a leader of a hundred. The Association had decided to break up the emigrants into groups of 100 to help with organisation and communication once they were settled on the land. This appointment showed his intention to take part in the scheme as a settler rather than as a passive observer.⁶⁰

⁵³ 1840 English Marriage Record [Database Online]. Surname: Hook; Given Name: Charles; District: W. London; Volume: 2; Page: 2, www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=GzW%2BEc92W0yXB8nQJ4ba%2Fg&scan=1 accessed 03.12.2023.

⁵⁴ Grahame Thom, "Grahame Thom's Family History," Grahame Thom's Family History, March 1, 2006. <http://grthom.info/index.html>. Accessed 03.12.2023.

⁵⁵ Thom, "Grahame Thom's Family History," <http://grthom.info/index.html>. Accessed 03.12.2023.

⁵⁶ 1842 English Birth Record [Database Online]. Surname: Hook; Given Name: John; District: W. London; Volume: II; Page: 214, <https://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=jHexn%2F%2F1lcTjw%2FsH8huJEg&scan=1> Accessed 06.01.2021.

⁵⁷ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *HO107*; Piece: *1538*; Enumeration District: *19*; Page: *361*; Image: 7, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

⁵⁸ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *HO107*; Piece: *1538*; Enumeration District: *19*; Page: *361*; Image: 7, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

⁵⁹ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *RG09*; Piece: *1063*; Enumeration District: *4*; Page: *54*; Image: 2, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

⁶⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 19.

Hook was a member of the Board of Intending Settlers alongside other prominent intending settlers such as Dr James Bell, the settlement's intended physician, and Rev. Samuel Edger, the intended religious leader. Taking part in the scheme in two capacities gave Hook much needed insight into the scheme's working. He realised the need to both raise more funds and expand expenditure to meet the new settlement's future needs. He organised funding for an agricultural co-operative, tasked with purchasing farming equipment for settlers, and he helped decide that the best way to disperse land to the settlers was through ballots amongst the hundreds.⁶¹ Unfortunately, Ann Hook did not get to make the journey to distant Albertland with her family as she died in St. Lukes in London around September 1861, though her name remained on the shipping lists.⁶² The family departed for New Zealand aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach* in May 1862. While aboard the ship, Hook and a Mr. Edwards were elected by the other passengers to be their representatives in mediation and discussions with Brame and the ship's crew. Hook also took over the duties of secretary for the passengers, and an advertisement searching for carpenters to build drays upon arrival names him as "Sec. Pro Tempore."⁶³ Unlike his fellow board members who travelled to Albertland South, Hook decided to settle in the smaller block on the Arapaoa River at Paparoa. Hook was an anomaly amongst the Albertland leaders in that while the others had intended leadership positions after settlement, his role was not intended to outlast their time in Britain. He was an ideal settler, non-conformist, trade orientated, financially stable, and, unlike his fellow board members, seemed to have a greater understanding of what was required to make the settlement a reality after arrival in New Zealand. Hook was the realist amongst a council of idealists.

The efforts of the committee members and administrators who joined the scheme, while essential in making the enterprise feasible, would have been for naught without the large numbers of settlers who registered to take part and become Albertlanders. The committee members usually acted as the scheme's agents in their part of Britain. They advertised the scheme, acted as liaisons for the organisers, and accepted payments for registrations and passage to New Zealand. However, it became evident that separate agents

⁶¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 19.

⁶² 1861 English Birth Record [Database Online]. Surname: Hook; Given Name: Ann Elizabeth; District: St. Luke; Volume: 1b; Page: 361, <https://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=CD%2BXfAth7MhPL7ar2%2B9ZPA&scan=1> accessed 06/01/2024.

⁶³ *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 1, 14 June 1862, p. 4.
Albertland Gazette, Issue 2, 3 July 1862, p. 4.

were needed to alleviate the work of the committees. One such man who appeared in Nottingham matched all the traits desired in an agent. Born 21 December 1811 in the village of Tibshelf, on the Derbyshire-Nottinghamshire border, Rev. Edwin Stanley Brookes Snr was the youngest child and only son of farmers George and Ann Brookes. It was remarked about the family that all were “of a religious turn of mind.”⁶⁴

Brookes married into wealth; his son described the wedding as an elopement. His bride Jemima Hovey was from a village near Nottingham. She was the daughter of George Hovey, an affluent gentleman who had been granted the Freedom of the City of Nottingham.⁶⁵ The bride’s father was already deceased when the marriage took place, but her mother lived long enough to witness it. The couple had ten children together, five sons and five daughters, though two did not survive longer than a day.⁶⁶ Brookes was apprenticed to the firm of Hine and Co. in Nottingham, a lace and hosiery manufacturer. Later Anthony John Mundella joined the business and Brookes was raised to the position of partner in the newly formed Hine, Mundella & Co. He retired from the company in 1851, shortly before Mundella opened their new Nottingham factory—the first Nottingham factory powered entirely by steam.⁶⁷

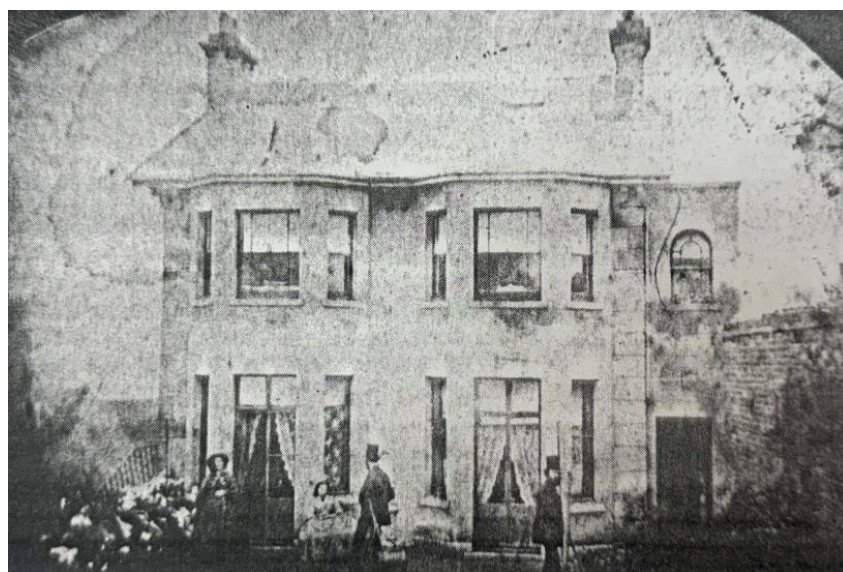


Figure 5: “Rock Cottage,” the Brookes Family seat in Nottingham, with members of the family in front. Sold and then repurchased it served as the centre of Rev. Stanley Edwin Brookes Snr’s operation as Nottingham Agent for the Albertland scheme. Photograph, Rock Cottage, Brookes Family Documents, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁶⁴ Kevin Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes: An Albertlander* (Tauranga: Kale Print, 2012), p. 12.

⁶⁵ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 12-13.

⁶⁶ Brookes Family History, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁶⁷ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, pp. 13-14.

Brookes' success with the firm allowed him to open his own businesses in Nottingham, which included tailors, hosiery manufacturers, and a millinery shop. The wealth he gained through marriage, his time with Hine, Mundella & Co., and his new businesses made the family wealthy enough to purchase a large home. Dubbed Rock Cottage, the home was close to Derby Road, Nottingham's main thoroughfare, and situated next to the homes of the Duke of Newcastle and Earl Manvers (Figure 5).⁶⁸ Brookes sold his businesses and moved the family south to Loughborough around 1853, the same year he received a patent with other businessmen in Loughborough for improvements in machinery for the manufacture of looped fabrics.⁶⁹ During this relocation several pieces of property were stolen from Rock Cottage, including oil cloth and several rolls of wallpaper. The culprits were caught, and it was one of the family's servants who had masterminded the affair.⁷⁰ The relocation also did not bode well for their financial situation. Brookes was declared bankrupt in May 1855 and was forced to sell his new business in Loughborough and move into a small farmhouse on the outskirts of the town.⁷¹ George Hovey Brookes, in a letter of reminiscences, described this farm life as "the happiest time of my [Brookes] life."⁷² Changes in fortune meant Rock Cottage was eventually repurchased, and Brookes started a new manufacturing business employing 11 men. The 1861 census shows eight members of the family living together along with a house servant. The two eldest sons were in the employ of their father while the other children were still of school age.⁷³ It was in these circumstances Brookes first contacted the Albertland Association.

Brookes wrote to William Brame to enquire about the benefits his sons would get from emigrating to New Zealand. The reply stated "Your [Brookes'] sons would be eligible for the Land Grants at the rate of 40 acres above 18 years of age... It would be necessary however, before enrolling them that we should have an opinion of our local referee or Committee as to the ability of the eldest son to take charge of the two younger ones."⁷⁴ After further communication Brookes was appointed the scheme's Nottingham agent. It is suspected that during a visit of Brame to the Brookes' home, the latter made a passing comment that the new settlement should be named either Albertland or Albert-town in

⁶⁸ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 14.

⁶⁹ *The Bradford Observer*, Volume XX, No. 1009, 23 June 1853, p. 6.

⁷⁰ *Nottingham Journal*, Volume CXLIV, No. 7421, 4 March 1853, p. 6.

⁷¹ *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, No. 478, 17 May 1855, p. 7.

⁷² Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 15.

⁷³ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 2447; Enumeration District: 6; Page: 109; Image: 14, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

⁷⁴ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 7.

honour of the late Prince Consort.⁷⁵ Brookes showed great interest in the land grant his sons would receive and asked Brame for clarification on the issue. He was dismayed to find that even if the three eldest of his sons emigrated together and paid the same price for passage, the youngest brother, Charles Brookes, would only receive 20 acres rather than 40 like his brothers. The 40-acre scheme only applied to those over the age of 18, so even though the brothers were travelling as (in their eyes) three single men, the scheme viewed the youngest brother as a dependent of the others. The family decided that they would all emigrate to New Zealand, but the three eldest sons were to form an advance party and travel ahead of the others. This way Brookes could continue to work as agent in Nottingham, and the brothers could prepare the land for the family's arrival (Figure 6).



Figure 6: The Brookes Family shortly before their emigration to New Zealand. On the far left are Charles (seated) and George Hovey. Standing at the back to the right of their father is Edwin Stanley Jnr. The three brothers formed the vanguard of the family's emigration party. Photograph, *The Brookes family before leaving England 1862*, 2004.2.2007.1130, General Photographic Collection, Albertland & District Museum, Wellsford.

Brookes' tireless work in Nottingham and the wider county meant the Nottingham party was one of the largest amongst the Albertland settlers. However, his intentions may not have been pure. The Henry Barton Register of Intending Albertland Settlers, which lists those who had registered for the scheme and who had paid their passage, reveals that Brookes was

⁷⁵ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 15.

paying the fees for many of the Nottingham party.⁷⁶ In this record, 127 people were registered in Nottingham or Nottinghamshire and Brookes paid the fees for 73 of them. In a letter dated 14 June 1864, an intending passenger makes an interesting remark: “Sir, Having heard that you send immigrants to New Zealand free on the land grant being yours...”⁷⁷ It appears that Brookes was paying for settlers to get to New Zealand but on the condition their entitlement under the 40-acre scheme be his. Another letter enquires of Brookes how they can secure free passage, and others also discuss the hope of free passage to either New Zealand or Australia.⁷⁸ If Brookes was offering to pay passage for settlers on the condition they signed over their land grant, then the 73 settlers listed in the Henry Barton register would grant him over 2,500 acres.

An article placed in a Nottingham newspaper by Brookes in 1864 made note that goldminers and agricultural labourers could find work in New Zealand but made no mention of the Albertland scheme for which he was still acting as agent.⁷⁹ In response to a letter describing the terrible conditions of Invercargill and the colony, Brookes specifically outlined the successes of families he had assisted. He stated that a family of four, whose passage he paid, had only a few shillings when they arrived in New Zealand but within a day were engaged in work for £3 15s a week. He continued, “now this man goes on, he works at his trade in Auckland, as a stonemason, and he and another individual from New Basford begin to pay a man £20 per quarter for clearing their land.”⁸⁰ He finished his article with a list of occupations needed in the colony, and the wages to be expected for anybody thinking of emigrating. It is possible that Brookes was now acting as an agent for the Provincial Government in Auckland, or even the colonial administration for the entirety of New Zealand, given another article he placed calls for emigrants to Canterbury and Southland, with emphasis on female farm servants. However, this second article still discussed the 40-acre grants being offered and which Brookes may have been trying to procure for himself.⁸¹

As time for the eldest sons to depart drew close the family began preparations. They sold off possessions they deemed unnecessary and bought provisions or articles they thought

⁷⁶ The Henry Barton Register of Intending Albertland Settlers c1862, 2007, 2007.5.30, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁷⁷ Letter from David Bradley to E. S. Brookes Snr dated 14th June 1864, 1864, 2017.1, Letters, Shaw Savill to E. S. Brookes Snr, Box J5:2, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁷⁸ Letter from William Beniston to E. S. Brookes Snr dated 5th Sept 1864, 1864, 2017.1, Letters, Shaw Savill to E. S. Brookes Snr, Box J5:2, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁷⁹ *Nottingham & Midland Counties Daily Express*, Volume IX, No. 1286, 13 February 1864, p. 4.

⁸⁰ *Nottingham & Midland Counties Daily Express*, Volume X, No. 1474, 20 September 1864, p. 4.

⁸¹ *Nottingham & Midland Counties Daily Express*, Volume VIII, No. 1173, 5 October 1863, p. 2.

would prove useful in the new settlement. Together they even designed the future family home, complete with a look-out tower. Edwin Brookes Jnr later reminisced that “it is strange that little common sense is used by those emigrating, judging by much of the rubbish and useless stuff that was taken.”⁸² At a party held for the Nottingham Albertlanders, the sons also accepted a handmade silken banner embossed with the Nottingham coat of arms, worked in gold. The banner was flown proudly from the mast of the *Matilda Wattenbach* during departure.⁸³

The arrival of the Brookes brothers with the first group of Albertlanders was met with some amusement by the people of Auckland because the brothers disembarked and strolled up the main thoroughfare wearing their top-hats, which they had taken great care to protect during the voyage.⁸⁴ Immediately upon arrival in Auckland, Brookes Jnr was commissioned to assist with surveying out the blocks in northern Albertland, so he parted ways with his brothers who journeyed with the main party as he travelled north via Mangawhai. However, two days after arriving in Te Wheau in southern Albertland, the Brookes brothers were reunited when Brookes Jnr walked into their camp believing he had found Port Albert, where he was supposed to receive further instructions on surveying the district. He left them to continue his search and George also left the Te Wheau group to search for the township, ensuring to take his top-hat to appear respectable when he arrived.⁸⁵

After the three brothers were reunited in Port Albert, they were given their allotments. The two oldest brothers received allotments in Wharehine on the riverfront while Charles’ smaller section was inland to the south of the Paraheke reserve, surrounded by the allotments of four other young bachelor farmers.⁸⁶ Because these allotments formed a solid block and totalled most of the western Wharehine district, the area became known as the Bachelors Block and the small sandbar in the river became known as Brookes Reef.⁸⁷ After the departure and settlement of the three brothers and prior to the departure of the fourth brother, Albert Edward, Brookes Snr’s eldest daughter Elizabeth Ann married Samuel White. White

⁸² Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 19.

⁸³ Terry Hearn, “Special Groups,” Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 1 November 2019, accessed 21.04.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/english/page-6>.

⁸⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 71.

⁸⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 72-73.

⁸⁶ Land and Property Records Collection (2005.1), Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁸⁷ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 65.

was another Albertlander, and he and his new bride travelled with Albert Edward on the *Gertrude*.⁸⁸ Brookes Snr and the remaining family did not depart for another two years.

The work of Rev. Brookes Snr reflected his entrepreneurial spirit. Much of his life, professional and personal, had been spent raising himself up in social and financial standing. Even after serious difficulties, he was able to recover and regain much of what had been lost, including his family home. Brookes Snr's actions as agent for the Albertland scheme, and his planning with his extended family, show he saw it as an opportunity not only to assist with a non-conformist cause but to also, once again, advance himself both financially and socially in a new community.

The Stewardship of a Religious Settlement

The Albertland Association's agreement with the Auckland Provincial Council secured them the land needed for the settlement. To secure its identity as a non-conformist settlement, however, Albertland required religious stewardship. The Associations' Council of Reference in London was asked to search for an official minister for the settlement. Candidature was dependent on their dedication to aiding the growth of a non-sectarian Christian church and determination to settle in the new colony with their congregation. The successful candidate was Rev. Samuel Edger of Abingdon, Oxfordshire (Figure 7). Edger had a longing to emigrate, and as an extra incentive the scheme's organisers offered him a £100 stipend to assist with his first two years of settlement. Community contributions would further help towards the household's upkeep.⁸⁹ Edger was born in 1822 in Sussex to devout non-conformist parents. His father was a man of narrow religious views that Edger referred to as Calvinistic, and his mother was a Congregationalist. Edger appeared destined for a life in the church, but his more social and philosophical approach to faith drove him away from his parents' evangelical leanings. However, he remarked that at his first ever time preaching aged 16, his father put aside their differences and defended "probably not my [Edger's] doctrines but my youth and inexperience"⁹⁰ when a member of the congregation spoke against him.

⁸⁸ *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, No. 887, 31 October 1862, p. 8.

⁸⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 19-20.

⁹⁰ Samuel Edger, *Autobiographical Notes and Lectures by the Late Samuel Edger*, ed. Kate Edger and Lilian Edger (London: W. Isbister, 1886), pp. 6-7.



Figure 7: Photograph, Reverend Samuel Edger, official Minister of the Albertland Scheme, c. 1850s, in Katrina Ford, *Unpretending Excellence: A Life of Kate Edger* (Auckland: The Kate Edger Educational Charitable Trust, 2017), p. 8.

Edger noted the peaceful nature of his childhood but admitted his father was authoritarian, especially where his mother and sisters were concerned. He further differentiated his own views from those of his father by declaring “that every woman has her rights, and every child its rights; and that no relationship whatever can destroy these rights.”⁹¹ His mother’s views were more in tune with his own. While still predisposed to ideas of predestination, she viewed all people as her equals and pursued an austere lifestyle. His older sister, Sarah, from his father’s first marriage, also resided in the family home, and Edger recalled her being a third parent amongst the other children—acting as counsellor and confidant “without ever causing the slightest jealousy or suspicion.”⁹² In spite of these religious figures in his life, Edger noted a sense of solitude in his childhood. This was influenced by the isolation of their village and was a catalyst for his religious beliefs developing as they did. His only instruction came from reading the Bible himself, not from church leaders or outside influence. As an adult Edger’s views reflected this: he felt giving

⁹¹ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 7.

⁹² Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 12.

the Bible to young children without any form of commentary was positive, as it allowed them to glean from it what they wanted.⁹³

Edger began to prepare for college by assisting a Baptist minister with teaching at a nearby school, an arrangement that included preaching at a chapel near the school. Upon returning home, he preached at his own local chapel as well. His first attempt at college admittance, to Stepney Baptist College, ended in failure. Though he contemplated applying to a college in Bristol, he waited a year and applied to Stepney College a second time, this application was successful. Edger's time at the college was one of some conflict with the school authorities whom he disagreed with on matters of doctrine. While there he was introduced to far broader religious ideas than he had yet experienced, and he felt a strong conviction to argue his case wherever he could. By his third year, Edger was told by a fellow student that it was "dangerous to be seen walking with you [Edger]" due to his outspokenness.⁹⁴ His non-denominational character, which was later praised by the Albertland leaders, certainly developed in this period.⁹⁵

After his graduation at Stepney Baptist College, Edger took the B.A. exam at the University of London, graduating with the degree some time prior to 1846. As a reverend holding a university degree, Edger was highly sought after to fill vacancies in Baptist spheres. His first office appointment was as pastor of the Bond Street Baptist Church, Birmingham, where he had preached previously while visiting his sister. Edger's time there was short, only an 18-month tenure, and he learned much about the intricacies of denominational politics from within and without a congregation. When refused membership to the chapel's Book Society by the vote of his co-pastor, Edger had an epiphany about the professional prejudices within the church. Even as he strove to be non-sectarian in most respects, he realised he was not immune to the consequences of sectarianism in his own congregations.⁹⁶

Edger married one of his congregation, Louisa Harwood, in 1846.⁹⁷ Louisa was born in Birmingham in 1818 and, as well as being a relative of his former co-pastor, was four

⁹³ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, pp. 18-20.

⁹⁴ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 43.

⁹⁵ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 32.

⁹⁶ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 47.

⁹⁷ "Married," *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1848, 14 October 1846, p. 3.

years Edger's senior.⁹⁸ His work in Birmingham continued until he was appointed to the non-denominational church in Kimbolton, Cambridgeshire at a salary of £100-£120 per annum.⁹⁹ He and his new bride, along with their first child Louisa Florence, settled outside the village in the hamlet of Stonely. Edger's liberalism was accepted in Kimbolton, and in 1850 he delivered a lecture at the chapel in nearby Spaldwick entitled "The Pope – What he has done – What he has not done – and, what we ought to do," in which he laid out his views on the Catholic Church and its lack of cohesion with the wider Christian faith.¹⁰⁰ However, in this lecture he also defended the Catholic Church against the *Ecclesiastical Titles Act* of 1851, arguing that the Catholic Church had the same right as any other to preach and be heard in the United Kingdom.¹⁰¹ Edger was referred to as an "able and eloquent"¹⁰² lecturer. During their time in Stonely, Edger and his wife welcomed three more children, a son, Frank, and two daughters, Emily and Gertrude. His ministry work provided enough for the household to afford two domestic servants.¹⁰³

The family relocated again in 1855 when Edger was appointed pastor to the Baptist chapel in Abingdon, Berkshire. In stark contrast to the non-sectarian chapel in Kimbolton, the Abingdon chapel was fraught with denominational boundaries and alliances. His appointment was met with a letter of disapproval signed by 30 of the congregation.¹⁰⁴ However, Edger earnestly gave himself to his work there, claiming it was for the good of the entire congregation. His first sermon was directed to the young men of the chapel on the benefits of Bible studies and was met with enthusiasm from the audience.¹⁰⁵ In 1856 he was invited to give an address at the anniversary of the Abingdon Sabbath School, which was met with a more lukewarm response.¹⁰⁶ Whilst he dedicated himself to his new congregation, Edger returned to Kimbolton to visit friends and his connections there were maintained. He also lectured outside the boundaries of the church for the good of all the community, giving

⁹⁸ *Birth Record* [database on-line]. Birmingham, Warwickshire. 1818. HARWOOD, Louisa. Birmingham. Index Project Number: C09305-1; GS Film Number: 0825426 (RG4 3113); System Origin: England ODM, myheritage.com, accessed 09.12.2023. <https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-30042-31167451/louisa-harwood-in-england-births-christenings>

⁹⁹ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁰ "Huntingdon," *Cambridge Independent Press*, Vol. XLV, No. 1989, 14 December 1850, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 57.

¹⁰² "Huntingdon," *Cambridge Independent Press*, Vol. XLV, No. 1989, 14 December 1850, p. 3.

¹⁰³ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 1750; Enumeration District: 6A; Page: 504; Image: 30, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

¹⁰⁴ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁵ "Abingdon," *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette*, No. 984, 8 December 1855, p.8.

¹⁰⁶ "Abingdon," *Reading Mercury*, Vol. 134, 19 January 1856, p. 6.

lectures about the importance of reading to aid critical thinking and the wrongs of capital punishment.¹⁰⁷

Abingdon seemed ill suited to Edger's style of non-sectarian belief and his moral views on any sort of conflict, regardless of the initial enthusiasm shown from parts of the community. His refusal to vote for members of his congregation in municipal elections caused many to abandon his chapel and go elsewhere.¹⁰⁸ Nearing the end of his term at Abingdon, Edger would had to consider whether to accept his tenure being renewed by church leadership or refuse reappointment and find work elsewhere. The decision was made for him when the trustees of the chapel, including some who had long since left the congregation, voted that only a professed Baptist could hold the office. Edger could not compromise his non-sectarian belief and chose to leave.¹⁰⁹ As a final misery after seven long years at Abingdon, the Edger's eldest daughter, Louisa Florence, died in the final months of 1859.¹¹⁰ One of the lectures Edger gave in his final years at Abingdon was on the poem *Excelsior* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The poem tells of a young man climbing a mountain who is met with several challenges along the way, including promises of luxury and warnings of old age, but achieves his goal through idealised self-sacrifice. It served as a fitting analogy for Edger's struggles at Abingdon.¹¹¹

After departing Abingdon, Edger continued to preach and lecture. It was on a visit to Kimbolton that he met an associate who happened to be part of the Albertland scheme. This associate mentioned the movement was searching for a minister to travel with the first contingent of settlers, and Edger concluded this was his best course.¹¹² The Association announced Edger's appointment on the basis that he was an "able and earnest preacher, a man of high mental attainments, whose broad and kindly spirit is likely to enable him to win his way in his dealings with a mixed community of colonists."¹¹³ At the East India Docks, as the first contingent of settlers were saying their farewells, Edger gave one of the final addresses

¹⁰⁷ "Abingdon," *Reading Mercury*, Vol. 134, 22 March 1856, p. 6.

"Stratton St. Margaret," *Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard*, Vol. XX, Issue 1014, 19 July 1856, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁰⁹ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 77.

¹¹⁰ 1859 English Birth Record [Database Online]. Surname: Edger; Given Name: Louisa Florence; District: Abingdon; Volume: 2c; Page: 174, <https://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=9YNAXQSKTB%2B9IuCSEImuSw&scan=1> accessed 06/01/2024.

¹¹¹ "Abingdon," *Reading Mercury*, Vol. 136, 20 March 1858, p. 8.

¹¹² Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, pp. 79-80.

¹¹³ Katrina Ford, *Unpretending Excellence: A Life of Kate Edger* (Auckland: The Kate Edger Educational Charitable Trust, 2017), p. 10.

to the crowd as the official Minister-elect.¹¹⁴ However, the following four years were a bitter disappointment for Edger—he felt the promises made to him were broken. He was shocked to discover that the first thousand emigrants were to travel in three separate ships, each with its own minister, already undermining his position as the chief minister for the community. He was further disheartened to find that Albertland was not in one place but on three separate blocks of land at opposite ends of the Kaipara Harbour. The stipend he had been promised also never materialised, and the death of William Brame soon after arrival dashed any hopes of the debt ever being paid. The small number of settlers who journeyed to Albertland and the vast distances between neighbours made it impossible for a congregation to form.¹¹⁵

Edger's non-conformism was a consequence of his upbringing, having been raised with strict non-conformist values and an authoritarian father. However, his personal views on religion, especially the desire for non-denominationalism rather than just non-conformism, were developed through years of preaching, university study, and self-guided reflection. Working as a preacher with different congregations, some who were supportive of his beliefs and others who were not, readied him for his work with the Albertland scheme. However, it became clear that he was not prepared for the sectarianism that developed amongst the Albertlander settlers.

As the Association members were busy assembling and organising their great host of settlers, they found they required assistance in their assessment of potential Albertlanders. Harper Twelvetrees recommended establishing a Council of Reference to sift through applications and find those best suited for the settlement. This council had a pivotal role in that it chose the candidates based only on their religious proclivities and not whether they were well suited to settler life. The backgrounds of these figures reveal that they were unsuited for such a task as they had no experience in settler life themselves. Two members in particular show the Council was not fit for its intended purpose.

Chosen as the head of this Council was one of the leading biblical scholars of the day, a respected Baptist minister, and chairman of one of Britain's most respected colleges, Rev. Joseph Angus (Figure 8).¹¹⁶ Angus was born in early 1816 and took an avid interest in the non-conformist church through his childhood and adolescence. His schooling in Newcastle-upon-Tyne at the Royal Grammar School brought him into contact with schoolmasters such

¹¹⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 33.

¹¹⁵ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, pp. 82-83.

¹¹⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 23.

as George Mortimer, an Anglican minister who was well known for his fair treatment of students not of the Anglican Church.¹¹⁷ Mortimer noted a keen intellect in Angus and hoped to send him to the University of Cambridge, but Angus as a non-conformist felt the University of Edinburgh was a better option than the strongly conformist leaning University of Cambridge.¹¹⁸ Angus felt the pull of the ministry and abandoned his study in the North for a time so he could train as a Baptist minister. By the time of William Brame's birth, Angus had completed his studies for the Baptist mission at Stepney College in London. However, he returned to Edinburgh and graduated with a Master of Arts degree as well as being awarded the University's gold medal in moral and political philosophy.¹¹⁹



Figure 8: Joseph Angus, who was the Chief of the Association's Council of Reference. His focus on a potential settler's religious suitability rather than their suitability for settler life may have undermined the Albertland Scheme. *Rev. Joseph Angus D.D.*, in Thomas Armitage, *A History of the Baptists*, Volume 2, 1890, rpt. 1988, p. 588. Digitised by Jim Duvall, accessed 09.07.2024. <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/angus.joseph.british.html>

In 1847 Angus joined the West Indian Mission House and helped it attain financial independence; he also aided the Mission House in Moorgate Street, London, to achieve financial stability and this work did not go unnoticed.¹²⁰ He moved between various roles in the Baptist Mission but found his strength in education and in 1849, at only 33 years of age,

¹¹⁷ Ernest A. Payne, *The Great Succession; Leaders of the Baptist Missionary Society During the Nineteenth Century* (London: Carey Press, 1938), p. 16.

¹¹⁸ Payne, *The Great Succession*, p. 16.

¹¹⁹ Thomas Armitage, *A History of the Baptists; Traced by their Vital Principles and Practices, From the Time of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to the Year 1886* (New York: Bryan, Taylor, & Co., 1887), pp. 588-89.

¹²⁰ Armitage, *A History of the Baptists*, pp. 588-89.

was appointed Head of Stepney College in London. He moved the college to a new campus in Regents Park, and his work was rewarded in 1852 when Brown University conferred a Doctor of Divinity on him.¹²¹

Angus was conservative when it came to interpretations of the scripture, even compared to his fellow Baptists. A great debate erupted amongst the non-conformist churches in the mid-19th century over belief in Hell and eternal punishment. Many dismissed the notion of Hell and instead believed that those who did not believe in the Christian faith would “enter upon the sacred death state from which there can be no resurrection.”¹²² Angus staunchly defended the orthodox position of Hell as a real place intended for eternal punishment though with certain exceptions in extraneous circumstances.¹²³ However, Angus’ conservatism was not without its concessions. During the controversies caused by Baptist preacher Charles Spurgeon, Angus wrote a declaration of the faith in the Baptist Union newspaper decreeing “the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked.”¹²⁴ But he conceded that there were others of the Baptist faith who accepted differing versions of the scriptures and that to restrict inquiry or learning of the scripture was detrimental to the growth of the Baptist church.¹²⁵

One of Angus’ close associates in the Baptist Church, Frederick Trestrail, was also approached for membership in the Albertland Council of Reference. Trestrail was a well-known minister who, unlike Angus, was not focused on education but on the Baptist church’s missionary work. An Englishman, Trestrail was born in 1803 in Cornwall and studied at the Baptist College in Bristol. He became the secretary of the Irish Mission in 1844 and was promoted to secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1849, a post he held for 21 years.¹²⁶ At the time of serving on the Council of Reference, Trestrail was head of the Baptist Mission House of Moorgate Street in London, where he had worked extensively with Joseph Angus.¹²⁷ Angus and Trestrail had never endured the life of a settler and, while Trestrail had some understanding through his interactions with missionaries who had served abroad,

¹²¹ Payne, *The Great Succession*, p. 21.

¹²² Geoffrey Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians: A Study of the Nineteenth-Century Theological Controversies Concerning Eternal Punishment and the Future Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 128.

¹²³ Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters Volume III: The Crises and Conscience of Non-Conformity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 57.

¹²⁴ Watts, *The Dissenters*, p. 70.

¹²⁵ Watts, *The Dissenters*, p. 70.

¹²⁶ “Trestrail, Frederick, DD from the McClintock and Strong Biblical Cyclopedia,” McClintock and Strong Biblical Cyclopedia Online, accessed 05.05.2024, <https://www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/T/trestrail-frederick-dd.html>.

¹²⁷ Payne, *The Great Succession*, p. 45.

neither man could look beyond a prospective settler's religious leanings to determine if they were a reasonable candidate for the Albertland scheme or not.

The leaders of the Albertland scheme, both those who intended to be settlers and those who took part in the Association's activities in Britain, had similar aspirations for the Albertland settlement. All came from religious non-conformist backgrounds and were seen as respectable members of their communities before they departed in 1862. They had similar understandings of religious conversion and faith, but differences between them were tested later in the context of the settlement. The leaders had shortcomings for a venture of this nature. None had participated in settlement schemes before joining the Albertland Association, none had travelled to New Zealand or had seen the proposed Albertland blocks, and the task of choosing settlers was given to those who were more adept at finding settlers of specific religious doctrines rather than those with necessary skills. Added to these shortcomings were different motives the leaders had for taking part. Some saw it as a religious endeavour, others a charitable endeavour, and others an opportunity for their own social and financial advancement. The settlers these leaders gathered sat comfortably beneath the non-conformist banner of the Albertlanders but had little skill to offer in establishing a new settlement in the New Zealand wilderness.

Chapter Two: Lives and Aspirations

Who the Albertlanders were and their motives for joining a religious settlement scheme has been a neglected facet of research on the group since Sir Henry Brett completed the first substantial work on the settlement in 1927. Brett himself declined to comment on their origins, instead beginning his work with their departure from Britain in 1862. J. L. Borrows followed suit 40 years later merely offering background on the scheme's founder, William Brame, before discussing the settler's departure. However, while later scholarship has extended into the origins of the settlers, it has done so superficially and offered only the generalisation that the Albertlanders were "English non-conformist farm labourers...many from the Midlands, Yorkshire, and Lancashire."¹ It has likewise been assumed that the religiosity of the scheme's leaders, and the cohesion it appeared to bring them as an organising body, was similarly present among the prospective settlers. This chapter challenges this assertion and shows the religious, geographic, and professional diversity amongst the Albertlanders and the role their individual circumstances may have had in their decision to join the Albertland scheme.

The stories of the Albertlander settlers before emigration come from a myriad of sources. Public records contain key basic data such as dates of birth, death and marriage, as well as an address or occupation. Other supplementary records, such as a census, contain further information about families that other records may have omitted: whether they had domestic servants, were recorded as lodgers and not residents, or lived in a home with others who may not have been immediate family. These records provide vital statistics for a person and others in a community and show what the common attributes and experiences of a person in that community may have been.² However, this information, whilst related to the individual or family, is impersonal; it gives no indication of how a person felt or what they thought of their family, society, or situation. These inner thoughts can be gleaned from within underused genealogical resources and supplement historical study as "the people family history uncovers are part of a forgotten, unconsidered majority."³

¹ Hearn, "English," p. 132.

² Rajae Ankoud, "Prosopography: An Approach to Studying Elites and Social Groups," *Al-Muntaqa: New Perspectives on Arab Studies* 3, No. 1 (2020): p. 75.

³ de Groot, "On Genealogy," p. 103.

Family histories are typically written by those who have a personal stake in the stories being recorded and how these events are presented to others. The family historian is both a public historian, as their research is eagerly presented to others or shared online, and a private individual who has shaped their research to fit their own sense of self.⁴ The use of archival sources, journals and diaries, and demographic resources means family histories are interdisciplinary. They can stretch across history, sociology, and geography, and this has contributed to the trepidation some researchers have when using them as a resource. Information gathered for a family history relating to events such as births, deaths, and marriages is usually collected from the same publicly available resources that a historian uses.⁵ The author is almost always a descendant of the family being discussed, and the stories and anecdotes contained in family histories, unless directly quoted from an older source, have been curated by them. Deliberate omissions and the removal of stories that do not fit the desired narrative for these histories can affect a historian's understanding of individuals and their past; even if, directly quoting journal entries, the author may still have omitted entries that did not suit their narrative. However, some stories may only be known to those within the family, as they have been carefully guarded; thus family histories can be the only access a historian may have to some events.⁶

Many family histories of the Albertlander settlers have been collected by the Albertland & Districts Museum. Their collection contains documents relating to approximately 140 families and has been built through donations of copies by visitors, and none have been altered since their donation. This means that the works contained there are from families that are aware of an Albertland connection in their family. For these families, the title of Albertlander has become mythicised to the point that they attribute an importance to it that their ancestors did not. However, many family histories may have been written but are not included in this collection because the author or family are unaware of such a connection. Therefore, to rely solely on the Albertland & Districts Museum and its archive as a means of finding family histories may omit many families with detailed family histories held elsewhere.

⁴ de Groot, "On Genealogy," p. 105.

⁵ Sue McCliskie, "Dangerous Ground or Rich New Research Methods? Using Digital Genealogy to Track Colonial Mobility," in *Britain and the World* Vol. 13, No. 2 (2020): pp. 107-108.

⁶ McCliskie, "Dangerous Ground," pp. 107-108.

The Shipping Lists and Forming a Study Group

The events at Albertland have given way to a story of intrepid travellers, united in mind and goal, whose dream settlement did not materialise, but with the cause never explicitly identified. Discerning why the Albertland settlers chose to uproot their lives in Britain and undertake an arduous journey to a land about which they knew little requires an understanding of where they came from and what motivated them to become an Albertlander. General histories have made the assertion that the Albertlanders were comprised of “English non-conformist farm labourers (who were members of a Protestant Church that disagreed with the Church of England), many from the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire.”⁷ However, careful consideration and cross-referencing of ship passenger lists, the Henry Barton register,⁸ the British census, and genealogical sources challenge this assumption.

The Albertlanders travelled on 14 ships, of which the first six solely transported Albertlanders. The other ships, which departed in the years 1864 and 1865, carried a mixture of intending Albertlanders and other settlers and discerning who is who is difficult. However, of the thousands of names represented on the passenger lists for these 14 ships, 2,548 of them are confirmed to be intending settlers of the scheme. Of these, 1,021 have had at least one of three points identified: their last address in Britain, their occupation, or their denomination. This identified group represents 40 percent of the intending Albertlanders and can act as a study group for the scheme’s demographics.

The last known address of the settlers may not denote their places of origin; they may have been mobile and moved throughout Britain prior to emigration. As London was the point of departure for the Albertlanders, the settlers who noted London as their last address may have only resided there temporarily before emigration and may not have felt as strong a connection to London as others. Where possible, this internal migration will be acknowledged as it shows a willingness on behalf of some migrants to move from a familiar to an unfamiliar location. It offers insight into the connection they felt with their place of birth and how far they were willing to move, if at all. Within the study group there are over 200 occupations listed. Only 54 settlers recorded themselves as being farmers, farm labourers, or agricultural workers. Six settlers were recorded as being ministers of religion for

⁷ Hearn, “English,” p. 132.

⁸ The Henry Barton Register of Intending Albertland Settlers c. 1862, 2007, 2007.5.30, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

various denominations and only one of these, Samuel Edger, was an official minister for the scheme.

The Albertlanders were predominantly English with over 93 percent of the study group being from England, three percent from Scotland, two percent from Ireland, and one percent from Wales. The last known addresses of the settlers establishes that the English contingent was not comprised solely of Midlands emigrants. There were 403 emigrants from Midland Counties, Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire boasted over 80 each, and Lincolnshire and Warwickshire over 70. The largest single place of origin was London, with 147 emigrants listing an address there in 1861. However, as the place of origin is determined by the last known address it is possible that some of the English contingent were from Scotland, Ireland, or Wales. This is especially true for the London group, as some settlers may have lived there temporarily while they waited to depart Britain. The next largest group, 70 emigrants, were from Yorkshire. Other emigrants were spread over the rest of the English counties in groups ranging from two to 40 emigrants in each county represented. The Welsh Albertlanders were comprised of three families from three different counties, two in the north of Wales and one in the south. The northern Welsh were Methodists while the southern Welsh were recorded as Independents. The only three occupations recorded amongst this group were a farm labourer, a blacksmith, and an oil and dye merchant.

The Scottish Albertlanders all came from counties in the Lowlands and all from large cities, such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, or Dundee, or small villages near those cities. The Scottish settlers predominantly followed trades that required manual labour, such as carpentry, blacksmithing, and farming, although there was also an accountant amongst the group. Most of the Scottish emigrants did not have their religious affiliation recorded; of those who did, all were non-conformists, predominantly Presbyterian, with some Baptists also present. The Irish Albertlanders represent a diverse group within the scheme as none seem to overlap in their occupations or denominations. They were from counties Tipperary, Antrim, and Down, two of those being in the far north of Ireland and one in the south. The Tipperary group were a family of farm labourers and were Catholic, one of three known Catholic families among the Albertlanders. The Antrim group were three unrelated farm labourers, all three were Baptists. The group from County Down were all from the town of Saintfield but were from different families, one of Unitarians and the other of unspecified denomination, none worked as farm labourers but were shop owners or ministers of religion.

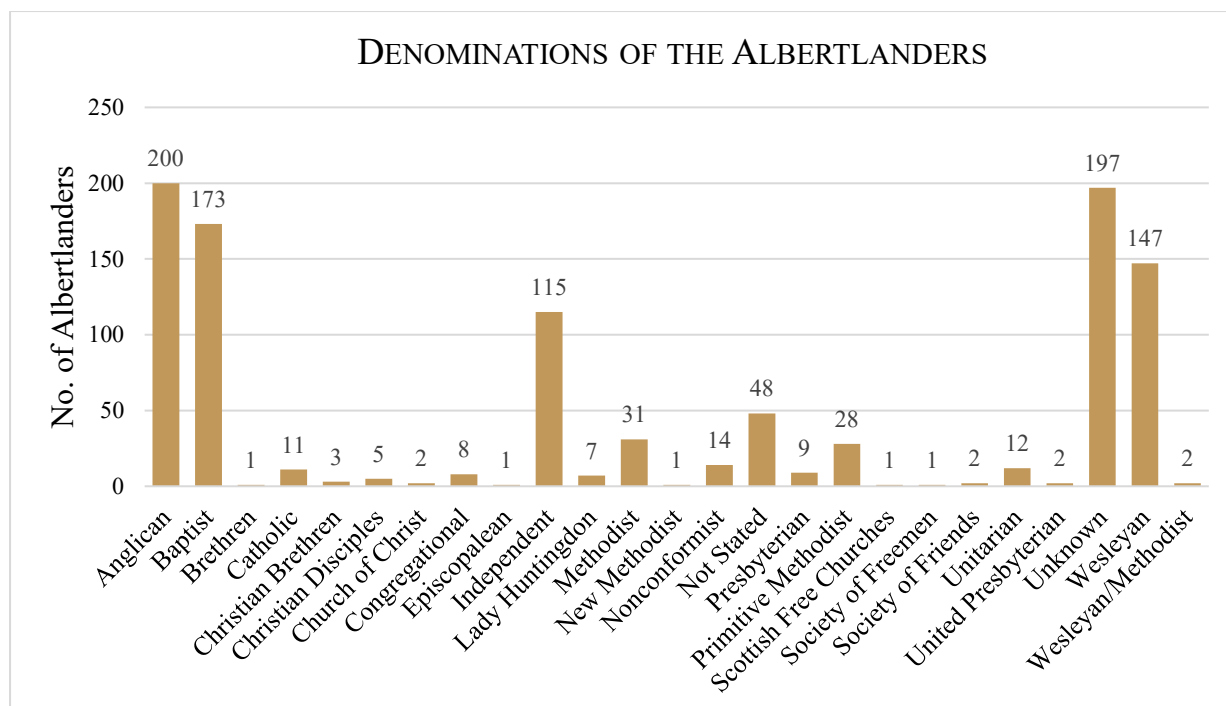


Table 1: The number of Albertlanders in the Study Group and the denominations they adhered to. It is important to note that many of these denominations were either offshoots of other denominations or synonymous with them. Methodists, New Methodists, Primitive Methodists, Wesleyans, and Wesleyan/Methodists, were all adherents of the denomination established by John Wesley which split numerous times after his death in 1791. Some of these even united before splitting again in other schisms. Non-conformist denominations were fluid in their organisational structures and naming.⁹

The list of Christian denominations reveals a stark difference to what other historians have stated about the Albertlanders. Within the study group over 200 did not state their denomination. The largest denomination stated, almost 200 emigrants, was Anglican. The second largest was Baptist with 173 settlers, Wesleyan with 150, and Methodist with 60. At this time, the Methodist Church had suffered a schism between the Methodists/Wesleyans and the Primitive Methodists. While they were similar, they represented two separate church structures, and this distinction would have been noted if a settler was recorded as one or the other.¹⁰ However, when considered together the Methodist/Wesleyan group is the largest with 211 adherents. Smaller groups or sects of larger denominations made up the remainder of the settlers (see Table 1). The Albertlanders, a supposedly non-conformist group, contained many Anglicans and Catholics. During the Victorian era, the Anglican church faced internal divisions between supporters of Low or High Anglicanism. Low, or Evangelical, Anglicans stood opposed to the ritualism of the High Anglican Church which was popular amongst the

⁹ John Cannon, Robert Crawford eds., *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 1040.

¹⁰ John E. Minor, "The Mantle of Elijah: Nineteenth-century Primitive Methodism and Twentieth-century Pentecostalism," in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* Vol. 43, No. 6, (1982): pp. 142-143.

Victorian middle-class.¹¹ As it is not clear who amongst the prospective settlers favoured which side of the Anglican divide, they have been displayed as a single group. However, the division, and the diversity of belief amongst the prospective settlers is notable.

It is important to understand the diversity of the Albertlanders, their places of origin, religious denominations, and occupations so that when studying their lives in detail, assumptions are not made. Avoiding assumptions will help reveal the different reasons the settlers had for emigrating and how individual circumstances may have helped drive the Albertland movement. Acknowledging their individual circumstances will also help uncover commonalities between the settlers, including whether the stories or events they placed emphasis on had similar themes.

The Origins of the Albertlanders

The Albertlanders were a group with diverse origins, and their motivations for joining the scheme were wide ranging. Many faced economic difficulties owing to growing Victorian industrialism and personal tragedies that made the prospect of life in a new colony extremely appealing. Others were financially successful and had no substantial personal hardships before they emigrated. Despite these differences, many settlers, especially the ministers among them, were drawn to the scheme for its religious aspect; shared religious belief does appear to have been a unifying force in their decisions to emigrate. Whether their reasons for emigrating were economic, personal, or religious, all Albertlanders were united in their aspirations for a better life in New Zealand and to see the venture through to a successful conclusion.

Using family histories, census records, and other publicly available archival material, we can begin to understand why many of the settlers chose to join the Albertland scheme. However, motivations are personal and difficult to discern unless explicitly stated in a primary source such as a diary. Albertland family histories show a propensity for religion, as many of the families included individual members who either converted to a non-conformist denomination or were children of someone who had converted. A special place of importance is held for these conversions, as they are a convenient beginning for a familial narrative—and

¹¹ Nigel Scotland, "Evangelicals, Anglicans and Ritualism in Victorian England," *Churchman* 111, No. 3 (1997): p. 253.

this can create the sensation that these conversions happened in a social vacuum.¹² This way of writing has become part of the collective memory of the Albertland descendants, contributing to a lack of understanding of the Albertlanders' diversity and motives for emigration.

Many families have a precise moment which they consider to be the beginning of their story, and the Maddox family are no exception. According to a family story, brother and sister, Thomas and Louisa Maddox, were approached by an old man who engaged them in conversation. Before departing the gentleman kissed Louisa on the head, patted Thomas on the top of his head, and identified himself as John Wesley. Wesley was the founder of the Methodist movement within the Church of England and the progenitor of the independent Methodist church.¹³ Thomas' son Richard became a shoemaker and then later a clerk in a canal management company and converted to Methodism as a young man. His wife Priscilla Bowket was a domestic servant. Their children, including their eldest daughter Mary, were raised within the Methodist denomination. Mary became the matriarch of an Albertland family through her marriage to Charles Hames. Mary's grandfather meeting John Wesley was considered a pivotal moment in the family's history. The emphasis the family placed on the story demonstrates the extent to which they saw themselves as part of a religious movement in Britain and, when joining the Albertland scheme, a religious enterprise.

In contrast to this story of a family whose conversion to Methodism appears predestined, the family of Mary's husband, Charles Hames, was strongly opposed to Methodism. Charles' maternal grandparents, Richard Howitt and May Thornton, were a couple who married for love, against the wishes of her family who disowned her completely. Richard was a conservative schoolteacher who was remembered as "the last man in Cotgrave to wear knee-breeches; a hater of Napoleon, and of Methodists."¹⁴ It is unclear what happened to this couple, but it is possible they died young as their daughter Jane Howitt was raised by an aunt and uncle. William Hames, another orphan from the town of Cotgrave, pursued Jane's hand in marriage, unsuccessfully at first as her aunt and uncle were protective and wary of a man with little chance of social advancement. William subsequently joined the militia as many young men did during the Napoleonic Wars. There was a rumour amongst his

¹² Dale A. Johnson, "The Oxford Movement and English Non-conformity," in *Anglican and Episcopal History* Vol. 59, No. 1 (1990): pp. 76-77.

¹³ Eva Hames, *A Home in Albertland: A Record of Pioneering Days* (Auckland: Percy Salmon Wills & Grainger Ltd, 1960), pp. 1-2.

¹⁴ Hames, *A Home in Albertland*, p. 2.

descendants that he fought at the battle of Waterloo, though there is no record a William Hames took part in that battle, and it is more likely he served on the home front.¹⁵

Upon the war's end and William's return to Cotgrave, he and Jane married and then took up residence in a gardener cottage in Cotgrave. William was described as "a quiet man, who sat in the corner and rarely spoke."¹⁶ He worked as a gardener for a local landowner, but necessity dictated that he look for work farther and farther from home leaving his wife to care for their growing family. By 1825 they had four sons, Richard, George, Charles, and William.¹⁷ Only Charles remained in the family home by the time of his father's death in 1841. The loss of her husband caused Jane to take up employment as the postmistress of Cotgrave, and the 1841 census also lists her as a school mistress.¹⁸ This census reflects the humble nature of Cotgrave, with all but one of the family's neighbours being agricultural labourers (the exception was a blacksmith).¹⁹ Charles reminisced that his mother ensured all four children were adequately educated, she taught them to read using the Bible and instilled in them a love for scripture and study. She did not, however, pass on a love for the Anglican Church; her two youngest sons abandoned it in their early adulthood.²⁰ Charles also became an accomplished musician, learning the violin at the age of six (another skill taught to him by his mother), and was a frequent performer at the local public houses in Cotgrave.²¹

Charles, like his brothers, took up an apprenticeship. He worked as a tailor in the town of Radcliffe-on-Trent, often working up to 15 hours a day, and it was here he had his spiritual awakening. While he still attended Church of England services in Cotgrave with his mother each Sunday, his time during the week in Radcliffe-on-Trent was spent in the company of a group of young Methodist converts. It was this group who convinced him to join the Wesleyan Society. In 1840, John Hickling, the last preacher John Wesley had personally appointed and sent on mission, visited Cotgrave as a preacher. Hickling personally admitted Charles Hames into the Methodist society and shook his hand. Charles stated almost 50 years later that "I [Hames] have the honour of having shaken hands with a man who had shaken

¹⁵ T.L. Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames and Their Migration from England to Paparua* (Auckland: Percy Salmon Wills & Grainger Ltd, 1964), p. 5.

¹⁶ Hames, *A Home in Albertland*, p. 2.

¹⁷ Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*, p. 5.

¹⁸ *1841 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 0853; Enumeration District: 11; Page: 15/4; Image: 3, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

¹⁹ *1841 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 0853; Enumeration District: 11; Page: 15/4; Image: 3, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

²⁰ Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*, p. 5.

²¹ Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*, p. 5.

hands with John Wesley... he was the only Methodist link between Mr. Wesley and me.”²² Like his future wife’s family Charles Hames had a link to John Wesley. Charles was the first of his family to convert to Methodism, but his younger brother eventually became a Methodist preacher.

Charles took his new faith seriously and his journal, kept intermittently between 1845-1899, extols his dedication. In November 1845 he stated that he was reading *The Young Christian* by Jacob Abbott, a didactic work on the duties of young Christians and the virtues they should seek to embody, and had recently signed a pledge of abstinence to help balance a life of Christianity and philanthropy he saw ahead of him.²³ His opening entry for the year 1847 states the previous year was the happiest of his life. He exclaimed he “felt more the power of religion than I [Hames] have ever done. And I trust that I have gotten such a start for Heaven, that my course to that blessed world will never be effectually impeded.”²⁴ His dedication is also shown in his willingness to walk 134 miles to hear the Rev. James Caughey, an evangelist from the United States, preach 13 sermons.²⁵

Though he was successful in his apprenticeship, Charles found the work of tailoring too strenuous on his eyes and retrained as a teacher. He began teaching at the Wesleyan School in Blidworth in the mid-1840s after being rejected for training as a Wesleyan school master, a rejection due to his liberal views and having two failed business ventures in Lenton and Kimbolton.²⁶ His time at Blidworth was short-lived because religious differences amongst the Methodist movements—especially the Methodist Reform Movement which Charles favoured—spilled over into his appointment as teacher. He applied and was accepted to the British and Foreign School Society Training College in London where he studied for six months, finishing his qualification at the beginning of 1851.

²² Hames, *A Home in Albertland*, p. 3.

²³ Journal and Reminiscences of Charles Hames: Covering the Period 1845-1899 by Charles Hames, MS-1197, Documentary Heritage Collection, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, p. 1 (Hereafter cited as Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection).

²⁴ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 3.

²⁵ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 3.

²⁶ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection. 3-4.



Figure 9: Abbey House, where Charles and Mary lived with their family, c. 1860. Photograph, *Abbey House, Homend, Ledbury c. 1931*, Hames Family Documents, Family History Research Collection, The Kauri Museum, Matakōhe.

Charles received an appointment to the British School in Ledbury after intervention from a member of the Board of Governors Richard Maddox, the father of Mary Maddox. Richard Maddox had argued that the school should hire a Wesleyan teacher, given many of the students came from Wesleyan families, and if they did not then they ran the risk of the Wesleyans setting up a school in opposition to theirs.²⁷ He believed it also helped stave off any students transferring to the Anglican day school, which did not admit anybody who did not also attend the Anglican Sunday School.²⁸ The family moved to Homend, Ledbury, soon after the appointment (Figure 9). Charles' first year at the school in Ledbury seemed to be a success and the like-minded views he shared with Richard Maddox brought him into contact with Maddox's daughter Mary, whom he married that year. Throughout their engagement, Mary, so conscious of social etiquette, refused to meet her fiancé in public and crossed the

²⁷ Eva Watson, "Pioneers Cheerful Courage: The Hames Family in Albertland", *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal* 11 (1967): p. 8.

²⁸ Hames, *A Home in Albertland*, pp. 4-5.

street to avoid a chance meeting. The couple married on Christmas Day in the Ledbury Anglican Church as the law at that time prohibited non-conformist churches from officiating marriage services.²⁹ In his diary entry for that day, Charles noted marriage was “an undertaking which I [Charles] have always held as being of vast importance, and most likely to make the future life much more happy or much more unhappy.”³⁰ At the time of their marriage, Mary oversaw a dress making workshop and was considered a woman of refinement. The coupling was remembered by descendants as well matched: Mary was hard-working and courageous, which complemented a dreamier and more anxious Charles.³¹

The next decade proceeded smoothly for the young couple. Four sons were born, Oliver, Luther, Josiah, and Rowland, between 1853 and 1862. Concern about the health of Luther at birth resulted in a rushed baptism, and in the confusion the name Martin was left off his birth certificate.³² Charles saw his role as a father as a spiritual one, declaring that without divine help he would be unable to bring his children up well—overindulgence was something he wished to avoid.³³ In May 1854, 14 years after his conversion, Charles began to preach at the Ledbury Wesleyan Chapel; his diary shows that he saw this as an honour but did not feel confident in his abilities. He wrote that his discourses were characterised by “monotony, tameness, feebleness, hesitation and want of energy.”³⁴ In 1858 Charles resigned his post at the British school in Ledbury owing to “the apathy of the Committee... and the church persons who beg, steal, entice or coerce as many of our children as possible to their schools.”³⁵

Charles and Mary began their own academy with 11 pupils (Figure 10). Teaching was a profession on both sides of the family; a cousin of Mary, Elizabeth Bowkett, was also working as an infant teacher in Ledbury at this time.³⁶ Over the next four years the enterprise continued uninterrupted, excepting a move to a larger home to accommodate more pupils and boarders. The 1861 census shows the family living together, Charles listed as schoolmaster and Methodist preacher, Mary as a dressmaker, along with a boarder for the school and a

²⁹ Inez Hames, “I remember... Personal Memories of a New Zealand Missionary in Fiji,” *Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand)* 27, No. 5 (1972): pp. 4-5.

³⁰ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 5.

³¹ Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*, p. 6.

³² Hames, *A Home in Albertland*, p. 7.

³³ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 7.

³⁴ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 8.

³⁵ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 8.

³⁶ “Ledbury”, *The Hereford Journal*, Vol. CXXIII, No. 6175, 6 Jan 1858, p. 9.

domestic servant.³⁷ While most of the Albertlanders left Britain during the years 1862-1863, the Hames family seemed content with their place in Ledbury and running the school. However, the catalyst for their emigration to New Zealand came after Charles made a trip to Manchester in 1861 to fill a vacancy on their Wesleyan chapel preachers' roster, and upon his return to Ledbury found himself partially deaf. Mary blamed a cold he had contracted due to sleeping in damp sheets. The doctor they consulted recommended an extended sea voyage as a possible remedy, but before it could even be considered Charles went completely deaf. His hearing never recovered.³⁸



Figure 10: The Market Hall in Ledbury, thought to be where Charles Hames had his school for a time. *Market Hall, New Street, Ledbury*, Hames Family Documents, Family History Research Collection, The Kauri Museum, Matakohē.

The school continued until the end of 1863, but Charles abandoned teaching as many parents believed his deafness made him unfit for the role. A rival school also opened in Ledbury, leading to an exodus of his students. His hearing loss also took from him his love of music; he refused to ever play his violin again, although he continued to take it with him whenever he travelled.³⁹ With the social restrictions placed on Wesleyans at the time, and Charles only initially getting a teaching position due to the intervention of his father-in-law, the family decided it was wise to emigrate to a new country where Wesleyans were not

³⁷ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 1809; Enumeration District: 14; Page: 98; Image: 40, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

³⁸ *Journal and Reminiscences*, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 7.

³⁹ *Journal and Reminiscences*, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 10.

restricted by law. The Albertland Association was still active, even though William Brame, the founder, had already died in New Zealand believing his scheme a failure.⁴⁰ Charles noted in his diary that the family had decided to emigrate as they did not know what else to do and “there appears, at present, no indications of Providence against it, but rather for it.”⁴¹ Luther Hames, second eldest son, reminisced that his father was impressed by the optimistic propaganda that had been disseminated amongst the non-conformist churches in England regarding the Albertland Scheme.⁴² Since most of the Albertland ships had set sail years earlier, the family were expected to find their own passage. News of the difficulties the initial Albertland parties had endured either had not reached England or did not concern the Hames family; they departed aboard the *Ironsides*, 3 May 1864.

Like the Hames family, William and Sarah Howard had economic and personal reasons for taking part in the Albertland scheme. Little is clear about their lives before emigration, although it is known that before their marriage William had worked in London as an assistant shopkeeper and silkman.⁴³ After a short engagement the couple married in late 1854 at Trinity Church in Coventry, Warwickshire. This was an Anglican church and suggests they may have been Anglican as the Marriage Act of 1836 lifted the requirement for all people regardless of denomination to marry according to the Anglican rite and register in their local Anglican parish church.⁴⁴ The young couple settled in Coventry, which was known as one of the centres of British industrialism—especially in the manufacture of clocks and silk—and they appear to have taken this industriousness to heart. For her 23rd birthday in 1855 William gifted Sarah a large worktable, and “it might be thought he wished her to continue in her habits of industry, and helped to stimulate her, by presenting her with the worktable.”⁴⁵

This bright start to their lives together did not last; the couple’s first child born in December 1855 grew increasingly ill and by September 1856 died. The start of 1857 was no better as William’s business, which he owned in partnership with his brother Samuel,

⁴⁰ Watson, “Pioneers Cheerful Courage,” p. 8.

⁴¹ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 10.

⁴² Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*, pp. 6-7.

⁴³ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 1484/294; Enumeration District: *Westminster*; Page: 49; Image: N/A, myheritage.com, accessed 09.12.2023.

⁴⁴ *The Act for Marriages in England 1836* (6 & 7 Wm IV, c. 85), (UK).

⁴⁵ Transcription of The Diary of William and Sarah Howard: Oct 24 1854, File F-P, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Wellsford Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 4 (Hereafter cited as William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection).

reported difficulties in staying open, and soon after Sarah's mother died.⁴⁶ In October that year, the couple welcomed another child but, like their first, died in infancy. It is possible that the couple also had other children between the two who died young, as there is a journal entry dated 7 October, four days after the death of their second child stating, "Lizzie and W. followed him to the Grave [sic]."⁴⁷ The list of tragedies continued into 1858 with the death of a close friend. In the diary entry describing this loss, there is a note that the couple had hoped the friendship would lead to reconciliation within the Howard family. This shows that the domestic sphere of their lives was in as much disarray as the business partnership. November 1858 saw the birth of their third son who survived beyond infancy. The only journal entry for 1859 stated plainly their business was still declining.⁴⁸

1860 was a year which saw great change for the couple through circumstances outside of their control. First, a daughter named Marian was born, and survived into adulthood. Second, the great ribbon crisis hit Coventry in conjunction with the Cobden-Chevalier treaty between Britain and France.⁴⁹ While nearby Birmingham had embraced industrialisation in its weaving industry, Coventry had maintained a tradition of smaller handloom workshops. Slowly throughout the 1840s and 1850s Coventry fell behind in production and could not compete with the prices their neighbour city offered.⁵⁰ The Cobden-Chevalier treaty lifted the tariff placed on French goods imported into Britain and, unable to compete with the design of French goods and the innovation of their fellow British, the Coventry weaving industry collapsed.⁵¹ The first journal entry for 1861 simply noted "trade in a fearful state in Coventry."⁵²

Despite the collapse of their industry, the family still appeared financially stable. According to the 1861 census, William was employing two assistants and a boy in his drapery business while also employing two servants in their private household.⁵³ This census was taken in April, but by October the situation had changed. William and Samuel Howard

⁴⁶ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁷ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 6.

⁴⁸ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁹ "The City of Coventry: Crafts and Industries, Modern Industry and Trade," The City of Coventry: Crafts and industries, Modern industry and trade | British History Online, accessed 26.08.2021, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol8/pp162-189>.

⁵⁰ "The City of Coventry," British History Online, accessed 26.08.2021. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol8/pp162-189>.

⁵¹ "The City of Coventry," British History Online, accessed 26.08.2021. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol8/pp162-189>.

⁵² William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 7.

⁵³ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 2206/117; Enumeration District: *Coventry*; Page: 5; Image: *N/A*, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

had to dissolve their partnership and left all their stock to the benefit of creditors.⁵⁴ Still out of business and work at the start of 1862, the couple turned their minds to emigration and sent for particulars from the Albertland Association (they also considered emigrating to Port Natal, now Durban, in South Africa).⁵⁵ Within a month they started to sell their furniture to pay for the voyage, noting the low prices they had to accept due to the economic climate in Coventry, and moved to London to prepare for the voyage aboard the *Hanover*. During this period yet another misfortune befell them—youngest daughter Lizzie was discovered to have been completely blind since birth.⁵⁶

Families from working-class backgrounds tend to be less visible than more well-off Albertlanders; therefore, less is known about them. The Soar family of Nottingham were a working-class household who found the opportunities offered by the Albertland scheme too good to ignore (Figure 11). In the early 19th century, Nottingham was a city of industry and its fast growth left much of it in such a slum state that the Royal Commission into the Health of Towns referred to the city as the worst in England.⁵⁷ In parts of the city, the infant mortality rate was almost 50 percent and the average age at death reached as low as 17 years old.⁵⁸ John Hutchinson Soar was a child when this report was written. As of 1841 his father was a blacking manufacturer, and his two eldest brothers both French polishers. The street they lived on reflected Nottingham's working-class base, with labourers, lace menders, sawyers, wool-carders, and hosiers all represented. None of the households had servants or apprentices and no children were recorded as scholars.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ "Notice is Hereby Given," *Coventry Standard*, No. 6181, 18 October 1861, p. 1.

⁵⁵ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 8.

⁵⁶ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, pp. 8-10.

⁵⁷ Denise Amos, "Public Health: Overview," The Nottingham Heritage Gateway, 2008, accessed 05.05.2024. <http://www.nottsheritagegateway.org.uk/themes/health.html>

⁵⁸ Thomas Hawksley Esq., "Report on the Town of Nottingham...", in the *First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts*. Appendix, p. 138; 1844 (572), XVII.1. accessed 30.08.2021. <http://mssweb.nottingham.ac.uk/elearning/view-text.asp?resource=HealthHousing&ref=deathrates&theme=3&view=text&page=1>

⁵⁹ *1841 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *HO107*; Piece: *0871*; Enumeration District: 8; Page: *4/39*; Image: 21, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.



Figure 11: The Soar Brothers c. 1860s-1870s. From left to right John Bower, William, and Richard. Sons of John Hutchinson and Mary Ann Soar. Photograph, *The Soar Brothers*, in Patricia E. Soar, *Quarantined on Arrival: the Soar Family in New Zealand 1863-1988; Commemorating the 125th Anniversary of the arrival of John Hutchinson and Mary Ann Soar and family 4th October 1863* (Taumarunui: The Organiser, Soar Family Reunion, 1988), p. ii.

There is no surviving marriage record for Soar, though he appears to have married in the late 1850s. His wife, Mary Ann Bower, was the daughter of a cutler and she may have been illiterate as she signed the birth record of their first child with a cross.⁶⁰ The only notion of the family's religious belief is gleaned from the baptism record of their oldest son, John Bower Soar, who was baptised in the Nottingham Methodist chapel.⁶¹ The 1861 census lists John Hutchinson Soar as a blacking manufacturer, showing he followed his father's trade, and as a traveller. This latter occupation probably refers to a travelling salesman or

⁶⁰ Patricia E. Soar, *Quarantined on Arrival: the Soar Family in New Zealand 1863-1988; Commemorating the 125th Anniversary of the arrival of John Hutchinson and Mary Ann Soar and family 4th October 1863*, (Taumarunui: The Organiser, Soar Family Reunion, 1988), p. 3.

⁶¹ *Baptism Record* [database on-line]. Nottingham, Nottinghamshire. 1858. SOAR, John. Nottingham. Index Project Number: 103968-8; GS Film Number: 1526801; Page: 12, myheritage.com, accessed 30.08.2021.

advertiser.⁶² There is confusion as to whether Soar changed his trade before emigrating; family histories suggest he became a grocer, but the Henry Barton register lists him as a groom and horse keeper.⁶³ The opportunity for work or social advancement was the most likely attraction offered by the Albertland scheme for a working-class family such as this.

Unlike others, William Blow did not emigrate as part of an extended family group and instead travelled to New Zealand alone. He was the only member of a family of 11 to become an Albertlander or emigrate as part of an organised scheme. The Blow family were Methodists from Aylesby, Lincolnshire. Blow was born in 1839, the fourth child of William Senior and Sarah Blow. His father and grandfather both worked as agricultural labourers and descendants recorded that the family had been agricultural workers for generations before that. The farmland surrounding Aylesby was owned exclusively by the Rev. T. T. Drake, Lord of Aylesby Manor, who rented it to several agriculturalists.⁶⁴ In 1848 William Torr, a well-known agriculturalist at the time, purchased half of the farms in the area; William Senior began work for him as a labourer, eventually being promoted to foreman.⁶⁵

The Blow children started work as farm labourers with their father in Aylesby. However, from 1860 onwards the elder brothers took up trades or business ventures: one became a wheelwright, another a joiner, the second eldest a grocer, and the youngest a life assurance agent.⁶⁶ With his brothers finding new career paths around the same time, it is likely that William Jnr took the Albertland scheme as an opportunity for his own advancement. For a labourer who received tutelage and instruction from one of the foremost agriculturalists of the era, the thought of owning 40 acres of land upon which to practice all he had learned was too good an opportunity to miss. William Jnr was well aware that the profits received from Aylesby farms had gone to the owner of the land and not those who worked the farms.⁶⁷ Economic advantages were clearly the key motivator for him to join the scheme.

⁶² 1861 England Census [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 2469/5; Enumeration District: 7; Page: 3; Image: 5, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

⁶³ The Henry Barton Register of Intending Albertland Settlers, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, p. 16; Soar, *Quarantined on Arrival*, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Malcolm Halsted Blow, *A Pioneer Family: Blow by Blow* (Tauranga: Zephyr Transcriptions, 2012), pp. 7-9.

⁶⁵ Ernest Clarke, "Torr, William," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 57 (London: Smith, Elder, & Co, 1904), p. 62; 1861 England Census [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 2391; Enumeration District: 23; Page: 43; Image: 6, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

⁶⁶ Blow, *A Pioneer Family*, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁷ Blow, *A Pioneer Family*, p. 15.

Personal tragedy, rather than economic factors, may have influenced many Albertlanders to emigrate. The Blomfield family of St. Margaret's, Middlesex are a prime example. Originally from Colchester in Sussex, William Blomfield was the son of a cutler, and while his half-brother Josiah had a successful career in medicine—earning many accolades during the cholera outbreak of the late 1840s and early 1850s—William did not receive the same education and instead become a tradesman.⁶⁸ William and his wife Elizabeth married in 1833, and moved to Finsbury in London, where he worked as a cutler and later as a carpenter. During the 1830s and 1840s, William and Elizabeth had seven children. According to the 1851 census only the eldest child, William Jnr, was of working age; Elizabeth had no occupation recorded, so it is likely she remained at home to care for the six younger children.⁶⁹

In 1856 two deaths befell the family, that of William Jnr and William Snr soon after. Without her husband or son to support her and the younger children, Elizabeth was forced to enter the workforce, becoming a stationer.⁷⁰ By 1861, with five of the children still residing with her and only one of them employed, the family began to feel the financial strain of their position. After another year, Elizabeth and some of her children decided to emigrate, including the eldest surviving son Samuel with his wife and two young daughters, decided to emigrate with them. However, two of the older daughters remained in Britain: Emily permanently, and Eliza for another decade before also emigrating. Elizabeth's personal tragedies and the economic hardship that followed made the promises of better opportunities for herself and her children a clear motive for emigration.⁷¹

While economic factors contributed to many settlers' decisions to emigrate, there were those who appear to have joined the scheme purely because of its religious nature. Barnard Longbottom was born in southern Lincolnshire in 1812, and as a young man he moved north to the market town of Louth.⁷² In April 1836 at the age of 24 he married Ann Anderson Larder, daughter of a Louth grocer, and the marriage announcement shows that

⁶⁸ Victor Plarr, "Blomfield (or Bloomfield), Josiah (1824 - 1905)," *Plarr's Lives of the Fellows*, Royal College of Surgeons of England, published 25 March 2010, accessed 31.08.2021. [https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:\\$002f\\$002fSD_ASSET\\$002f\\$002fSD_ASSET:373089/one](https://livesonline.rcseng.ac.uk/client/en_GB/lives/search/detailnonmodal/ent:$002f$002fSD_ASSET$002f$002fSD_ASSET:373089/one)

⁶⁹ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *HO107*; Piece: *1507*; Enumeration District: *13*; Page: *479*; Image: *14*, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

⁷⁰ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *RG09*; Piece: *25*; Enumeration District: *5*; Page: *105*; Image: *12*, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

⁷¹ Muriel Williams, *Blomfield Family Tree* (Auckland: M. Williams, 1988), p. 1.

⁷² Longbottom Family History, File F-P, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Longbottom had taken up work as a silk-merchant. The couple settled on Louth's main thoroughfare, Upgate, and remained there until their emigration almost 30 years later (Figure 12).⁷³



Figure 12: Barnard and Ann Longbottom. It is unclear when these photographs were taken but it is thought they were taken in Britain before the family emigrated. Photograph, *Barnard and Ann Longbottom*, Longbottom Family Documents, File F-P, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Longbottom was successful in many business endeavours. By 1841 he had established his own drapery business in Louth and was seeking an apprentice. Religion appeared to play a large part in the family's lives; the advertisement placed in the local paper stated that the apprentice was "expected to attend the Wesleyan Ministry."⁷⁴ A later notice from 1846 also stated that any applicants for the role of assistant in the business must be a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Society.⁷⁵ However, this stipulation was not included in a similar advertisement dated 1849.⁷⁶ In 1845 Longbottom's position as a respectable business owner afforded him election to the position of Assessor for Louth's township audit.⁷⁷ Financially the

⁷³ "Lincoln," *Stamford Mercury*, Vol 141, No. 7841, 8 April 1836, p. 3.

⁷⁴ "Wanted," *Stamford Mercury*, Vol. 146, No. 7614, 16 July 1841, p. 3.

⁷⁵ "Wanted," *Stamford Mercury*, Vol. 151, No. 7875, 20 March 1846, p. 3.

⁷⁶ "To Drapers, &c.," *Stamford Mercury*, Vol 154, No. 8037, 4 May 1849, p. 3.

⁷⁷ "Louth," *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, Vol. 13, No. 625, 7 March 1845, p. 3.

family were secure: their home in Upgate was owned, not leased.⁷⁸ The property itself was large, accommodating both the business and, as shown in the 1851 census, a growing family of five children, of whom four were boys. A shop assistant, two apprentices, and two house servants also lived with them.⁷⁹

In June 1858 Longbottom's eldest daughter Sarah Ann married local bookseller and printer John Shepherd at the Louth Free Methodist Chapel; she was the only daughter to marry before their emigration (Figure 13).⁸⁰ Shepherd had been a member of the same Wesleyan Chapel as the Longbottom family and is recorded as taking an active role in fundraising for the chapel over the four years following his marriage.⁸¹ John and Sarah Ann went on to have 13 children together. Shepherd had moved to Louth from his family home in the small village of Seagrave, Leicestershire. He owned his own business as a bookseller and private printer but also worked as a correspondent and printer for the *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser*.⁸² His business expanded into multiple ventures such as advertisement printing for public societies and private patrons, newspaper printing and delivery, as well as delivering copies of other papers from as far away as London, and selling stationery and educational needs.⁸³ Like his father-in-law Shepherd was successful in his business pursuits; by 1861 he employed two men and five boys along with two apprentices in his printer shop.⁸⁴

While his son-in-law's business grew, Barnard Longbottom decided to bring his to a close, selling it in its entirety to local businessman Samuel Day. However, his second son, Barnard Jnr, started his own drapery business in Louth and Barnard Senior became heavily involved in that venture as a mentor.⁸⁵ Barnard Jnr and younger brother William Henry remained in Britain when the rest of the family emigrated, and both profited from successful business and political ventures. Barnard Jnr was eventually elected Mayor of Louth, presided as manager over the Louth Savings Bank, was Governor of the Louth British School, and

⁷⁸ "Borough of Louth," *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, Vol. 16, No. 793, 26 May 1848, p. 1.

⁷⁹ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 2111; Enumeration District: 14R; Page: 595; Image: 13, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

⁸⁰ "Married," *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, Vol. 24, No. 1317, 18 June 1858, p. 5.

⁸¹ "The Fifth Anniversary of the Opening of the Free Methodist Chapel, Louth," *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser*, No. 45, 31 December 1859, p. 1.

⁸² *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser*, No. 80, 1 September 1860, p. 4.

⁸³ *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser*, No. 89, 3 November 1860, p. 4.

⁸⁴ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 2381; Enumeration District: 9; Page: 31; Image: 23, myheritage.com, accessed 05.12.2023.

⁸⁵ "To the Ladies and Gentlemen of Louth, and its Vicinity," *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser*, No. 7, 9 April 1859, p. 1.

became a leading official in the Louth Free Methodist Chapel. He was elected an Alderman in 1892, remaining in Louth until his death in 1904 at the age of 63.⁸⁶



Figure 13: Photograph, *Longbottom Daughters Married: Mrs. John Shepherd, Mrs Edward Piper; Mrs. S. Mawer; Mrs. J. Collinge*, 2004.2.96.4, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The Longbottom and Shepherd families emigrated together. While he had a successful business, John Shepherd was beginning to suffer ill health and was advised that emigration to a better climate might alleviate this.⁸⁷ Neither Longbottom nor Shepherd had economic reasons to join the scheme; both were successful businessmen and lived comfortable lives. But their religious nature drew them to the Albertland scheme despite the strong non-conformist community in Louth. They disposed of their households and belongings at a joint auction. The auction included a plethora of mahogany furniture, a piano, and a large collection of books, possessions typical of a middle class, educated Victorian family.⁸⁸ The families left Britain aboard the *Hanover* in the first group of Albertlander ships.

Outside of the Midlands and the Northern counties, Albertlanders also came from the Eastern and Southern counties of England. Of these Albertlanders, Charles Levet became one

⁸⁶ "Alderman B. Longbottom J.P., of Louth," *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, No. 15, 294, 18 July 1904, p. 7.

⁸⁷ Alec Utting, "Sarah Ann Shepherd," Birkenhead Heritage, 9 December 2022, accessed 25.04.2022. <https://www.birkenheadheritage.org.nz/post/sarah-ann-shepherd>.

⁸⁸ "To Be Sold By Auction," *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser*, No. 167, 3 May 1862, p. 4.

of the settlement's most ingenious pioneers. Of Levet's forebears very little is known beyond public records. His father, Elijah Levet, was an ironmonger born in Soham, Cambridgeshire, and he remained in Cambridgeshire until his death in 1859.⁸⁹ Elijah and his wife Eliza had five children. Two daughters shared their mother's name and it is possible the reason for this is that the elder daughter died as a child and the name was given to the next daughter born. The 1841 census shows the family living together even with the children being adults, an exception was the youngest, Elizabeth, who was more than a decade younger than her siblings.⁹⁰

It was around this time the family first discussed the possibility of emigration to New Zealand. Gardiner Levet, the eldest son, emigrated to the colony under the auspices of the New Zealand Company in August 1840, arriving in Canterbury before the year ended. It appears that both of Elijah's sons followed his trade, as Gardiner's occupation is recorded as blacksmith on shipping lists for the *London*.⁹¹ Gardiner married Elizabeth Peachey, a distant relative on his mothers' side from Cambridgeshire, but it is unknown if they travelled together to New Zealand. Unlike his younger brother Charles, Gardiner settled in the south of the colony and continued his trade as a blacksmith. However, by the late 1860s he was declared bankrupt and died before 1876.⁹²

Charles by comparison seems to have had more success remaining in Cambridgeshire. In 1843 he married Keziah Crisp, the daughter of a farmer from Soham (Figure 14). They wed at St. Mary's Church in Ely, Cambridgeshire, and afterwards settled there on St. Mary Street. The marriage certificate indicates that Charles was already living in Ely as an ironmonger.⁹³ Ely was an isolated town with an intricate history of non-conformist chapels. It was the former home of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, who was viewed as a champion of non-conformist religion against High-Church Anglicanism and Catholicism.⁹⁴ The nature of non-conformist sects to split and establish separate chapels meant a plethora of sects and denominations took root in Ely. Lady Huntingdon established a Connexion there in the

⁸⁹ Adrienne Brewer and Leonie N. Farr, *The Levet Family History* (Auckland: Brewer, L. N. Farr, 1998), p. 33.

⁹⁰ Brewer and Farr, *The Levet Family History*, p. 35.

⁹¹ "New Zealand, Archives New Zealand, Passenger Lists, 1839-1973," database with images, *FamilySearch.com*. Gardener Levet, 1840; citing ship, Archives New Zealand, Wellington; FHL microfilm 004508584, accessed 18.08.21. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QJDV-6LP1>

⁹² *Lyttelton Times*, Volume XXXIV, Issue 2970, 19 July 1870, p. 1.

⁹³ Brewer and Farr, *The Levet Family History*, p. 50.

⁹⁴ T. D. Atkinson et al, "City of Ely: Introduction," in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 4, City of Ely; Ely, N. and S. Witchford and Wisbech Hundreds*, ed. R B Pugh (London: Victoria County History, 2002), pp. 28-33.

1780s, which by 1797 had divided into two rival chapels. These chapels reconciled and then separated again in the 1840s. The Wesleyan Methodists established their own chapel in 1818, and the Primitive Methodists, a branch of the Wesleyan sect, arrived in 1847.⁹⁵ With the spread of the railways in Victorian Britain, the town saw a population increase and the congregations of the non-conformist chapels grew rapidly.⁹⁶



Figure 14: Charles and Keziah Levet after their emigration. One of the Albertlander families from the non-conformist stronghold of Ely. Charles maintained his beard throughout his entire adult life. Photograph, *Charles Levet and Keziah Levet*, Levet Family Documents, File F-P, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Within seven years of marriage, Charles and Keziah had welcomed three sons—Joseph, Charles Jnr, and William Crisp—who grew up in this strong non-conformist environment. Charles Senior was able to employ another man in his business, and the family were financially secure enough to have a domestic servant live with them. Keziah's sister Margaret was also living in the home; given neither woman had an occupation recorded, it is possible that Charles' business was successful enough to support the entire household.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ T D Atkinson et al, "City of Ely: Non-conformity," in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 4, City of Ely; Ely, N. and S. Witchford and Wisbech Hundreds*, ed. R B Pugh (London: Victoria County History, 2002), pp. 86-87.

⁹⁶ Atkinson et al., "City of Ely: Introduction," pp. 28-33.

⁹⁷ Brewer and Farr, *The Levet Family History*, p. 49.

Despite this success, Charles' mother had to move in with his sister after the death of his father and was forced to work as a coal dealer.⁹⁸ It is not certain why the family left the security of Ely to travel with the Albertlanders. Having a brother already residing in New Zealand may have made the decision easier for Charles, and it may have afforded their three sons, now in their teenage years, more opportunity for professional and social advancement than what was available in Ely. Joseph had finished his schooling at King's College, Ely, and was given a sound reference for the Albertland scheme by the Headmaster: Joseph "conducted himself in such a manner as to deserve my approval... I am of the opinion that he has been steady and industrious."⁹⁹ Whatever their reasons, the family left England in early 1862 and arrived in Auckland in September that year.

The Levet family were not the only Albertlanders from Ely. The Rushbrook family also lived there and were also resident on St. Mary Street. Charles Rushbrook was a tailor by profession and at the age of 33 employed four men.¹⁰⁰ His father William Rushbrook was the Baptist Minister of Ely who, in newspaper records of the local Parsons Charity, took a stance against sectarian divisions in education.¹⁰¹ William argued that any use of money accumulated by the local charity should not be given to educational needs because it would certainly be granted to Church of England schools in the area. Any use of the funds should be non-sectarian, given the charity leadership was elected by the community and comprised both Anglicans and non-conformists. His son Charles was also at this meeting and was noted as making "a long speech, taking the same views of the question... and having indulged in some sarcastic observations against the Church."¹⁰² Others present at this meeting spoke out against the non-conformists and dissenters; the meeting appears to have broken up over these remarks. This was an ongoing issue; two years prior William had spoken out against charity funds being used to pay the organist at the Anglican church, which meant non-conformists were paying for both their own place of worship and that of others.¹⁰³ The Rushbrook family appear to have been outspoken on religious affairs in Ely and, therefore, may have been attracted to the Albertland scheme's non-conformist component. Charles Rushbrook, his wife

⁹⁸ Brewer and Farr, *The Levet Family History*, p. 37.

⁹⁹ Brewer and Farr, *The Levet Family History*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁰ *1851 England Census* [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 1764; Enumeration District: 3C; Page: 552; Image: 34, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

¹⁰¹ *Cambridge Independent Press*, Vol. LII, No. 2236, 2 May 1857. p. 8.

¹⁰² *Cambridge Independent Press*, Vol. LI, No. 229, 29 November 1856, p. 6.

¹⁰³ *Cambridge Independent Press*, Vol. XLIX, No. 2187, 30 September 1854. p. 8.

Elizabeth, and their five children travelled to New Zealand aboard the *Hanover*, the same ship as the Levet family.

In contrast to many of his fellow settlers Thomas Stirrup Webb was an Albertlander who came from a privileged background. He was the son of a Wesleyan Minister and as a child was sent to Kingswood School near Bath for an extensive formal education, learning Greek and Latin during his time there. The family home of Cinderhill was a small manor house and Thomas' mother, Sarah Stirrup, was the daughter of wealthy earthenware manufacturer Thomas Stirrup. Sarah in later years enjoyed showing friends and family her ticket of admission into the Wesleyan Society that was signed by Thomas Wesley himself.¹⁰⁴ Thomas' wife, Mary Ann, was also from an affluent background. Her father was a landowner, contractor, and surveyor involved in the building of the canal system in Staffordshire and Worcestershire.¹⁰⁵

A formal education and wealthier background allowed Thomas to pursue a career as a chemist. His father had hoped he would become a Wesleyan Minister, but Thomas lacked skills in public speaking and preferred to write sermons for others rather than deliver them. Unlike physicians, who were more concerned with the treatment of ailments, chemists in the 19th century were a relatively new occupation. Their role was diverse, acting not only as dispensers of medicines but as "general practitioners in physic, surgery, pharmacy and midwifery."¹⁰⁶ They were also able to learn their trade through apprenticeships rather than in a college.¹⁰⁷ Thomas spent seven years as an apprentice in Berkshire before returning to his home town of Bilston where he set up his own practice.¹⁰⁸ From the late 1840s to early 1850s he also took work as a fire and life insurance agent, using his shop as a base through which to gather clients and advertise.¹⁰⁹

Outside of his business, Webb was a steadfast reformer and believed in free trade. He helped form a political union in Bilston for reform in the House of Commons, and served as a

¹⁰⁴ Sheila M. Belshaw, *Man of Integrity: A Biography of Sir Clifton Webb* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press Ltd, 1979), pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁵ Roger Mold, *Webb Family Genealogy: From Longton Staffordshire England to Whakahara on the Northern Wairoa River Northland New Zealand* (Unpublished Manuscript: Kaihu River Valley History), accessed 01.09.2021. <https://kaihuvalleyhistory.com/genealogy/>

¹⁰⁶ Norma Cox and Stuart Anderson, "The Emergence of Chemist's Shops in Wimbledon, South London, 1837-1901: Using Trade Directories and Registers to Track Local Pharmacies," *Pharmaceutical Historian*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (2018): p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Cox and Anderson, "The Emergence of Chemist's Shops," p. 48.

¹⁰⁸ Belshaw, *Man of Integrity*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁹ *Staffordshire Advertiser*, Vol. LVII, 5 July 1851, p. 2.

councillor, improvement commissioner, and chairman of the Bilston Waterworks. He became prominent enough that he corresponded with reformers such as John Bright and Charles Villiers, the latter was serving as the MP for the Bilston area. His letters to them concerned a boiler in a nearby factory that many locals considered dangerous and wanted removed.¹¹⁰

When time for departure drew close for the Webb family, they followed the example of other affluent or business-owning emigrants and placed an advertisement in the local newspaper for an auction of all household goods and furniture. However, unlike others such as the Longbottom family, Webb did not sell his business intact or gift it to an associate or family member. Instead, he opted to close the business entirely and include in the household auction all stock and shop fixtures.¹¹¹ Webb had allegedly listened with interest to news of New Zealand for years before emigrating and never thought to spend his entire life in Britain. With the financial backing of his own businesses and both his own and his wife's parents, the family were well situated to deal with the strain of emigration. As the son of a Wesleyan Minister, the non-conformist nature of the Albertland scheme appealed to him—along with the promise of freehold land. Undoubtedly his reformer tendencies also influenced his decision to emigrate to the colonies, where personal and economic freedoms were not curtailed.¹¹²

It is difficult to discern some Albertlanders' motives for emigration, as they do not appear to share similarities with other families involved in the scheme. The Leaf family, often incorrectly recorded as Leafe, were from Beverly, Yorkshire. Beverly was a small town that thrived in the industrial revolution due to its large tannery, small machine run factories, and by acting as a marketplace for small villages in the surrounding countryside. Robert Leaf worked as an engineer during the family's time there and eventually took on a second trade as a taxidermist.¹¹³

Robert's wife, Eliza, did not have an occupation recorded in the censuses of 1841 or 1851. However, she established a business independently of her husband in 1856 when she opened her own photography portraiture studio.¹¹⁴ It is recorded by descendants that she was a talented amateur painter before this and may have taken up photography as an artistic

¹¹⁰ Belshaw, *Man of Integrity*, pp. 19-20.

¹¹¹ *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser*, New Series 1810, 1 October 1862, p. 8.

¹¹² Belshaw, *Man of Integrity*, p. 20.

¹¹³ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 3569; Enumeration District: 19; Page: 85; Image: 6, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

¹¹⁴ "Photography," *Beverley Guardian*, No. 4, 26 January 1856, p. 1.

outlet.¹¹⁵ The business appears to have been well received, as a year later she was thanking the public for their generous patronage and was offering lessons in photography.¹¹⁶ She passed her trade onto her son Robert Jnr, who recorded his profession in 1861 as photographic artist.¹¹⁷ At the time of their emigration the family included the two parents, three sons, and two daughters. With multiple members of the family safely employed and owning successful businesses, no obvious ties to non-conformist churches or ideals, and no tragedy or personal hardships obvious in their circumstances, their reasons for emigration are unclear. In any event, the Leaf family travelled with the first group of Albertland ships in May 1862, leaving behind one daughter who chose to remain in Beverly.

Albertlanders from Beyond England

A majority of the Albertlanders did come from England. However, there are numerous examples of those who came from the other nations within the United Kingdom, and their motives for emigrating with the Albertland scheme were just as diverse as those of their English counterparts. From Ireland came three groups of Albertlanders, all with no clear overlap in their composition, location, trade, or beliefs. The Bradley family came from Saintfield in County Down. Alexander Bradley, the patriarch of the family, was born in 1798, the same year Saintfield was burnt by British loyalist troops during the Irish rebellion. He was raised a Wesleyan and in 1823 married Susannah Moorhead, a Unitarian. He followed his fathers' profession as a small businessman, Alexander Snr was a grocer, merchant, and a postmaster. Alexander Jnr became a grocer and spirit dealer and is also listed in the post directories for County Down as running a hotel.¹¹⁸

Franklin Bradley, the fifth child of the family, took up study in Belfast, which led to advocacy work for the rights of tenancy-holders in his home village.¹¹⁹ Following his schooling in Belfast he became a preacher and undertook further study with the Presbytery of Bangor, where he was one of three students to study theology and Hebrew under Professor

¹¹⁵ Keith Giles, "Robert Leaf, Pioneer Auckland Photographer, 1842-1905," *New Zealand Memories*, no. 61 (2006): pp. 60-61.

¹¹⁶ "Go to the Old Photographic Establishment," *Beverley Guardian*, No. 79, 4 July 1857, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ *1861 England Census* [database on-line]. Series RG09; Piece: 3569; Enumeration District: 19; Page: 85; Image: 6, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

¹¹⁸ Ros Davies, "Surnames of Co. Down: Bradley & Variant Spellings," Ros Davies' Co. Down, Northern Ireland Family History Research Site, accessed 23.08.2021.

<https://freepages.rootsweb.com/~rosdavies/genealogy/SURNAMES/B/Bradley.htm>

¹¹⁹ "Tenant-Right Soiree in Boardmills," *Northern Whig*, No. 3488, 1 July 1852, p. 2.

Henry Montgomery.¹²⁰ Much of this study was not just devoted to effective teaching of the gospel but also to moral and ethical philosophy, which Professor Montgomery felt was lacking at many other colleges in Ireland.¹²¹ At the end of his study, Bradley was given licence to preach by the Remonstrant Presbytery of Bangor and was immediately dispatched to the town of Crediton, Devon, to serve as their Unitarian minister.¹²² He was described as an astute scholar and fastidious clergyman.¹²³ It was at Crediton he learned of a fellow Unitarian who had emigrated to New Zealand in 1859 and was sending favourable reports back to friends in the congregation.¹²⁴ His work in Crediton was so unreservedly praised that just four years later he was invited back to Bangor to serve as their clergyman, returning to his family with news of New Zealand. At his welcome to Bangor, it was reported that Bradley's former congregation at Crediton held him in high esteem, and he himself highlighted his adherence to principles of "the body, the sufficiency of Scripture, and the right of private judgement,"¹²⁵ which was met with applause.

However, it was not an easy beginning for Bradley in Bangor, as less than two months later Professor Montgomery called a special meeting of the Presbytery in Ulster. He stated that he believed Bradley was not an ordained minister, was given the congregation in Bangor in contradiction of the Presbytery's rules and should not be allowed Regium Donum.¹²⁶ Regium Donum was the royal grant given to Presbyterian ministers in Ireland by the British crown. Montgomery was the officer in charge of delivering the Presbytery's list of ordained ministers to the Crown and he had left Bradley's name off. Not wanting the young minister to be without pay, he called the meeting to debate the issue. Bradley agreed to the meeting but stated he would not allow any member of the meeting to catechise him—that right, he believed, was reserved for his congregation.¹²⁷ After deliberation it was agreed he was not ordained, but ordination was voted for before conclusion of the meeting.

Shortly after his official ordination Bradley and his family decided to emigrate to New Zealand. The congregation sent him an open letter in support of his move but expressing

¹²⁰ "Non-subscribing Presbyterian Association," *Londonderry Standard*, Vol. XIX, No. 33, 12 April 1855, p. 4.

¹²¹ "Return Made by the Rev. H. Montgomery, L.L.D." *Londonderry Standard*, Vol. XIX, No. 15, 7 December 1854, p. 1.

¹²² "Local Intelligence," *Banner of Ulster*, Vol. XIII, No. 1400, 22 February 1855, p. 2.
Belfast Mercury, Fifth Year, No. 952, 22 October 1855, p. 4.

¹²³ *Western Times*, Vol. XXX, No. 1505, 4 July 1857, p. 5.

¹²⁴ Wayne Facer, "Franklin Bradley," *Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography* published 11.15.2006, accessed 23.08.2021. Bradley, Franklin - Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography (uudb.org)

¹²⁵ *Belfast Morning News*, Vol. V, No. 784, 31 December 1859, p. 2.

¹²⁶ *Northern Whig*, No. 5005, 29 February 1860, p. 3.

¹²⁷ *Banner of Ulster*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2186, 1 March 1860, p. 1.

their sadness at his departure. They began with the missive “that a prophet has no honour in his own country”¹²⁸ and that his travels may grant him “a richer spiritual harvest... for diffusing the blessings of pure and undefiled religion in New Zealand.”¹²⁹ The Bradley family, totalling 12, then travelled to London and boarded the ship *Gertrude*, which departed Britain in November 1862. Alexander Bradley was a successful businessman and Franklin a well-respected clergyman. Their adherence to the belief that people may worship as their conscience deemed fit, free of ecclesiastical administration or interference, encouraged them to emigrate more than any economic motive.¹³⁰

The Dickey family were another Irish family amongst the Albertlanders and came from County Antrim in the north of Ireland. They were concentrated in the small hamlet of Grange. They were a large family consisting of parents Samuel and Nancy and their ten children and the second and third sons, John and Samuel Jnr, were recorded as passengers on the Albertlander ship *Annie Wilson*. There is little information on the brothers other than that they were agricultural labourers, which was typical for their small hamlet, and that they were Baptists. Grange Baptist Church was one of the oldest Baptist churches in Ireland and the hamlet had been a bastion of Protestant thinking since the church’s founding in 1811.¹³¹ Another man from Grange, David John Small, also travelled with the brothers. Their reason for joining the Albertland scheme is not entirely clear although it is likely the scheme represented an opportunity for economic advancement. Moreover, as non-conformists, they may have favoured the scheme over other non-religious schemes. They formed the first link in a chain of emigration, as a year after the Dickey brothers arrived in New Zealand the rest of the family followed on the non-Albertland ship, *Empress*.¹³²

The final Irish family to take part in the Albertland scheme was unique: the only family to have emigrated from Tipperary, in southern Ireland, and one of only three families known to have already emigrated and returned to Britain before joining the scheme. James Phelan was born in the small rural village of Cloughjordan in 1822. There is little information on his early life, but in 1851 he emigrated to New South Wales, Australia, as an assisted

¹²⁸ “Address to the Rev. Franklin Bradley,” *Northern Whig*, No. 5806, 24 October 1862, p. 2.

¹²⁹ “Address to the Rev. Franklin Bradley,” *Northern Whig*, No. 5806, 24 October 1862, p. 2.

¹³⁰ “The Presbytery of Antrim,” *Northern Whig*, No. 5793, 9 October 1862, p. 3.

¹³¹ Norman Wilson, “The History of Grange Baptist Church.” Lecture, Irish Baptist College, Moira, Northern Ireland, UK. 15 May 2012, accessed 25.08.2021. <https://www.irishbaptistcollege.org/ibhs/lecture-archive/the-history-of-grange-baptist-church/>

¹³² “Shipping Intelligence,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume II, Issue 469, 15 May 1865, p. 4.

migrant on board the *St. Vincent*.¹³³ The shipping log notes him as an agricultural labourer, a Catholic, and that he could read and write. This appears to have been the same as most of the migrants aboard this ship, though many were also adherents of the Anglican or Scottish churches.¹³⁴

It is unclear where Phelan settled in his first years in Australia, but he appears on the 1856 Victorian State electoral roll in Long Gully, Bendigo. His occupation here was recorded as gold miner. His emigration in 1851 coincides with the beginning of the Australian gold rushes, and Bendigo was one of Victoria's main gold mining boom towns. In the same year he married Julia Barry, a fellow immigrant from Tipperary. The couple remained in Bendigo and had three children while James worked in the goldfields.¹³⁵ By the end of the decade, the Victorian goldrushes were beginning to stall and the family left Australia. They returned to Cloughjordan for a brief time—the birth of their fourth child, Julia, was registered in the nearby town of Borrisokane in May 1864.¹³⁶ Three months later they emigrated to New Zealand aboard the *Nimroud*. Having previously emigrated to Australia, a long sea voyage probably did not seem as frightening to them as to other Albertlander families. As a Catholic family, presumably the religious nature of the scheme did not appeal to them. However, the Albertland scheme and its promise of a land grant, which was not promised in the Australian migration scheme, was most likely the easiest way to migrate back to the South Pacific and settle permanently.

While most of the Albertlanders seem to have remained in Britain until emigrating, the Smith family proved to be tremendously mobile. Richard Christie Smith was born in Auchtermuchty in the county of Fife, Scotland, in 1820 and during his childhood moved with his family throughout the Scottish Lowlands. After an apprenticeship, Richard crossed the

¹³³ "Shipping Intelligence," *Sydney Morning Herald*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4350, 15 Dec 1851, p. 2.

¹³⁴ Image of Assisted Migrants Shipping Lists, Shipping Lists Collection, NSW State Archives and Records, NSW Australia, Reel 2136, [4/4790] pp. 116-124, p. 9, accessed 24.08.2021. https://indexes.records.nsw.gov.au/ebook/list.aspx?Page=NRS5316/4_4790/St%20Vincent_15%20Dec%201851/4_479000124.jpg&No=10

"Immigrants Per St. Vincent," *New South Wales Government Gazette (Sydney, NSW: 1832-1900)*, Issue 140, 15 Dec 1851, p. 2060.

¹³⁵ "Marriage Certificate," Births, Deaths and Marriages Victoria, Reg. Number 2567/1856. Accessed 05.05.2024. <https://my.rio.bdm.vic.gov.au/efamily-history/5e1d13b55dd90523336e11d4/record/5c6552f44aba80ac311d7b42?q=efamily&givenName=Julia&familyName=BARRY>

¹³⁶ "Ireland Civil Registration Indexes, 1845-1958," Births entry for PHELAN, Julia. Borrisokane, 1864, vol. 8, p. 489, General Registry, Micro 101,041, Microfilm Collection, Custom House, Dublin, Ireland.

Firth of Forth and worked as a cabinet maker in Edinburgh.¹³⁷ At the age of 27 he returned to the north and married Catherine McLaren from the village of Dollar in nearby Clackmannanshire. Catherine's father was a parish schoolmaster. Unlike other Albertlander families, the newlywed couple did not settle down in a nearby village but emigrated to the township of Bosanquet on Lake Huron, Canada. Here Richard pursued a career as a timber miller with some success.¹³⁸

Their first years in Canada were marked with sadness: their first two children, a daughter and son, did not survive long after birth. Five children in total were born in the next decade. It is unclear what spurred the family to leave Canada, but whatever the reason it was worth the risk to Catherine's health as she was pregnant with their sixth child when they departed. Their descendants have theorised that the harsh Canadian winters were unbearable for Catherine, and they decided to emigrate immediately from London with the Albertland scheme rather than return to Scotland. The Albertland Association had a rule that all intending settlers had to walk up the ship's gangplank unaided (Figure 15). Catherine's determination to leave aboard the *Hanover* was extreme enough that four days after the birth of her son she was taken to the gangplank by hansom cab, boarded the ship unaided with her son in her arms, and immediately had to be helped by other passengers to the family's lodgings.¹³⁹ The Smith family were determined to emigrate and, while their religious leanings are unknown, the opportunity to emigrate immediately on their return to England from Canada was a driving factor for their joining the Albertland scheme.

¹³⁷ Mervyn D. Sterling and Jason McL. Smith, *Recollections on the Smith Family of Matakohē* (Auckland: The Albertland Press, 1996), p. 8.

¹³⁸ Sterling and Smith, *Recollections*, p. 8.

¹³⁹ Sterling and Smith, *Recollections*, p. 8.

SPECIAL SETTLEMENT OF NONCONFORMISTS AND OTHERS.

SHAW, SAVILL & Co., 34, LEADENHALL STREET.

No. 238 **PASSENGERS' CONTRACT TICKET.**

1.—A Contract Ticket in this form must be given to every Passenger engaging a Passage from the United Kingdom to any place out of Europe, and not being within the Metropolitan Area.

2.—The Virtualising Scale for the voyage must be printed in the body of the Ticket.

3.—All the Details must be correctly filled in, and the Ticket must be legibly signed with the Christian names and surname and address in full of the party issuing the same.

4.—The day of the month on which the ship is to sail must be inserted in words and not in figures.

5.—When once issued, this Ticket must not be withdrawn from the Passenger, nor any alteration, addition, or erasure made in it.

Ship *Hanover* of *Mt 5* Tons Register, to take in
 Passengers at *Louisa* for *Richland*
 on the *Twenty-ninth* day of *May* 1862

I engage that the person named in the margin hereof shall be provided with a *Second Cabin* Passage to, and shall be Landed at, the Port of *Richland* in *Prusland* in the Ship *Hanover* with not less than *Twenty* *
 Cable Feet for Luggage for each Statute Adult, and shall be situated in *the forenoon* of the day of departure at any place before the departure, according to the subjoined Scale, for the sum of £ *15*—, including Government *dues* before embarkation, and land money, if any, at the place of landing, and every other charge except Freight for excess of Luggage beyond the quantity above specified, and I hereby acknowledge to have received the sum of £ *15*— in *part* payment.

NAME	AGE	Sex	Class
<i>Watson</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Grace</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>William</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>

The following quantities, at least, of Water and Provisions (to be issued daily) will be supplied by the Master of the Ship, as required by Law, viz., to each Statute Adult Three Quarters of Water daily, on leave of what is necessary for cooking the articles required by the Passenger Act, to be issued in the cooked state, and a Weekly Allowance of Provisions according to the following Scale:—

Scale of Diet for each Adult Passenger per Week.

ARTICLES	Second Cabin	Third Cabin or Intermediate	ARTICLES	Second Cabin	Third Cabin or Intermediate
Preserved Meat	2 lb.	1 lb.	Tea	2 oz.	1 lb. oz.
Butter	1 lb.	1 lb.	Coffee	2 oz.	2 oz.
York Ham	1 lb.	1 lb.	Butter	1 lb.	1 lb.
Potatoes	1 lb.	1 lb.	Macaroni	1 lb.	1 lb.
Salt Beef	1 lb.	1 lb.	Cherries	1 lb.	1 lb.
Salt Pork	1 lb.	1 lb.	Corned Beef	1 lb.	1 lb.
Beef	2 lb.	2 lb.	Stomach, Vegetables	1 lb.	1 lb.
Pork	2 lb.	2 lb.	Stout	6 oz.	4 oz.
Rice	1 lb.	1 lb.	Pickles	1 pint	1 pint
Barley	1 lb.	1 lb.	Mustard	1 oz.	1 oz.
Peas	1 lb.	1 lb.	Pepper	2 oz.	2 oz.
Sugar	6 oz.	4 oz.	Potatoes, fresh, or	2 lb.	2 lb.
Lard	4 oz.	4 oz.	Preserved Citrus	1 lb.	1 lb.
Onions	4 oz.	4 oz.	Water	21 quarts	21 quarts
Lard	4 oz.	4 oz.			

Substitutions, at the following rates, may, at the option of the Master, be made in the above Dieting Scale:—

1 lb. of Preserved Meat = 1 lb. of Salt Pork or Beef.
 1 lb. of Potatoes = 1 lb. of Onions or 1 lb. of Turnips.
 1 lb. of Preserved Potatoes = 1 lb. of Potatoes, or vice versa.
 1 lb. of Onions = 1 lb. of Potatoes.
 1 lb. of Onions or Coffee, Raisins and Citrus = 1 lb. of Tea.
 1 lb. of Potatoes = 1 lb. of Sugar.
 1 lb. of Mixed Pickles = 1 lb. of Vinegar.

Signature in full *Robert Smith*
 34, LEADENHALL STREET,
 LONDON, *21 May* 1862

Deposit £ *15*—
 Balance £ *15*—
 Total £ *30*—

21 May 1862
Shaw, Savill & Co.

NOTICES TO PASSENGERS.

1.—If Passengers, through default of their own, are not received on board on the day named in their Contract Tickets, or fail to obtain a passage in the Ship, they should apply to the Government Emigration Office at the Port, who will assist them in obtaining returns under the Passenger Act.

2.—Passengers should carefully keep this part of their Contract Ticket till after the end of the voyage. If lost, no second Ticket will be issued.

3.—If Passengers are not maintained on board after the above named day, they will be paid *Reimbursement* *Money* after the rate of 1s. 6d. per day for each Statute Adult.

* SHAW, SAVILL & Co. will not undertake to lend more than the above quantity of Luggage.

† All charges on board the vessel between embarkation and disembarkation.

‡ It is understood that this Deposit will be absolutely forfeited in case the parties named herein fail to embark in a fit state of health for the voyage, at the above-named place and date.

Figure 15: A ticket for the ship Hanover, issued to the Watson family. The "Notices to Passengers" at the bottom of the page clearly sets out the expectation of Shaw, Savill, and Co. that passengers be healthy enough to board the ship unaided. If not, then they would be denied boarding and forfeit any monies paid. *Watson Family Ticket*, "Land & Shipping," Our Story, Albertland Museum, accessed 12.07.2024. <https://albertlandmuseum.co.nz/our-story/>

Albertlanders with Military Careers

Unlike Albertlanders who had trades or owned businesses, three Albertlanders pursued military careers that sent them far beyond the boundaries of their home counties. Each had a unique experience in the military and differing origins in Britain. Thomas Frederick Gooch was part of a well-established family of Norwich, Norfolk (Figure 16). His father, Noah Gooch, an electoral liberal, was a brewer and publican operating out of an establishment called "The Malt and Hop Tavern."¹⁴⁰ For 20 years the family resided in these premises in an adjoining home that was rented at a cost of £19 19s annually.¹⁴¹

Noah Gooch married Charlotte Sarah Ninham, the Ninham family being another well-established family in Norwich. Charlotte's grandfather and uncle were well-known Norwich

¹⁴⁰ "The Poll of the City of Norwich Election," *Norfolk News*, No. 395, 24 July 1852, p. 4.

¹⁴¹ *Norfolk Chronicle*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 3864, 10 August 1844, p. 1.

School artists, John and Henry Ninham, who between them made the most comprehensive record of Norwich's architectural heritage before the advent of photography.¹⁴² Noah and Sarah's son Thomas Frederick was born on 7 July 1829. The artistic interests of his mothers' family seem to have been passed to him—he became a student of the organist and choir master of Norwich Cathedral, Zechariah Buck.¹⁴³ Thomas was eventually appointed as organist at St Mary's Church in Ware, Hertfordshire, where he remained for several years, and the 1851 census lists him as a Professor of Music in Ware.¹⁴⁴

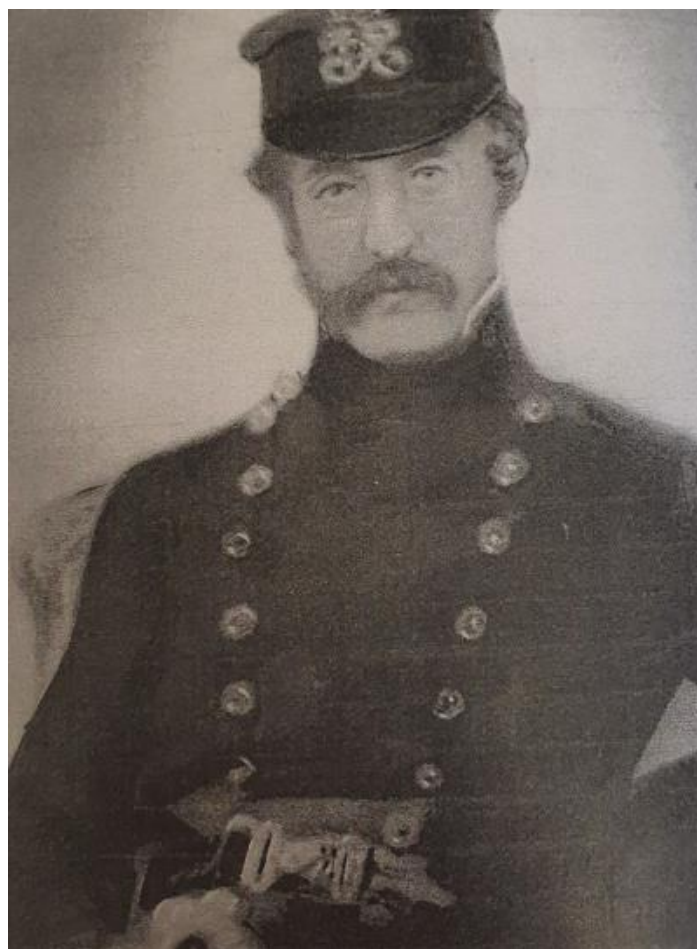


Figure 16: Capt. Thomas Frederick Gooch in uniform. Taken before his emigration with the Albertlanders, the image is typical of one taken of a career soldier. Photograph, *Thomas Frederick Gooch*, File F-P, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Around this time Frederick met his future wife, Anna Reynolds. Her father, John Preston Reynolds, was an Anglican minister ordained at Norwich Cathedral in 1818 after spending a year serving as the cathedral's deacon. The family moved to Necton, 20 miles

¹⁴² Andrew Hemingway, *The Norwich School of Painters, 1803-33* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979), pp. 9, 79.

¹⁴³ John C. N. Gooch, *The Gooches of Timaru* (Wyoming, NSW: John Gooch, 2008), p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Gooch, *The Gooches of Timaru*, p. 2.

from Norwich, when Rev. Reynolds was appointed to the church there in 1851.¹⁴⁵ Thomas Frederick Gooch had been appointed organist of the church in Necton only a year earlier, meaning he performed this role at numerous churches concurrently. The organ of the church in Necton had just been installed, and at the premier concert for the instrument Gooch played Mozart's *Mass No. 12*. This was met with considerable success; it was stated that his performance was "well calculated to exhibit the qualities of this highly finished and beautiful instrument."¹⁴⁶ A year later Thomas Gooch and Anna Reynolds were married in St John's Anglican Church, Norwich.¹⁴⁷

A family history notes that to appear more suitable to Anna's family, Thomas may have sought out an officer's commission in the army. However, this is unlikely as he did not take up military service until four years later.¹⁴⁸ The married couple moved back to Ware in Hertfordshire and their first child, Anna Fanny, was born there in 1852.¹⁴⁹ On 23 January 1856, Thomas joined the Land Transport Corps as a captain, and the family moved to the army camp at Aldershot where another child was born in 1857.¹⁵⁰ Thomas served in the British interventions in China from early 1860 to mid-1861; although his unit were supposed to be non-combatants, he took part in the attack on the Taku Forts in 1860 and was awarded the Second China War Medal.¹⁵¹ Soon after his return to Britain, the family joined the Albertland scheme. It is unlikely Gooch was ordered to serve in the New Zealand Wars as there were separate transports for the troops serving there. The family set sail aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach* in 1862. As an Anglican, the religious aspect of the scheme would not have influenced Gooch to join, but whether the prospect of owning land was his motive is also uncertain.

Another soldier, Edward C. Antrobus, represented the upper echelons of Victorian society. His father was Gibbs Crawford Antrobus, younger brother of Sir Edmund Antrobus, 2nd Baronet Antrobus, and the brothers were raised at the family's seat of Eaton Hall, Congleton (Figure 17). Gibbs Crawford's father John Antrobus was in a coma at the time of his birth and died shortly after, and his mother Anne died during childbirth. The two brothers

¹⁴⁵ Rev. John Preston Reynolds [database on-line]. Find A Grave Memorial ID: 176843696, accessed 08.12.2023. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/176843696/john-preston-reynolds>

¹⁴⁶ "Local Intelligence," *Norfolk News*, No. 280, 11 May 1850, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ "Marriages," *Norfolk News*, No. 369, 31 January 1852, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ Gooch, *The Gooches of Timaru*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ *Norfolk News*, No. 413, 20 November 1852, p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ *Norfolk News*, No. 630, 17 January 1857, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ Gooch, *The Gooches of Timaru*, p. 3.

were raised by various family members, and both received an education at Eton College.¹⁵² Gibbs Crawford went on to a career in the diplomatic service, allegedly being present at the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and serving as Secretary of Legation to the United States and then later Sardinia. He returned to Britain in 1821 and was elected to Parliament under the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle. He represented the rotten borough of Aldborough until 1826 and then the rotten borough of Plympton Erle until the Reform Act of 1832 abolished both seats.¹⁵³ His voting record shows he was staunchly conservative, and he voted against any religious freedom or emancipation for non-conformists and Catholics.¹⁵⁴



Figure 17: Eaton Hall, seat of the Antrobus family. The size and majesty of this stately home attests to the diversity of circumstances the Albertlanders came from. Some came from humble origins and others from wealthy and politically influential families. Photograph, *Eaton Hall, Eaton-by-Congleton: Entrance Front*, "Eaton Hall, Congleton, Cheshire," 23 November 2022, accessed 10.07.2024. <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2015/01/153-antrobus-of-amesbury-abbey-lower.html>

Gibbs Crawford's son, Edward C. Antrobus, was born in early 1835 at Eaton Hall, Congleton.¹⁵⁵ Like his father and uncle, Edward was educated at Eton College before entering military service in 1852 with an officer's commission. This was common for the sons of landed gentry who did not expect to inherit their family's estates. His first ensign posting was in Crimea at the early stages of the War, initially in the 84th Foot Regiment and

¹⁵² Nick Kingsley, "Antrobus of Amesbury Abbey, Lower Cheam House and Eaton Hall, baronets," *Landed Families of Britain and Ireland*, accessed 20.08.21.

<https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2015/01/153-antrobus-of-amesbury-abbey-lower.html>

¹⁵³ Martin Casey, "Antrobus, Gibbs Crawford (1793-1861). Of Eaton Hall," *The History of Parliament; British Political, Social & Local History*, 2009, accessed 20.08.2021.

http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/antrobus-gibbs-1793-1861#footnoteref5_8s5r0bj

¹⁵⁴ Casey, "Antrobus, Gibbs Crawford," accessed 20.08.2021.

http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/antrobus-gibbs-1793-1861#footnoteref5_8s5r0bj

¹⁵⁵ *The London Gazette*, Issue 19134, 7 March 1834, p. 403.

then later in the 50th Foot Regiment.¹⁵⁶ By 1854 Edward was promoted to captain in the 50th Regiment, serving with them for the rest of the Crimean campaign.¹⁵⁷ After the war's conclusion he continued his military service and took part in other campaigns until his departure with the Albertland scheme. His final campaign was in Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, where he commanded a company of the 50th Foot Regiment before resigning on 16 May 1862.¹⁵⁸ It is not clear if he was still in Ceylon when he resigned; however, it is most likely he had already returned to Britain as he was amongst the first Albertlanders to depart, leaving Britain on board the *Gertrude* in November 1862. It is certain that Antrobus was not emigrating to New Zealand with the intention of being a soldier as he had already resigned his commission. His motive for joining the scheme may have been economic as he was not likely to inherit the family's estate, though it is difficult to discern.

The final soldier amongst the Albertlanders was Oliver Heywood who, unlike Antrobus, represented a humbler aspect of Victorian life before he joined the military. From Blackley, near Manchester, the family name of Heywood possibly harkened back to the nearby town of Heywood, a small farming hamlet known for its weaving.¹⁵⁹ Blackley itself was known as a weaver's town, and this is reflected in the Heywood family. Oliver's father, Lambert Heywood, was recorded in the 1841 census as a labourer, the first in his family to leave the weaving industry.¹⁶⁰ Lambert's father, John Heywood, was an avid reader, having developed a love of books at Sunday School. He converted to Wesleyanism in his youth and was an active preacher in Blackley. It was owing to John Heywood that the family earned a reputation of being well educated, even though most never received a formal education, and had a collection of over five hundred books by the time they emigrated, more than both local Mechanics Institutes combined.¹⁶¹

It is uncertain when and why Oliver Heywood joined the military, but a newspaper article from his later life recorded that he had served during the Crimean War and had done so on the Baltic, Crimean, and Turkish fronts. This means he served for the entirety of the

¹⁵⁶ *The London Gazette*, Issue 21383, 23 Nov 1852, p. 3151.

The London Gazette, Issue 21400, 7 January 1853, p. 32.

¹⁵⁷ *New Zealander*, Volume XXI, Issue 2206, 25 August 1864, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ *The London Gazette*, Issue 22626, 16 May 1862, p. 2550.

¹⁵⁹ "History of Blackley, in Manchester and Lancashire, Map and description," in *A Vision of Britain through Time*, University of Portsmouth, accessed 21.08.2021. <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/21252>

¹⁶⁰ *1841 England Census* [database on-line]. Series *HO107*; Piece: *0579*; Enumeration District: *5*; Page: *3/45*; Image: *2*, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

¹⁶¹ Extract from *The History of Blackley* by Philip Wentworth, 1892 quoted in A. M. Lomas, *Oliver and Margaret Heywood* (Auckland: A. M. Lomas, 1982), p. 32.

war.¹⁶² He does not seem to have remained overseas for long after the war, as he returned to Lancashire and married Margaret Unsworth in November 1857.¹⁶³ Both of Margaret's parents and at least two of her older sisters were silk weavers, which was not unusual for the area.¹⁶⁴ By 1861 almost all of Oliver's siblings resided on the same street, although they had all relocated to the nearby village of Harpurhey. Lambert Heywood, Oliver's father, died in 1859 and his mother, Sally Heywood, moved in with her daughter Sarah. Oliver's decision to uproot his family and join the Albertland scheme may have been due to his sister Sarah, as she and her new husband, William Ward, joined the Albertland scheme early and emigrated on board the *Hanover* in 1862. Having family already in the colony may have made the move easier for the Heywood family. It is also unlikely that they knew of the difficulties the initial party of settlers were undergoing—William Ward was pressganged into the Waikato militia upon arrival, so his wife Sarah and their children had remained in Auckland.¹⁶⁵ The Heywood family departed Britain in 1864, two years after Sarah and her family.

Conclusion

The assertion that the Albertlanders were a group of non-conformist farm labourers from the English Midlands does disservice to the complexity of the group. While Brett admits that some "Episcopalians and non-churchmen were freely found among the 'Non-cons.'"¹⁶⁶ he offers no insight into their origins or their motives for joining the scheme; he simply remarks that they were all united in their enthusiasm. The leaders of the Albertland Association had religious zeal: and while they may have had supplementary motives for joining the scheme, they were united by their dissenting religious views. However, the religious motivations of the leaders have been conflated with the motives of the prospective settlers, thus making it appear that the promise of religious freedom was the predominant reason for the settlers emigrating.

The diversity of the settlers is overshadowed by their tendency to view themselves as part of marginalised religious groups in their various places of origin. Discerning why the

¹⁶² "Veterans of Old," *Auckland Star*, Volume XLIX, Issue 57, 23 February 1918, p. 16.

¹⁶³ A. M. Lomas, *Oliver and Margaret Heywood* (Auckland: A. M. Lomas, 1982), p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ 1841 England Census [database on-line]. Series HO107; Piece: 0513; Enumeration District: 7; Page: 6/31; Image: 12, myheritage.com, accessed 08.12.2023.

¹⁶⁵ W. Glenda Parsons, *The Albertlander Wards: A Family History, England and New Zealand* (Manurewa, N. Z.: W. G. Parsons, 2001), p. 1.

¹⁶⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 16.

settlers chose to emigrate with the scheme is only possible when their unique origins, environments, circumstances, and belief systems are considered. Many chose to emigrate due to the economic benefits they could receive. Stories passed through generations, such as that of Thomas and Louisa Maddox meeting John Wesley, show that some did not require an economic incentive; rather, their religious affiliations aligned with the scheme's religious foundation. Others suffered deep personal tragedies that required drastic action to overcome, while others aspired to positions of leadership in a new community. There were also those who merely emigrated because their family planned to do so or already had. However, none of these factors were mutually exclusive. While there are many settlers who are still unidentified, there is no reason to assume their motives were vastly different to the settlers identified and discussed. The stories collected by the descendants of the Albertlanders are imperative to understanding their origins and motives, as they display a human element rather than highlighting pure data. Overall, the stories present settlers who saw themselves progressing, personally, economically, or religiously.

Chapter Three: The Voyage Out

Extensive sea voyages, where prospective settlers spent months together in the cramped confines of a ship, offer historians an opportunity to discern which aspects of their past these settlers considered maintaining, adapting, or abandoning. These behaviours can also show what expectations they had of how their community would be directed and the laws that would govern them. The leaders' efforts to manage these expectations and their efforts to create cohesion among the prospective settlers also become apparent. Perhaps most importantly, historians can use the journey to observe the way the settlers began to relate to each other in an isolated environment and how these relationships were affected by different demographics such as age, gender, religious belief, and marital status. This is without the interference of external factors such as a settlement's physical location or the involvement of external parties. The journey of settlers to a new land provides an opportunity for historians to examine whether the social cohesion, or lack thereof, that developed amongst settlers was temporary or permanent.

Demographics and Sources

The Albertland Association faced the daunting task of how to transport their prospective settlers to New Zealand. They established various sub-committees with the tasks of hiring ships, securing funding to equip the ships with extra amenities, and arranging a farewell demonstration. The Association's leaders saw to the inspection of potential vessels themselves and eventually decided upon the ships *Matilda Wattenbach* and *Hanover*. A contract was signed with the owners, Shaw, Savill, and Co., to provide these vessels for the first contingent of settlers and then others for later contingents. However, these later vessels were not chosen or inspected by the Association's leaders, as they had departed on board the first ships.¹

The settlers were expected to make their own way to London, although a railway sub-committee organised special train services from towns that had large groups of settlers in the week preceding departure. These train services were also open to friends or family who wished to travel to London with their loved ones and witness the departure.² The Nottingham

¹ Borrow, *Albertland*, pp. 30-31.

² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 23.

contingent of settlers travelled together on one such service after a farewell ceremony in the city, where they were presented with a silk banner (Figure 18). Upon arrival in London the settlers were expected to find their own accommodation until the ships were ready, as no emigration barracks had been organised. Many stayed with family or friends, others found places in lodges and inns.³ Train services were organised to transport the settlers from Central London to the East India Docks, and a space was also secured on board the ships for a select few non-settlers to remain with their families until Gravesend, the final departure point from Britain.



Figure 18: Nottingham Banner Presented to the Nottingham Party of Albertlanders at their departure for London. Lace from Nottingham and embossed with the City Coat of Arms, flown from the Matilda Wattenbach. Photograph, *Albertland Banner*, 2015, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

With the assignment of transporting the settlers well in hand, the Association was free to turn to issues concerning the sense of community they hoped to inspire. At the Shaftesbury Hall meeting of intending settlers, numerous resolutions were passed about the future governance and social organisation of the settlement, resource sharing and cooperation between settlers, and how they might build a communication network throughout the settlement. These resolutions led to thoughts of how the voyage and time spent on board the ships could be used to build a sense of community amongst the intending settlers.⁴ The

³ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 31.

⁴ Shepherd, *The Albertland Christian Colonisation Movement*, p. 26.

committee decided that to do this and ensure an orderly passage, a sub-committee for each ship should be established. These sub-committees were tasked with supervising the settlers on their respective vessels and acting as liaison between them and the captain. It was thought that with these governing bodies on board it would be easier for the settlers to build relationships with each other. Through these relationships they could arrange schooling, entertainment and recreational activities, and see to the social, mental, and religious needs of their fledgling community.⁵

The Albertlanders made their way to New Zealand aboard 14 ships. The first six had been organised for the exclusive use of the scheme and carried most of the settlers, while the following eight vessels carried a mixture of Albertland and non-Albertland emigrants. The first six ships arrived in Auckland in quick succession, with the initial three—the *Matilda Wattenbach*, *Hanover*, and *William Miles*—arriving between September and November 1862.⁶ The *Gertrude* arrived in February 1863, and the final two ships—the *Tyburnia* and the *Annie Wilson*—arrived in September of that year.⁷ The eight remaining ships arrived sporadically over the following two years, with the final Albertlander travelling aboard the *Andrew Jackson* reaching Auckland in August 1865.⁸

As the study group for this research is roughly a third of the known Albertlanders, 1,021 settlers, not all the passengers on board the initial six Albertlander ships have been identified (see Table 2). On board the first six ships, between a third to a half of the passengers are in the study group. On the *Matilda Wattenbach* 164 of the 366 passengers, *Hanover* 123 of 313, *William Miles* 238 of 373, *Gertrude* 212 of 370, *Tyburnia* 68 of 102, and 157 of 330 on board the *Annie Wilson*. However, on board the later ships, where Albertlanders are interspersed with others—such as the *John Duncan* and *Victory*—far fewer have been identified. On the *Victory*, 80 of the 272 passengers were supposedly Albertlanders and of those only five have been identified. Three of these ships had either one family or a single Albertlander who has been identified. To discuss how the Albertlanders reacted to the voyages, and their attempts at building a sense of community on board, differences in demographics aboard each ship's identified settlers must be noted and each ship analysed separately to avoid generalising the behaviour and experiences of the settlers.

⁵ Shepherd, *The Albertland Christian Colonisation Movement*, p. 37.

⁶ "Arrival of the 'Matilda Wattenbach'," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1602, 9 September 1862, p. 3.

⁷ *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 5, 1 October 1863, p. 4.

⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume II, Issue 557, 25 August 1865, p. 4.

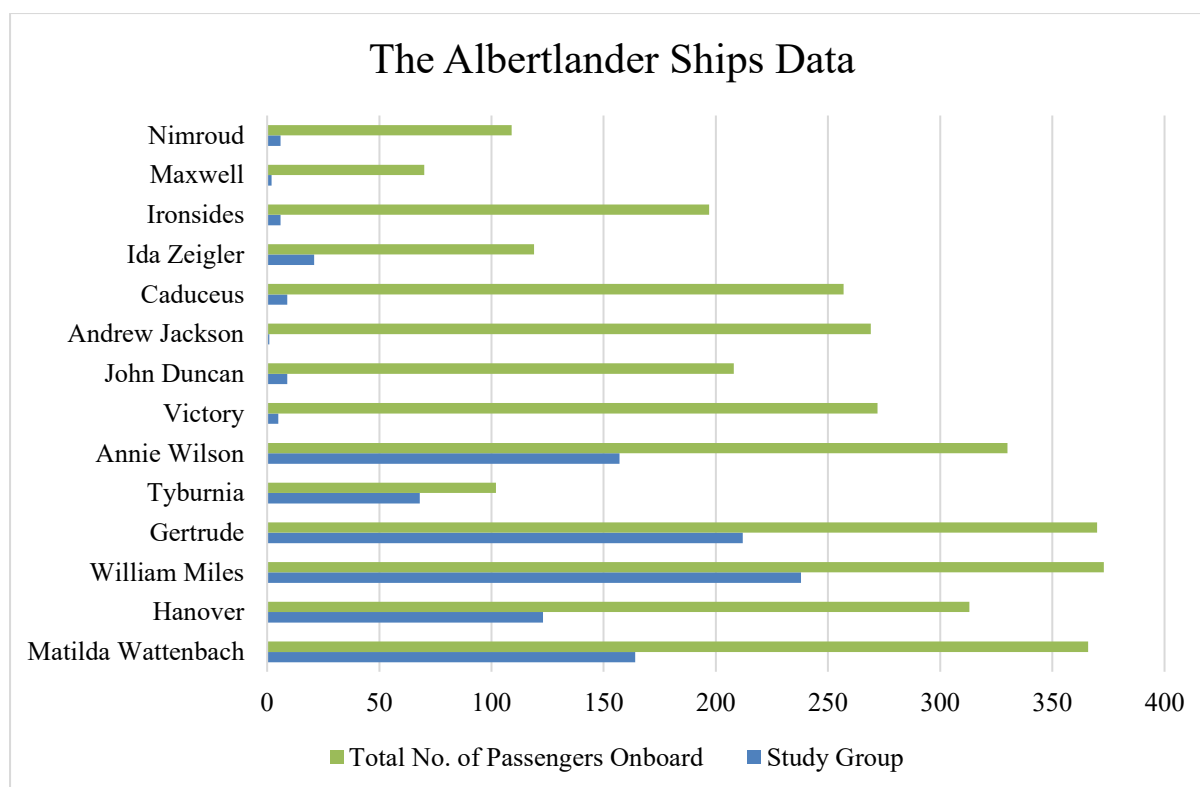


Table 2: Above graph shows the number of Passengers aboard the ships used by Albertlanders and the number of Passengers used in the Study Group. It is important to note that many of these ships carried passengers who were not Albertlanders and therefore were not eligible to be included in the Study Group.

Most of the sources related to the voyages of the Albertlander ships are diaries of passengers, either as original documents or quoted in other sources, although the *Albertland Gazette* also reported extensively on the events aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach*. Three of the diaries used are original documents held by various libraries and archives, while individual diary entries have also been accessed from secondary sources, most prominently from Brett's *The Albertlanders*.⁹ The ages of the diarists during the voyage are diverse, with the eldest being over 50 years old and the youngest, Henry Brett, only 19. William and Jane Howard, Samuel Edger, Edwin Stanley Brookes, and Charles Hames all travelled within family groups, so their diaries can offer insight into the lives and relationships of families during the voyages. Alternatively, the diaries of Edmund Archer and Henry Brett offer the view of young unmarried men who travelled alone. These diaries were primarily written by men; the only exception is the Howard diary, which was written jointly by William and Jane Howard.

⁹ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection; "Letters of Mr Edger after his departure for New Zealand: voyage notes' June- 6 September 1862 and letters Oruawharo 24 November 1862- 20 September 1863," 1862-1863, B 1507, Record Number 92eVr33Y, Reference 932331, Manuscripts Collection, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. (Hereafter cited as "Letters of Mr Edger," Manuscripts Collection, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.) (Edger's surname rendered as 'Edgar' in catalogue entry); Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection; Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*.

Therefore, the presentation of the voyage in these diaries is from a male-centric position, but there are still entries that illuminate the place women made for themselves whilst aboard the ships.

Where the diaries have been located can also reveal the intentions of the authors and editors. Using diaries that have been quoted in other sources presents the danger that they have been edited; for example, entries that do not fit the source's desired narrative will have been omitted. Brett especially desired to portray the Albertlanders as intrepid settlers so may have omitted much from the diaries and recollections he collected for his work. *The Albertlanders* was also written as a history of the first 60 years of the settlement; thus the voyage of the settlers is not discussed in as much detail as other early events.¹⁰ Recollections are a similar source to diary entries—they are written by the person directly involved in events but at a later point in their life, usually as a single document or as part of a memoir. The recollections written by Albertlanders may provide a more balanced gender view as they are commonly written for family histories, traditionally a female dominated medium. However, they can have omissions if the author of the family history includes only part of the recollection. Whether the recollection of events is correct is also cause of concern, considering that the passage of time may have altered the author's memory and some information may be incorrect.¹¹

A Journey of Expectations

“To the boom of cannon, the sound of cheers, with flags flying and a band playing, the first of the Albertland settlers left the East India Docks in May 1862, full of hope and enthusiasm for the wonderful home they had pictured on the other side of the world.”¹² (Figure 19). This was written by Henry Brett 60 years after the Albertlanders left Britain. The sentiments were echoed by Marion Edger, daughter of the scheme's official Minister Samuel Edger and was just 12 years old when she and her family emigrated. She recalled that, upon departure of the first two Albertlander ships in London, the passengers cheered loudly because they believed their destination, New Zealand, to be a “Paradise or a fairyland – an illusion that was rudely

¹⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*.

¹¹ Recollections of the Early Pioneering Days by Luther Hames, MS-1991-48, 91/48, Documentary Heritage Collection, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library (Hereafter cited as Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection); Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*; Soar, *Quarantined on Arrival*.

¹² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 10.

dispelled.”¹³ Despite the pomp and circumstance, it was not an easy step to take for many of the families; while emigration from Europe to colonies across the globe had steadily increased by the 1860s, extended sea voyages were still fraught with danger. The weather could turn, causing ships to be lost and people to be washed overboard, fires could break out, and diseases could run rife in the cramped quarters of the passengers.

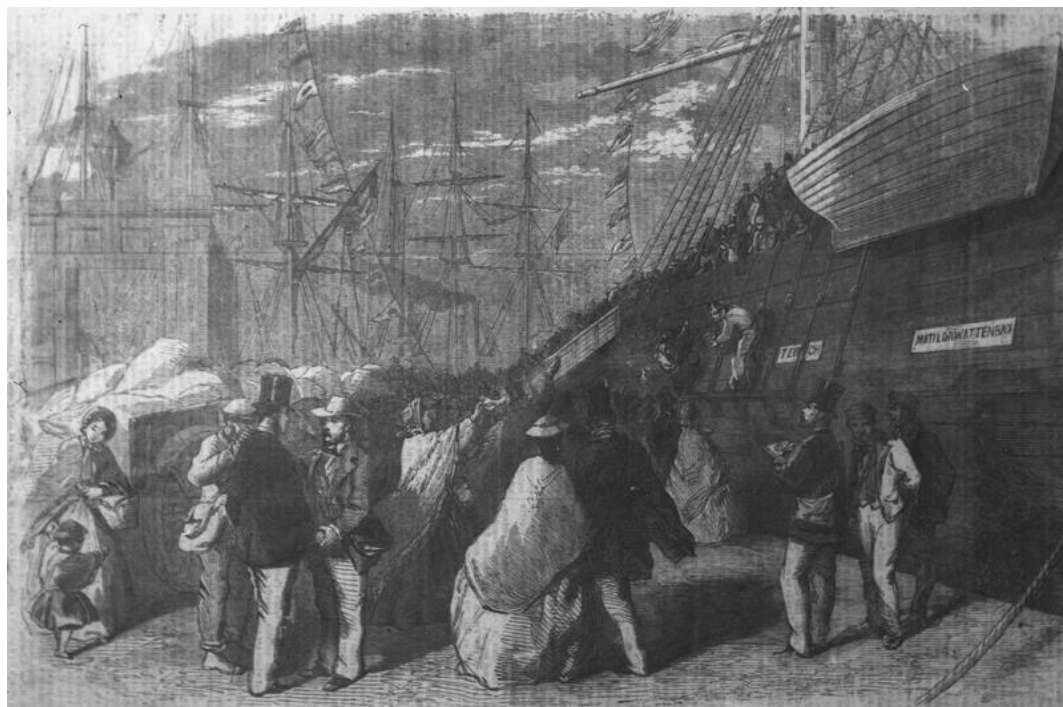


Figure 19: This image gives some notion of the bustle, chaos, and trepidation of the Albertlanders as they embarked on the three-month journey from Britain to New Zealand. Photograph, *Departure of the Matilda Wattenbach*, “Voyage to NZ,” accessed 06.07.2024. albertlandmuseum.co.nz

The initial enthusiasm of the settlers did not last long, and the directors of the Albertland Association attempted to bolster their spirits through various displays of leadership. While on board the *Matilda Wattenbach*, William Brame went to work as a propagandist. The second issue of the *Albertland Gazette and Ocean Chronicle* featured a page long missive titled “We Are One!”; although the author is not named it was widely believed to have been authored by Brame.¹⁴ The article called upon the noble attitudes of the Albertlanders and encouraged them to come together and remember their reason for leaving Britain. Importantly, it encouraged them to rejoice in “the necessary plans and preparations for the performance of this work”¹⁵ and to look towards their leaders for “all things are

¹³ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 39.

¹⁴ “We are One”, *The Albertland Gazette*, 3 July 1862, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵ “We are One”, *The Albertland Gazette*, 3 July 1862, p. 1.

possible to them who have faith in one another.”¹⁶ This newspaper offered Brame a new way to reach the aspiring settlers without direct involvement, which was a boon as his actions were beginning to be regarded unfavourably by many of his followers.

Months prior, at a Birmingham meeting, Brame had been questioned about how he expected to recoup the money he had placed into the Association. He was forced to admit to the crowd that the Auckland Provincial Council had promised him payment of ten shillings per adult and 5 shillings per child for every settler brought onto the land. This led to allegations of insouciance by some—Brame may not have been as concerned with the settlement plan as he should have been, especially if he was to be paid by the number of settlers he brought and not the success of the settlement.¹⁷ His choice of Shaw, Savill & Co. as shipping agents was also questioned, and Brame admitted he had been promised a five percent commission from the company for every passenger and the costs of their freight. In addition, he received a cabin free of charge for himself and his wife.¹⁸ It seems he was able to show that none of these arrangements incurred additional costs for the settlers, thus many intending immigrants felt pacified by his assurances for a time. The article he allegedly wrote was a call to unity by a leader who, trapped with his followers on a lengthy sea voyage on board the cramped *Matilda Wattenbach*, felt them beginning to slip away from him.

The goal of establishing a Christian non-conformist settlement guided the settlers towards their chosen minister Samuel Edger, who began his duties as their religious leader in earnest whilst on board the *Matilda Wattenbach*. A stable routine of religious services was established and announced in the *Albertland Gazette* along with the intention for a scripture class to be formed. Edger preached twice each Sunday and at least once during the week on various subjects, all following the similar theme of having courage in the face of unknown challenges, fitting for a voyage to an unknown land.¹⁹ These services, he remarked, were well-attended and had a quiet and respectful audience despite the weather being constantly against him.²⁰ Edger did have misgivings about his new congregation being split between three

¹⁶ “We are One”, *The Albertland Gazette*, 3 July 1862, p. 1.

¹⁷ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 92.

¹⁸ Borrow, *Albertland*, p. 19.

¹⁹ “General News,” *The Albertland Gazette*, 14 June 1862, p. 3; “General News,” *The Albertland Gazette*, 3 July 1862, p. 4.

²⁰ “Letters of Mr Edger,” Manuscripts Collection, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

ships. However, he does not have appeared to have regretted the decision to emigrate, writing “have not wept since we left, have moistened eyes while the last hurrahs echoed.”²¹

On the *Hanover* (Figure 20), the spiritual needs of the settlers were seen to by one of their own, Rev. John Davis. Like Edger, Davis was a firm believer in teetotalism and lectured on this topic extensively. While Edger may have been concerned about splitting the congregation across numerous ships, the other men who preached seemed to have similar views on most topics, including the consumption of alcohol.²² The *Tyburnia* had another type of religious ceremony performed on board that makes it distinct from the other Albertlander ships: a marriage was performed before the settlers disembarked in Auckland.²³ This ceremony shows that while established Albertlander family groups were preserved on board the ships, new families were being formed amongst the Albertlanders.



Figure 20: Photograph, *Departure of the ship 'Hanover' from the East India Docks, London*, “Voyage to NZ,” accessed 06.07.2024. albertlandmuseum.co.nz

²¹ “Letters of Mr Edgar,” Manuscripts Collection, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

²² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 47.

²³ “Married,” *New Zealander*, Volume XIX, Issue 1992, 10 October 1863, p. 4.

Perhaps the largest step made for the prospective settlement was the first edition of *The Albertland Gazette and Ocean Chronicle*, which was published aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach* less than three weeks after departing Britain (Figure 21).²⁴ *The Albertland Gazette* offers a unique insight into the lives of the settlers and how they attempted to not only stave off the boredom of the passage, but also begin to forge a sense of community before they arrived in Albertland. Samuel Johnson, a journalist, had been named the scheme's official newspaper publisher. He brought his own printing press and type on board the ship and was given use of a room just off the deck for printing. Only two issues of the paper were printed during the voyage, as Johnson found it difficult to keep the type in order due to the swaying of the ship. During a storm the boxes of type were spilled onto the floor and hopelessly disarranged, prompting Johnson to abandon the endeavour until they reached the settlement. A disagreement between himself and Brame during the voyage, however, led to him announcing his intention to abandon the Albertland scheme altogether. Johnson never indicated what the disagreement was about but stated it was to do with "a discovery which, if made before we left England, would have diverted the whole course of my life."²⁵



Figure 21: *The Albertland Gazette, and Ocean Chronicle* printed aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach*. Despite his best efforts, Samuel Johnson was only able to print the newspaper sporadically over its three-year run. It is considered one of the earliest attempts to print a weekly newspaper on a sea voyage. Image, *Masthead Albertland Gazette, and Ocean Chronicle Issue 1, 14 June 1862*, Albertland Gazette, accessed 21.07.2024. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/albertland-gazette/1862/06/14/1>

The first issue of the *Albertland Gazette* opened with a religious story about two pilgrims on a journey to the Holy Land who offer prayer for a swift journey and that they might remain steadfast in their convictions. Johnson was clearly alluding to the journey the settlers were undertaking to their own promised land of Albertland. The article also alludes to the religious nature of the scheme and the beliefs of the settlers who read this newspaper.²⁶ The front page of the paper also made the claim to be only one of a few attempts ever made to publish a settler newspaper on board a ship. Regarding settlers bound for New Zealand, the *New Zealand Gazette* printed by the New Zealand Company in 1839 is another example of a settler newspaper. However, it differed from the Albertland paper as it was printed and

²⁴ *Albertland Gazette*, No. 1, 14 June 1862.

²⁵ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 79.

²⁶ *Albertland Gazette*, No. 1, 14 June 1862 p. 1.

distributed in Britain before the settlers departed, and the issue distributed on board the New Zealand Company ships was merely a reprint of the first issue. Most of its content, therefore, was designed to encourage prospective settlers to join the New Zealand Company's schemes.²⁷

A majority of the two issues of the *Albertland Gazette* printed aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach* are taken up by a segment titled "Log of the Matilda Wattenbach." This simply noted the journey of the ship, the dates of significant weather events, the ship's position, the passing of markers such as the equator, and other ships that had been sighted.²⁸ Various leaders of the Association used this new medium to speak to the ship's passengers. The first issue featured a lengthy discourse from the settlement's official physician, James Bell, on the importance of health and hygiene measures during the voyage and how he was overjoyed that with the subsidence of seasickness any talk of returning home had also ceased. Bell encouraged the passengers to remain united and firm in their common goal.²⁹

The use of humour within the newspaper's first issue helped introduce the large group of settlers to each other. Most of the families had not met before boarding and now found themselves enduring a lengthy voyage with total strangers. Johnson concocted a passenger list that grouped the surnames into royalty, species of fish and birds, names shared with famous figures, and professions. For many of the settlers this was their first introduction to their potential neighbours, and its light-hearted nature helped create a more communal sentiment.³⁰ The structured announcement of news and events in the *Albertland Gazette* could help the leaders of the scheme maintain a sense of control over the settlers and aid in unifying them through organised activities and meetings.

Aside from the attempts of the leaders, a sense of community was fostered through amusements and pastimes organised by the settlers themselves. On the *Matilda Wattenbach* concerts were a popular pastime held on the deck of the ship, but the performers were usually the cabin passengers. Rev. Edger, Captain Gooch, and Dr Bell performed regularly, with some of the crew also taking part. Brame organised a charade based on the name of the river their settlement was to be built next to, Ōruawharo, and a draughts tournament between the

²⁷ "The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator," Paperspast, accessed 17.06.2024. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealand-gazette-and-wellington-spectator>

²⁸ "Log of the "Matilda Wattenbach," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 1, 14 June 1862, pp. 2-3.

²⁹ "Correspondence," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 1, 14 June 1862, p. 2.

³⁰ "List of Passengers on Board the Matilda Wattenbach," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 1, 14 June 1862, p. 4.

cabin and tween deck passengers was also held.³¹ Rev. Edger expressed considerable excitement about meeting the Lieutenant and Doctor of a Russian Man-o-War that the *Matilda Wattenbach* came across before passing the equator.³² On board the *Hanover* a band was formed consisting of two violins, a double bass, clarinet, flute, trombone, French horn, and drums. Upon arrival in Auckland, this band gathered on the deck and played to signify an official end to the voyage; allegedly, some on shore thought a Man-o'-War had come into harbour.³³ The *William Miles* also had able musicians aboard, although fewer than reported on the *Hanover*. Two violinists and a cello player accompanied the settlers singing to help alleviate the boredom of the voyage.³⁴

The desire to create some form of bond between the prospective settlers extended beyond simple amusements and into economic cooperation. A Mutual Improvement Society on the *Matilda Wattenbach* was tasked with using the time on the voyage to organise ventures that could “create bonds of sympathy that may last.”³⁵ The two largest groups formed were the Co-operative Association and the Total Abstinence Society. The purpose of the former was to establish a co-operative store to supply the settlement with necessities and provide a business and trade link with Auckland. Henry Marcroft was to run the store, and he offered shares to the venture at £1 a share. By 3 July, two months into the voyage, £120 had been subscribed into the venture; with 366 passengers aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach*, this means that up to a third of them potentially had bought shares in the store. This was a large group supporting a community business that they would not see established until long after their arrival in the settlement, but they nonetheless bound themselves together financially through the venture.³⁶ The Total Abstinence Society was started by Rev. Edger, who was staunchly against alcohol, and it gained considerable support. Such a society fitted with the religious nature of the settlement; and as the official minister was spearheading its formation, the expectations he had of his new congregation were made clear.³⁷

Concerned with the news of wars in New Zealand and the possibility of the settlement being attacked, the passengers of the *Hanover* instituted a rifle corps. Sixteen passengers had

³¹ “General News,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 2, 3 July 1862, p. 4.

³² “Amusements,” *The Albertland Gazette*, 14 June 1862, p. 3.

³³ “Letters of Mr Edgar,” Manuscripts Collection, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

³⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 47-48.

³⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 50.

³⁶ “General News,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 2, 3 July 1862, p. 4.

³⁷ “Advertisements,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 2, 3 July 1862, p. 4.

been in various corps in Britain, and they took charge of the endeavour with 40 others joining them. Drills were performed regularly with the intention for this group to be the core of a larger volunteer corps in the settlement. The group became well practiced enough to present arms before the captain for his birthday.³⁸ Passengers on the *William Miles* also established a rifle corps amongst the men, with drills being performed on the ship's deck. This group gave themselves the name of the Albertland Volunteers and were placed under the command of a passenger who had supposedly served in the Sikh War in India during the late 1840s. Edmund Archer said the volunteers looked "the most grotesque lot imaginable, dressed in all sorts of old clothes."³⁹ These ventures suggest the settlers were considering the needs of their new settlement and were remaining enthusiastic and committed to the venture during the voyage.

How families interacted with each other and took part in events on board is observed in the diary of the Howard family who travelled on the *Hanover*. The family felt they needed help getting their children settled for the voyage, so they took an extra member of the family, William Howard's father, with them for the short journey from London to Gravesend. The ship was a much busier place than the young family had expected, and the noise initially made sleeping difficult. Departing Gravesend was seen as the official start of an ocean voyage because ships docked there for final checks, mail, and passenger collection.⁴⁰ William recorded that his father leaving them at Gravesend was "breaking the last link with all our dear Friends."⁴¹ The melancholy of emigration was recorded: William stated that the passengers all gathered to hear the church bells ring on the shore near Hastings and that many spent the entire day on the deck casting long looks at the shoreline, although none seemed to regret their decision to leave. The first two ships passed out of sight of land on 2 June 1863.

The Howard family were concerned about the mundanity of the voyage and spent time making their cabin comfortable and planning activities to keep the children active. Although they intended to keep the children inside for most of the voyage, the family came to realise that they could not keep them from the unpleasantness of the journey and the children began to suffer from cabin fever. The Howard children took to the voyage slowly, though their parents admitted they eventually came to enjoy it more than the senior passengers. Entertained by the concerts and amused by the sailors, the children appear to have kept their

³⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 45.

³⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, pp. 10-11.

⁴¹ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 10.

balance during the voyage. As the month of August stretched on, the adult settlers became weary of their situation. Mutinous actions by two members of the crew, who were confined for the remainder of the voyage, as well as the total absence of other ships, weighed heavy on them. The captain's birthday provided an excuse for revelry, albeit limited.⁴² The Howards also noted that the novelties of the voyage, such as sharks and porpoises—as well as the traditions of the sailors as the ship crossed the equator—were helpful in keeping the children occupied.⁴³

The sailors' traditions gave the settlers an opportunity to partake in activities not directly related to the scheme or its leaders. The crossing of the equator, or crossing of the line, caused considerable interest amongst the settlers and was well documented on board the *Hanover*. The crossing involved a visit from Neptune, his wife, and many of his adjutants, all sailors who had dressed in costume for the occasion. After the various deities assembled on the deck, a sailor was blindfolded and shaved before being thrown overboard into a sail filled with seawater that had been laid beside the ship. He was then declared a son of Neptune. Several sailors and many of the younger men consented to the same treatment. Henry Brett recorded that he also underwent the baptism, as “the Equator is not crossed every day and there ought to be some memento of the occasion.”⁴⁴ A collection was taken amongst the passengers and given to the sailors as a gift for the occasion. The Howard family recorded the crossing of the line in their diary, though they remarked that many had a celebratory tea service rather than take part in the sailors' ceremonies.⁴⁵

Settlers on board the *Matilda Wattenbach* appear to have been far less enthusiastic about joining in the sailors' festivities. The *Albertland Gazette* referred to the festivities as “obsolete ceremonies,”⁴⁶ noting that the “horrors of this great occasion were almost entirely confined to the sailors and a few passengers looking on.”⁴⁷ On board the *John Duncan*, however, the visit from Neptune was widely observed. George Edgecumbe noted in his diary that all but one of the men joined the festivities. The one exception allegedly stood in the doorway of his cabin armed with a knife threatening to use it against anybody who thought of forcing him to take part. The other passengers elected to leave him be.⁴⁸ Sailors were

⁴² William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, pp. 12-13.

⁴³ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 46.

⁴⁵ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 12.

⁴⁶ “Crossing the Line,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 2, 3 July 1862, p. 3.

⁴⁷ “Crossing the Line,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 2, 3 July 1862, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 61.

traditionally paid a month in advance, thus the first four weeks at sea were referred to as working off a dead horse. At the end of the first month of a voyage, the sailors celebrated by throwing an effigy of a horse overboard. This ceremony and the celebrations of the sailors interested the passengers of the *Hanover*, who watched the events but did not participate.⁴⁹ The willingness of those settlers who did take part in these ceremonies may have been due to the novelty of the situation, rather than any sense of communal feeling—though having their own teas or gatherings to mark these occasions may have helped increase a sense of community.

Social Life and Friction on Board

Despite the efforts of the Association's leaders to organise a structured voyage and instil the settlers with a sense of common purpose and community, fractures appeared between many groups. The settlers were conscious of differences between themselves and, although there were some attempts to stop these dictating how they interacted, the most prominent disparities—marital status and class—were exacerbated by the rules and regulations put in place for the voyages.

On board the first three Albertlander ships, many were disappointed and dismayed at the state of their accommodation and felt unfairly restricted by the systems that were put in place by the captains of the respective vessels. Excerpts from the diary of Henry Brett in *The Albertlanders* demonstrate the difficulties faced by single young men on board the *Hanover*. Upon boarding the ship, Brett was incredulous at being offered one of 60 berths in the tween decks, when he had expected the £20 he had paid to at least provide him with a small cabin. He was further perturbed when the single men on board were split into groups of eight and expected to prepare their own meals as a group. This system led to much infighting amongst the passengers. However, it was not only the single men who were forced into these cooking groups, families and couples were also put into groups for meal preparation. These groups usually comprised one or two families, which made cooperation easier.⁵⁰ The Howard family did not find the process of preparing food too taxing and remarked that as the captain of the *Hanover* assigned the mess groups numbers, and they were only allowed to go to the galley when their number was called, the entire process was efficiently carried out each day. This

⁴⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 45.

⁵⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 44.

system lowered the chance of disagreements arising and ensured each passenger received fair rations.⁵¹ Brett conceded that after a month at sea with a stable routine, the single men began to cooperate more.

On alternating weeks on board the *Hanover*, the single passengers entertained the married couples and vice versa. These entertainments consisted of musical items or dramatic pieces and were eagerly anticipated by many of the passengers. However, it was expected that some form of food and refreshment would be served by the alternating groups. When it came time for the single men to entertain the married couples, they found that most of the ship's stores of delicacies had been depleted. As they had also eaten most of their own private stores, they were embarrassingly forced to offer their audience only biscuits and salt butter.⁵² Single men also found themselves facing serious issues on board the *William Miles*. The passage of the ship was recorded as most unpleasant; passengers sent a curt letter to the ship's master, Captain Babot, about the wretched state the sleeping quarters were in. The main complaint was that a leak had appeared in the pigsty that led directly to the single men's sleeping berths. The captain replied that when the weather cleared it would be easier to see to the ship's needs, though a more attentive approach to cleanliness on the part of the single men would help alleviate the situation. This the single men took as a libel against themselves and proceeded to censure the shipping company, Shaw, Savill and Co., for the condition of the ship.⁵³

Edmund Archer diarised about the constrained living conditions for single men on the *William Miles*. He stated that in the small space allocated for sleep, the single men not only had their bunks and possessions but were also expected to keep their provisions with them—while the married couples could keep theirs in the galley stores. Archer wrote that all passengers had to keep close watch of their possessions, as “pots and pans, etc., go very mysteriously, especially before leaving Gravesend.”⁵⁴ The other rules the passengers were instructed to keep also caused consternation according to Archer. No light was allowed below decks after 9pm, washing was to only be done above decks, no passenger was allowed more than three cooked meals a day, and the passengers were expected to clean out the water closets themselves three times a day or pay the crew to do it. The thought of having to wash

⁵¹ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 11.

⁵² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 44.

⁵³ “Arrival of the William Miles,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1672, 29 November 1862, p. 10.

⁵⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 50.

the water closets, after having already paid for the voyage, was a serious source of contention.⁵⁵ Brett believed that the chores of food preparation, cleaning the ship, and keeping watch for the “pilfering propensities of some of the sailors”⁵⁶ was a stark reminder to the passengers of the lives they were going to endure as pioneers and that many were unprepared to perform such tasks.

The disparity between classes on board the ships is best displayed by the diary of Rev. Edwin Stanley Brookes Snr, who wrote a diary aboard the *Caduceus* and noted the expectations he had as a cabin passenger. He stated that less than a month after departing Britain the pigs on board the *Caduceus* all inexplicably died; instead of seven tons of potatoes barely half that could be found; fowl became the only meat available; and the captain was unwilling to allow the saloon and cabin passengers to borrow from the third-class stores.⁵⁷ Brookes stated that the advertisements for the passage had said there was an unlimited table for the saloon passengers and remarked, “the table was certainly not limited, if there had only been enough food to put on it.”⁵⁸ The captain also allegedly tried to make meagre provisions last multiple meals. The cabin passengers, such as the Brookes family, found ship life to be far less amenable than they had anticipated. The passengers from the tween decks do not appear to have made the same complaints; upon arrival they presented the captain with a testimonial and raised three cheers in his honour.⁵⁹

As provisions were scarce on board the *Gertrude*, settlers had to eat the food they had brought aboard to avoid going hungry. Light was hard to come by below decks because the captain refused to allow the settlers access to the ship’s oil stores, giving them only sunlight hours to enjoy the voyage and entertain themselves.⁶⁰ An account of the journey of the *Tyburnia* was written by passenger H. B. Morton and published in the *New Zealand Herald* for the 60th anniversary of the ship’s arrival. He noted that there was a distinct difference between those who were able to afford a cabin and those housed in the tween decks. The cabins were typically housed on the poop deck next to the captain’s accommodation, and they shared the same supplies as the captain and officers—usually fresh meat from the sheep and fowls brought aboard. Their fellow settlers had to contend with “salt beef and pork, very salty

⁵⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 50.

⁵⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 45.

⁵⁷ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁹ “Port of Auckland,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXI, Issue 2401, 31 March 1865, p. 9.

⁶⁰ Gwyn Farr, *Centennial of Albertland 1862-1962* (Wellsford: Campbell Press, 1962), p. 15.

and very tough, hard brown biscuits, dried vegetables, and a periodical allowance of suet and flour, supplemented by exceedingly moderate quantities of such luxuries as tea, coffee, salt, butter, and sugar.”⁶¹

Despite the complaints of the cabin passengers and the disgruntlement of those in the tween decks, the mixture of backgrounds represented did not prevent extensive intermingling. On board the *Caduceus*, the Grant family and the Brookes family had little in common. The Brookes family were wealthy, educated, upper class, and English. Meanwhile the Grant family were farmers, of a poorer background, and Scottish. Despite their differences the two families formed a close bond.⁶² Rev. Brookes advertised for a companion family to accompany his family aboard the *Caduceus*, which may have been the Grant family as they occupied the adjoining cabin (Figure 22). A letter dated 14 Nov 1864, addressed to Brookes, seems to confirm this as it mentions the Grant family and another man: “Sir, We received your kind letter and was [sic] glad to hear from you. Our brother Robinson will be glad to go for you to take his hand and pay his passage and be at your service to do what you think is right. Our ages William Robinson 19, Joseph Grant 30, Ann Grant 27, Joel Grant 6.”⁶³ As a fee for this service the passage of the companions was paid by Brookes, and the Grant family may have been enticed by such an offer.⁶⁴ However, if the Grant family’s passage was being paid for, then this example of two families of different classes interacting may be an exception to typical interactions during the voyages.

⁶¹ “Sixtieth Anniversary,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LX, Issue 18495, 4 September 1923, p. 8.

⁶² Grant, *Cradle of the Kaipara*, p. 3.

⁶³ Grant, *Cradle of the Kaipara*, p. 8.

⁶⁴ Grant, *Cradle of the Kaipara*, p. 4.

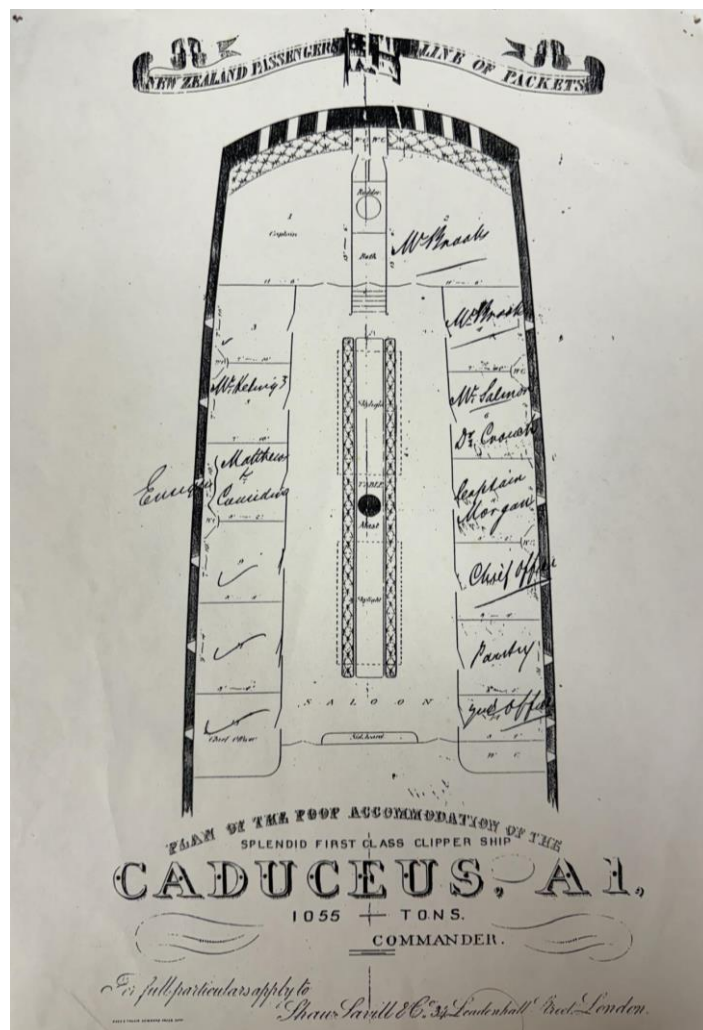


Figure 22: On the plan of the *Caduceus*. Rev. Brooks' name can be seen in the largest cabin, situated next to the captain's quarters. The smaller cabin also labelled Brooks was reserved for the Grant family. Image, *Plan of the Poop Deck accommodation of the ship Caduceus*, Brookes Family Documents, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The Hames family were another more affluent family who joined the Albertland scheme, though they did so later than the bulk of settlers. By the time they set sail William Brame had died, and many settlers had abandoned the venture. Seemingly unaware of this, they set sail aboard the *Ironsides* in May 1864, and unlike the Brookes family they were the only Albertlanders on the ship. However, the other passengers were still all intending settlers for the Auckland Province.⁶⁵ Descendants recorded that the family were apprehensive about crossing “the mighty deep,”⁶⁶ though Charles Hames did not make any entries in his journal during the voyage that confirm this. His grandchildren noted he seldom answered any questions about the journey, seeing it as an unimportant interlude in their story. The only notes Charles left regarding the voyage was a single line written on the day they departed

⁶⁵ *New Zealander*, Volume XXI, Issue 2214, 3 September 1864, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*, p. 7.

Britain, and a short paragraph the day they arrived in Auckland where he described the voyage as “characterised by much mercy and many favours from a kind Providence.”⁶⁷

Charles’ view of the voyage was not shared by all the family. Luther Hames recalled nearly 60 years later that the conditions certainly did not meet the expectations they had. Aside from storms and other hazards expected on a voyage of that duration, the family were met with many challenges. They were affluent enough to afford a cabin, but rust had appeared in their ceiling, and throughout the journey specks of it had to be shaken out of the bedding lest it scratch them in their sleep.⁶⁸ An issue with rationing meant supplies became dangerously low early into their voyage. Bread ran out after only three days, while fresh water became so scarce that all food was prepared in seawater—ruining anything that was not meat or potato. However, while the family seemed content to deal with many hardships, their lack of preparedness for the journey is exemplified, states Luther Hames, by their mother’s dismay that the desserts had been ruined by one of the cooks. Despite not having sighted land since France, and essential supply items running low, it was the prospect of no desserts that deeply upset Mary Hames.⁶⁹

Mary Hames’ attitude changed significantly through the course of the voyage. While at first not amenable to ship life, the interactions between the family and the other passengers, especially when it concerned her husband, hardened her resolve and determination. Years later, her grandson noted that when speaking of the voyage she became wrathful in her reminiscences.⁷⁰ Charles’ deafness cut the family off from many of the activities their fellow passengers engaged in. Even though he was a teacher, only his own sons came to him for lessons; none of the other families sent their children. Although, as one of only two preachers on board, he performed a service to the other passengers each Sunday and was warmly received by them. His deafness also caused conflict when rations were distributed. The family were usually given less than was their due, and Mary was forced to return to the galley and argue until they received their fair share. Because of this treatment, Mary became determined to travel to Albertland, stake their claim, and become totally self-reliant.⁷¹ After disembarking in Auckland, the family chose to venture to an allotment in Paparoa—the northern section of Albertland—and establish themselves there.

⁶⁷ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 2.

⁷⁰ Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*, p. 8.

⁷¹ Hames, *A Home in Albertland*, p. 10.

The scheme's leaders had hoped that bringing a combination of married and unmarried people to the settlement would help it flourish and ensure future generations of Albertlanders would be born. However, the differences between how the married and unmarried passengers felt treated caused a rift between the groups. This may have contributed to the decisions of so many single men to remain in Auckland rather than go to the settlement. The disparities between classes on board do not seem to have bothered the lower-class settlers in the tween decks, despite the conditions irking many. The upper-class settlers appear to have been dismayed by the conditions of their cabins and the state of their meals. It is not clear whether this disparity in treatment hindered the settlers in establishing communal bonds, though it did cause many to question whether they should remain part of the scheme or instead settle in Auckland.

Dealing with Crises on the Voyage

The crises that the Albertlanders faced on their voyages to New Zealand were their first true test of community cohesion and spirit. It has been theorised by historians that the stories and myths that emerge after disasters “are structured around a limited number of narrative forms and motifs – the theodicy, the apocalypse, the state of exception and trauma.”⁷² The Albertlander response to their crises certainly fell into the first category; they offered prayers of thanksgiving for salvation and prayers of mourning for the dead after major events, and these shared experiences allowed a sense of community to begin to form.⁷³ Samuel Edger's writings from aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach* offer insight into how the settlers felt about being surrounded by ocean and the weather they endured. Rev. Edger remarked on 27 June 1862 that “sea smooth as glass, not that the sea is ever quiet. The surface of it is literally smooth as glass within narrow limits- but in the great expanse gently undulating in heavings of immense breadth, but little depth.”⁷⁴ The seas did not remain as smooth as glass, with descriptions of storms being found across numerous Albertlander ships.

During her voyage, the *Matilda Wattenbach* was caught in a sudden storm that Edger described in his diary (Figure 23). He stated that the settlers were on deck and were in the

⁷² Ruth McManus, Denise Blake, and David Johnston, “The *Penguin* and the *Wahine*: Shipwrecks, Resilience, and Popular Culture”, in *Death in Contemporary Popular Culture*, eds. Adriana Teodorescu and Michael Hviid Jacobsen (London: Routledge, 2020), p. 66.

⁷³ McManus et al., “The *Penguin* and the *Wahine*,” p. 66.

⁷⁴ “Letters of Mr Edgar,” Manuscripts Collection, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

middle of singing a hymn when the ship suddenly lurched to the side throwing down a hundred men, women, and children. One of the masts collapsed and its yardarm pierced the deck, driving straight into a cabin and narrowly avoiding a mother and child. The crowd had to hurry below as another of the masts collapsed, and the crew were forced to work through the night to clear the debris and save the ship. Edger claimed the settlers remained quite calm, with only a few tears being shed throughout the ordeal.⁷⁵ His daughter later recalled that a council was held the day after the storm to determine a course of action, as the ship was missing two masts and the rudder was not answering the helm, placing them in a dire situation. Eventually it was decided that putting into Cape Town for repairs would take too much time, so temporary masts were rigged, and the ship endeavoured to reach Auckland.⁷⁶

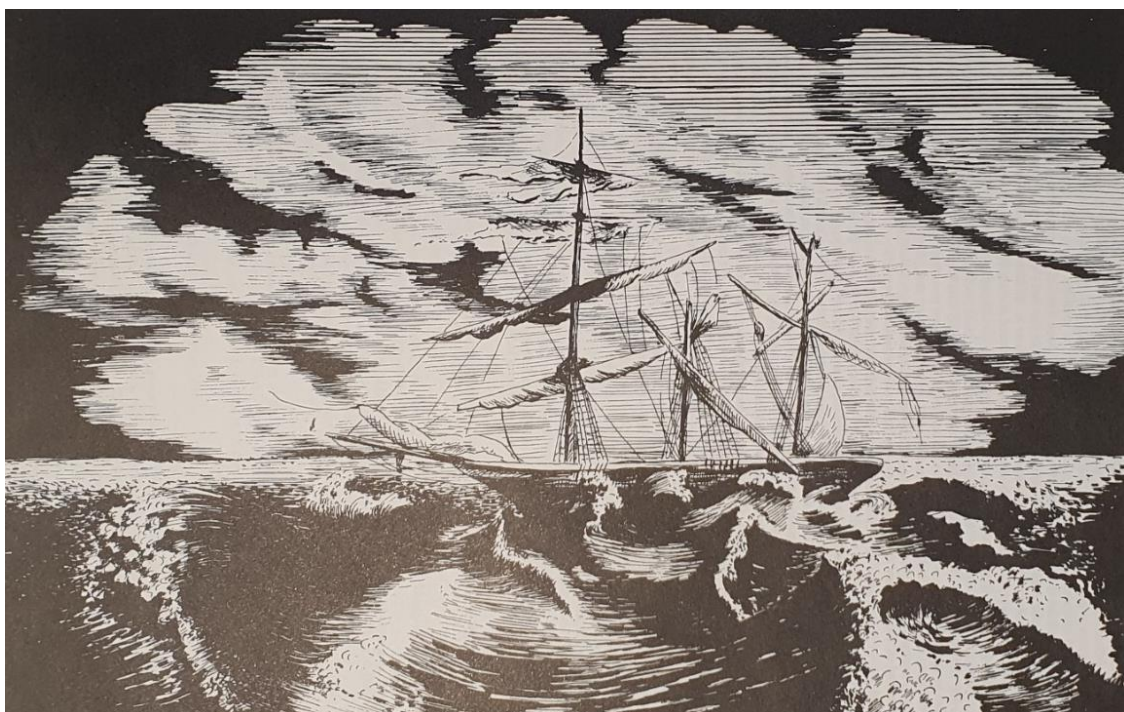


Figure 23: Image, *The Matilda Wattenbach During a Storm*, A copy of a sketch by E. S. Brookes Jnr, in Edward J. Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block: A Story of Albertland as related in the letters & manuscripts of the Brookes family* (Wellsford: The Albertland & Districts Museum, 1995), p. 17.

Both the *William Miles* and *Gertrude* also experienced serious storms on their journeys, with the former springing a mast and causing worry that it would have to make for an emergency berth in South America for repairs.⁷⁷ On New Year's Eve, 1862, the *Gertrude* was hit by a storm which sent a tank across the deck shattering everything in its path: the pigsty was knocked over, the dog kennels were opened, and the dogs began to fight. The

⁷⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 41.

⁷⁷ "Ship William Miles," *Auckland Star*, Volume LIV, Issue 270, 12 November 1923, p. 4.

provisions which had been left to soak and cure overnight were also ruined.⁷⁸ The settlers, for fear of the tables moving as the ship lolled in the waves, had to eat either standing or sitting on the floor.⁷⁹

Births, deaths, and disease were additional components of the voyages with which the settlers contended, and these events may indicate why many Albertlanders chose not to travel to the settlement. The *Albertland Gazette* recorded births and deaths on the *Matilda Wattenbach*. One death occurred during the voyage and was not recorded in a “Births and Deaths” section of the paper. The deceased was a member of the crew who died from injuries sustained when he fell from the topmast. A detailed account of the incident was recorded in the paper; however, because he was not a passenger, he was not considered an Albertlander, and therefore not a part of the fledgling community the paper was attempting to form.⁸⁰ On board the *Matilda Wattenbach* two births occurred. A daughter was born to Thomas and Mary Inger, but her death was reported just three days later along with the death of another infant.⁸¹ Three others were lost on the voyage, one of whom was Mary-Ann Becroft, suspected to have died of tuberculosis.⁸² Mary-Ann was the eldest child of John Becroft. The Becroft family numbered ten, a father and nine children, and Mary-Ann had filled a parental role for her younger siblings.⁸³

Both the *Hanover* and *Tyburnia* reported only a single death each. The *Hanover* lost a child to an undisclosed illness, but as this was not traced to an outbreak of disease the settlers were able to disembark immediately on reaching Auckland.⁸⁴ The *Tyburnia* lost an elderly passenger to a smallpox outbreak, but no other deaths were reported, even during the compulsory quarantine on Rangitoto Island. New Zealand had a more stringent quarantine system than Britain. However, illnesses could be more readily identified by the New Zealand port authorities, as the lengthy sea voyage allowed outbreaks to become obvious before the passengers could disembark.⁸⁵ The single men of the *Tyburnia* were housed on closely

⁷⁸ Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, p. 23.

⁷⁹ Farr, *Centennial of Albertland 1862-1962*, p. 15.

⁸⁰ “Fatal Accident,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 2, 3 July 1862, p. 3.

⁸¹ “Birth,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 1, 14 June 1862, p. 3; “Deaths,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 1, 14 June 1862, p. 3.

⁸² “Arrival of the Matilda Wattenbach,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1602, 9 September 1862, p. 3.

⁸³ “Arrival of the Matilda Wattenbach,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1602, 9 September 1862, p. 3.

⁸⁴ “Arrival of the ‘Hanover’,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1620, 30 September 1862, p. 11.

⁸⁵ Krista Maglen, *The English System: Quarantine, Immigration and the making of a Port Sanitary Zone* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 40.

packed bunk beds in the tween decks, and it was only due to the ship doctor's insistence on regularly disinfecting below decks that the smallpox outbreak was not more severe.⁸⁶ Five deaths occurred on the *William Miles*, three children and two adults. All three of the children who died during the voyage came from one family.⁸⁷

The *Gertrude* was the first of the second contingent of Albertlander ships to reach Auckland, arriving in February 1863, almost five months after the first contingent. There was one birth on board and six deaths. It is not clear how the deaths occurred or who died, but it was probably due to illness or disease.⁸⁸ Amongst all the Albertlander ships, the *Annie Wilson* had the most deaths. Before departing it was noted that a child was ill and, rather than returning her to shore, she was taken to the ship's doctor who diagnosed her with scarlet fever.⁸⁹ The fever infected another ten children, of whom three died. Two other children died from unrelated illnesses. Four adults died on the voyage, but only one of them was suspected to have scarlet fever.⁹⁰ Upon arrival in Auckland the ship was refused entrance to the harbour until a meeting of the Auckland Board of Health was convened. Luckily for the settlers, the last case of scarlet fever had been recorded a month before arrival; the Board was satisfied that the danger of disease had passed, and the settlers were subsequently allowed to disembark. There were three births aboard the ship and all three children survived the voyage.⁹¹

The final ship to bring a large contingent of Albertlanders to New Zealand was the *Caduceus*. No births occurred, but the ship had two deaths from consumption—not a surprise to the passengers, who described the *Caduceus* as a “starvation ship.”⁹² The later ships to carry Albertlanders also suffered deaths and disease, although it is unclear whether those who died were Albertlanders or passengers headed elsewhere. The *Ida Zeigler* reported only a single death, less than a week before reaching Auckland. It is surprising that this death was a younger man, James Barton, who was 35 years old. As the *Ida Zeigler* carried both Albertlanders and others, it is possible Barton was not an intending Albertlander.⁹³

⁸⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 57.

⁸⁷ “Arrival of the ‘William Miles’,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1672, 29 November 1862, p. 10.

⁸⁸ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIX, Issue 1751, 28 February 1863, p. 12.

⁸⁹ Farr, *Centennial of Albertland 1862-1962*, p. 16.

⁹⁰ “The Annie Wilson,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIX, Issue 1928, 21 September 1863, p. 3.

⁹¹ “The Annie Wilson,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIX, Issue 1928, 21 September 1863, p. 3.

⁹² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 64.

⁹³ “Died,” *New Zealander*, Volume XIX, Issue 1931, 28 July 1863, p. 2.

The *John Duncan* also carried a mixture of Albertland and non-Albertland passengers. Despite no outbreak of disease, the ship still suffered several deaths. Two members of the crew were washed overboard before the ship had passed the Isle of Wight, and a Māori man named William Raipa, who was returning to New Zealand, died of consumption. Three children also died of illnesses.⁹⁴ One death, not recorded in an official tally but still reported in the newspapers, was that of John Carter who committed suicide by jumping overboard six weeks before reaching New Zealand.⁹⁵ The ship's surgeon also attempted suicide, but the captain and a passenger's makeshift surgery thwarted the attempt.⁹⁶

There is little information regarding the later ships such as the *Victory* and *Andrew Jackson*. *Victory* was the eighth ship to carry Albertlanders and of the 242 passengers, 80 were Albertlanders. The start of her journey was fraught with difficulty—a collision with a French schooner forced the ship back to Britain for emergency repairs before returning to sea. On the second attempt, the ship encountered such light weather before the Cape of Good Hope that the full journey to New Zealand took only 107 days.

An outbreak of smallpox caused the *Victory* to be quarantined upon arrival; many of the passengers refused to disembark to Rangitoto Island, instead demanding they be allowed to quarantine on board the ship. There were six deaths during the voyage—all due to the outbreak. The decision to quarantine the ship was not without merit, as another three deaths occurred during this time.⁹⁷ With only five of the Albertlanders on board the *Victory* identified, it is not possible to say with certainty whether any of the deaths were Albertlanders or not. There were also three births on board, and again it is unknown whether they were Albertlanders. Among the 273 passengers on the *Andrew Jackson* there were three deaths and no births or marriages. As with the *Victory*, it is impossible to ascertain whether these deaths were Albertlanders as only one Albertlander has been identified on this ship.⁹⁸

The record of settlers who became ill or died is useful. However, it does not reveal how the settlers responded to or felt about these events. At that time, death was not unfamiliar; it dealt with openly in what was termed retrospectively as “the Victorian

⁹⁴ “Duncan, Captain Logie, From London, With Passengers,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Issue 2034, 25 January 1864, p. 3.

⁹⁵ Henry Brett, *White Wings: Volume I* (Auckland: The Brett Publishing Company Limited, 1924), p. 237.

⁹⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 62.

⁹⁷ “Arrival of the Victory, From London,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume II, Issue 361, 7 January 1865, p.8.

⁹⁸ “Arrival of the Ship Andrew Jackson,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume II, Issue 557, 25 August 1865, p. 4.

celebration of death.”⁹⁹ Deaths on ocean voyages, far from familiar surroundings, did not undermine the Christian beliefs of passengers in the Victorian era. Burial at sea brought anxiety over the fates of corpses and “challenged the models of ‘the good death’” but common practices such as services, hymns, and prayers were still observed.¹⁰⁰ Newspaper articles announcing the deaths on board the ships do not delve into the ceremonies observed by the settlers. However, the *Albertland Gazette* and diaries of the settlers show that the deaths brought the settlers together in displays of shared grief. On board the *Matilda Wattenbach*, when sailor William Robertson fell from the topmast, the outpouring of concern from the passengers was likened by the Brookes brothers to an image of the death of Nelson. They stated that the rest of the crew gathered around the sailor with lanterns until he expired, and that the passengers gathered on the foredeck and continued praying for him until he died.¹⁰¹ The *Albertland Gazette* recorded that after the sailor fell to the deck a “most unusual and mournful silence prevailed throughout the vessel during the whole of the evening.”¹⁰² Upwards of two hundred people gathered on the foredeck for a prayer meeting that continued for almost two hours and created a serene and solemn feeling “not soon to be forgotten.”¹⁰³ The morning after Robertson died there was a half hour service held as his body was committed to the deep.¹⁰⁴

The diaries of those on board the other ships do not go into detail about ceremonies observed after deaths occurred. Because of this it is not possible to ascertain whether the event following the death of William Robertson was a standard display or something unique. On the *Hanover*, Brett recorded in his diary that when a death occurred the body was “committed to the deep.”¹⁰⁵ He makes no mention of any ceremony and merely states that it was the “only passenger that death deprived us of during the whole of the voyage.”¹⁰⁶ Albert Glover’s diary from aboard the *William Miles* records that funerals were observed when passengers died. This shows that there was at least some small display of ceremony observed after deaths.¹⁰⁷ Immediately after noting these ceremonies, Glover mentioned that the ship

⁹⁹ Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Lyndon Fraser, “Death in nineteenth-century Australia and New Zealand,” *History Compass* 7, Vol. 15, 2017, accessed 05.08.2025. <https://compass-onlinelibrary-wiley-com.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/doi/full/10.1111/hic3.12399>

¹⁰¹ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 14.

¹⁰² *Albertland Gazette*, Issue II 3 July 1862 p. 3.

¹⁰³ *Albertland Gazette*, Issue II 3 July 1862 p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Albertland Gazette*, Issue II 3 July 1862 p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 47

¹⁰⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁷ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 51.

was only two passengers short due to three births that occurred on board. It seems conceivable, then, that births were celebrated on the ships and deaths commiserated. It appears some form of ceremony was observed when deaths occurred but the diaries, recollections of settlers, and newspapers are not clear on the scale or nature of these rituals.

Arrival of the Albertlanders in Auckland

Charles Hook felt great anticipation during his voyage on board the *Matilda Wattenbach* and, upon sighting his new homeland, he commented in a letter home, “of all the novelties and sights of interest, the sunsets have attracted as much attention as anything, that of this evening having been most strikingly magnificent. I [Hook] cannot forbear an allusion to it. To me there is something almost entrancing in the sight.”¹⁰⁸ Unlike many of the settlers who were dismayed at the state of Auckland, and the Northern Road that was supposed to lead them to their new home, Hook had an overly positive view of their situation. He stated “we are much delighted with the appearance of the city. On visiting it we found all rough but prosperous. One of our passengers...was engaged within five minutes after landing at 12/- per day... We are pleased on the whole with the appearance of things, and start for our settlement on Thursday.”¹⁰⁹

The *Matilda Wattenbach* left Britain on 29 May 1862, the same day as the *Hanover*, and arrived in New Zealand after a voyage of only 98 days. Any voyage between 90 and 100 days was considered standard at that time. The settlers were not the only group excited by the prospect of their arrival; the people of Auckland also waited earnestly for the appearance of the non-conformist group. The fanfare that accompanied the arrival of the *Matilda Wattenbach* bolstered the settlers’ spirits after so lengthy a voyage. Upon arrival, many evangelical ministers went out to the ship along with members of a committee that had been made to welcome the settlers and plan a public welcome. The committee agreed with the leaders aboard the ship that the settlers would disembark together and be brought to a plot of land near Government House, where a demonstration would take place. It was originally planned that the settlers would parade to Government House with the Auckland Rifle Volunteers leading the way. This plan was abandoned as, allegedly, some felt the procession

¹⁰⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 240.

¹⁰⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 240-241.

might earn the settlers undeserved criticism from those who believed them afforded special status over other settlers in the region.¹¹⁰ After the demonstration, the immigrants were invited to a non-conformist service at the nearby Wesleyan chapel.¹¹¹

The welcome was important for the province of Auckland. Newspapers stated that “a kindly welcome to strangers on first setting foot on our shores goes a great way towards creating a favourable impression; and first impressions have a powerful influence in moulding people to circumstances, many of which...have not been anticipated.”¹¹² Newspapers requested that Auckland businesses close for the day so that all of the business community could attend the gathering and form connections with the new settlers that might benefit both parties.¹¹³ It was also mentioned that a newspaper had been published on board one of the ships. Such was the interest in this endeavour that the *Albertland Gazette* was republished in its entirety by the *Daily Southern Cross* the day after the welcome ceremony.¹¹⁴

Most diaries kept by the Albertlanders display the excitement felt upon arriving in Auckland. William Howard’s diary explains in detail the excitement of the *Hanover* settlers as they saw their new homeland for the first time. The *Hanover* sighted the Three Kings Islands on Monday 14 September 1862 and the mainland the following day. The trip down the coast “seemed to repay us [the Albertlanders] for the tedious and monotonous voyage we were about finishing...and no one can fully imagine the pleasure experienced by one and all young and old at the sight of a green pasture or cattle grazing.”¹¹⁵ The ship did not make it to harbour until the evening, but the sight of lights from houses on the shore brought much pleasure to the settlers and a meeting was held on deck to offer prayers of thanksgiving and gratitude. The Howards did not attend this meeting, finding the style of service too theatrical for their religious tastes.¹¹⁶ The view of Auckland in the daylight disappointed the family. William Howard felt the town looked insignificant and not the bustling shipping centre that a new settlement might rely on as a lifeline, but he admitted that the hills obstructed his view from almost every angle so it was impossible to see Auckland in its entirety. An entry from

¹¹⁰ “Welcome to the Non-conformists,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1604, 11 September 1862, p. 4.

¹¹¹ “The Daily Southern Cross,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1602, 9 September 1862, p. 3.

¹¹² “The Daily Southern Cross,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1602, 9 September 1862, p. 3.

¹¹³ Shepherd, *The Albertland Christian Colonisation Movement*, p. 39.

¹¹⁴ “The Albertland Gazette, and Ocean Chronicle,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1603, 10 September 1862, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 13.

Sarah Howard states that the first point of business for the family was to visit the Post Office, where they were rewarded with letters from their families and friends who had arrived ahead of them. This was a welcome sign that they were not completely cut off from their loved ones and that communication with the old world was possible.¹¹⁷ Their potential happiness was short lived; a week after landing the Howard's daughter Lizzie died from an undisclosed cause.¹¹⁸

While many families travelled on the same ships, there were examples of families making separate journeys to New Zealand. The Brookes brothers were sent out ahead of their parents and younger siblings to make a start on preparing the land for farming and building accommodation. The Pettet family also travelled separately with William Senior and his daughter Emily leaving on board the *Hanover* and William Jnr travelling later on board the *William Miles*. Believing they were going to be reunited with their son and brother, the excitement the father and sister must have felt when the *William Miles* came into Auckland harbour was dashed when they discovered that he had died during the voyage.¹¹⁹

Albert Edward Glover, a passenger on board the *William Miles* and later Member of Parliament, reminisced 60 years later that the journey was unpleasant from beginning to end; hence, settlers were relieved to finally sight New Zealand's shores.¹²⁰ When the *William Miles* came into Auckland, the *Daily Southern Cross* reported that "she [the *William Miles*] did not come into port in a creditable state,"¹²¹ so the complaints of the passengers during the voyage appear to have been justified. The *William Miles* stands as an oddity amongst the Albertlander ships, as upon arrival in Auckland not only did the passengers disembark and leave for Albertland, but two of the ship's crew also decided during the voyage to join the scheme and move to the proposed settlement. In later accounts of the settlement and surrounding districts, it appears that both men ended up remaining there and established successful farms and businesses.¹²²

Despite complaints about the conditions on board, it was reported that the *Gertrude* came into port in a reputable condition with the passengers in good health. The passengers

¹¹⁷ William and Sarah Howard, General Family History Collection, p. 14.

¹¹⁸ "Died," *New Zealander*, Volume XIX, Issue 1931, 28 July 1863, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ "Gravestone Information for William H. Pettet (1812-1885)" [database on-line], billiongraves.com, accessed 04.11.2021. <https://billiongraves.com/grave/William-Pettet/29200111?referrer=myheritage>

¹²⁰ "Ship William Miles," *Auckland Star*, Volume LIV, Issue 270, 12 November 1923, p. 4.

¹²¹ "Arrival of the 'William Miles'," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1672, 29 November 1862, p. 10.

¹²² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 52.

presented a signed testimonial to the captain, the first and second officers, and the surgeon.¹²³ The arrival of the *Gertrude* in Auckland offers some insight into why many Albertlanders did not continue onwards to the settlement. Theodore Cooper kept a journal on board that was quoted in the Albertland centennial brochure in 1962. He said that upon arrival in Auckland a group of Māori boarded the ship with various items for sale. In exchange for a shirt Cooper received a large quantity of honey; after the voyage such a luxury was welcome, and the thought of returning to a life of scarce provisions in the settlement enticed him to stay in Auckland.¹²⁴ This was a wise decision as within a week of landing Cooper was hired as a labourer.¹²⁵ With necessities, luxuries, and paid work easy to come across, it is no wonder so many of the settlers remained in Auckland rather than travelling north to the settlement.

The *Tyburnia* first anchored in New Zealand off the shore of Rangitoto Island, and it was reported, as recalled by H. B. Morton, that the settlers were impressed by the agricultural prospects of the land they saw there.¹²⁶ The ship was forced to stay at Rangitoto for a month; the young men were made to disembark onto the island and stay in tents, while the rest of the settlers remained on board the ship. Morton said the young men had the preferable option—seeming to revel in the outdoor life, most of them having lived in cities—and the sound of their singing at night brightened the evenings for those on board the ship.¹²⁷ It seems that many of these young men did not go to Albertland, nor did they stay in Auckland, as Morton stated none had appeared in either area by the time of his recollections in 1923. Though the *Tyburnia* was eventually given leave to anchor in Auckland and the settlers were able to disembark, many found the welcome from the town's residents cold. The thought of smallpox reaching New Zealand was unwelcome so the new arrivals found accommodation difficult to acquire.¹²⁸ However, there was concern in Auckland about how the quarantine might affect the settlers. It was reported that "it is a disgrace to the port of Auckland that this calamity, which has not come without warning should have found the local Government absolutely

¹²³ "Arrival of the 'Gertrude'," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIX, Issue 1751, 28 February 1863, p. 12.

¹²⁴ Farr, *Centennial of Albertland 1862-1962*, p. 15.

¹²⁵ Farr, *Centennial of Albertland 1862-1962*, p. 15.

¹²⁶ "When Auckland Was Young," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LX, Issue 18427, 16 June 1923, p. 4 (Supplement).

¹²⁷ "When Auckland Was Young," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LX, Issue 18427, 16 June 1923, p. 4 (Supplement).

¹²⁸ "When Auckland Was Young," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LX, Issue 18427, 16 June 1923, p. 4 (Supplement).

unprepared; to that disgrace we hope will not be added neglect of the needs and comforts of the passengers, which must and will be stigmatized as unfeeling and inhuman.”¹²⁹

Family histories use the journeys of the Albertlander ships as a convenient beginning. The Soar family history contained a small account of the voyage for the Soar brothers.¹³⁰ While their time in England is chronicled within the work, it is their first month in New Zealand under quarantine on Rangitoto Island that heralds the start of their story. The history notes that the tween decks of the *Tyburnia* were sanitised when the smallpox outbreak occurred, and the infected passengers were placed on bunks together. Those more advanced in the illness were on the bottom bunk and the recently infected placed above them, not conducive for a swift recovery. However, with only a single doctor on board it was the only way to keep the disease from spreading.¹³¹

The strength of the communal bonds formed by the settlers on board the first six ships correlate with how many of them made the journey to Albertland. The settlers of the earlier ships, *Matilda Wattenbach*, *Hanover*, and *William Miles* had the pomp and circumstance of the settlement’s beginning and the presence of the settlement’s organisers to bolster their spirits. Because of this, most of the settlers on these ships made their way to the settlement with only small numbers remaining in Auckland. From the *Matilda Wattenbach*, the flagship of the scheme, 129 of the 163 passengers in the study group are known to have gone to the settlement. Fifteen settlers are known to have never gone, not even for a limited time. These 15 represented three families and four individuals. In two of these families the leading family member had found work immediately upon arrival—one in iron work and the other in construction. The third family was Brame and his wife, who chose not to proceed to the settlement due to the strained relations between Brame and the settlers. Two of the solo travellers founded businesses in Auckland; one was travelling as part of the Wells family, who were spread across multiple ships, and none of the family chose to go to Albertland. It is not known why the final individual chose to remain in Auckland.

From the *Hanover*, 94 settlers from the study group went to the settlement and 14 remained behind. It is unclear what happened to these 14 settlers. The formation of community groups on board the *Hanover* appears to have encouraged the settlers to stay together and make their way to the settlement. However, as they were the second ship to

¹²⁹ “The Tyburnia,” *New Zealander*, Volume XIX, Issue 1967, 8 September 1863, p. 2.

¹³⁰ Soar, *Quarantined on Arrival*.

¹³¹ Soar, *Quarantined on Arrival*, p. 5.

arrive, only nine days behind the first, it is also probable that they were unaware of the difficulties already being faced by the settlers from the *Matilda Wattenbach*, thus had no reason to remain in Auckland if the wages did not appeal to them.

The second group of three ships show a marked difference from the first, with very few of the settlers moving on to the settlement: 60 from the *Gertrude*, four from the *Tyburnia*, and 23 from the *Annie Wilson*. The *Gertrude* suffered no major issues during its voyage, arriving only three months after the first ships, and it was expected that the number of settlers who went to Albertland would be similar. However, it is possible that news of the difficulties at the settlement encouraged many of the settlers to remain in Auckland. The *Tyburnia* being placed in quarantine for so long upon arrival may explain why so few of its passengers made their way to the settlement. After the frustration of a month living on Rangitoto Island and facing the possibility of continuing that hardship at the settlement, it seems understandable that only four of the settlers left Auckland. The *Annie Wilson* was not quarantined like the *Tyburnia* but arrived almost a year after the first ships. Reports from Albertland at this time were not positive and contributed to only a small number of settlers from the ship going to the settlement.

The ships that followed the initial six brought small numbers of Albertlanders and do not show the same decline in the percentage of settlers who continued on to Albertland as the first six vessels. Settlers from these ships who moved to Albertland were usually a single family, representing all or most of the Albertlanders in the study group on board that ship. From the *Ironsides* and *John Duncan*, all the intending settlers went to the settlement, six from the Hames family and nine from the Woodcock family. On the *Nimroud*, the six Albertlanders, all from the Phelan family, also went. All the Albertlanders who did not go from the later ships were single young men. The two Albertlanders aboard the *Maxwell* who did not go to the settlement were sisters joining their family who had travelled on earlier ships and remained in Auckland. The pattern that appears when all the ships are considered is that the earlier a settler arrived the more likely they were to travel to Albertland, with the number steadily declining. Of the later ships, those in family groups were more likely to go to the settlement, while those travelling alone were more likely to remain in Auckland.

Conclusion

On board the ships the settlers' formation of commercial enterprises, volunteer corps, and musical groups displayed a desire to create communal bonds and showed they were genuinely preparing for the establishment of their settlement. Further, the religious sermons that took place on board the ships and the large numbers who attended showed the adherence of the settlers to their non-conformist identity. However, it is apparent that despite their best efforts to foster communal feeling, the scheme's leaders failed to forge strong enough bonds between the settlers. The propaganda efforts of Brame in the *Albertland Gazette* did not stave off the growing mistrust felt towards him and jeopardised the scheme, as many began to suspect he was disingenuous about his intentions for the settlement. Rev. Edger's efforts to unite the settlers into a new congregation appeared successful on the *Matilda Wattenbach*, but the splitting of the settlers across numerous ships hindered him, regardless of how similar his views were to the preachers on board other vessels.

The crises and illnesses described in sources such as newspapers, diaries, reminiscences, and family histories offered opportunities for the settlers to come together across all classes in the face of a common peril. But they do not seem to have swayed the settlers significantly towards either making their way to Albertland or not. The sources of tension amongst the settlers such as class, marital status, and how they felt they were treated on board the ships did cause many of the settlers to abandon the scheme. Despite this, the relationships that were nurtured on board the ships encouraged the small number of settlers who made the journey to Albertland to forge communal bonds.

Chapter Four: Reality Confronted

The fanfare and excitement of their arrival was short lived for the Albertlanders, as the reality of their situation became increasingly apparent. The Association had long proclaimed that the Great North Road would give the settlers an easy route to the settlement, but upon arrival it became clear that the road only existed on maps and the bush between Auckland and Albertland was almost impassable. The settlers realised that the Association had not set aside any funds for their travel from Auckland and that they had to pay for their own shipping to the settlement. Some had numerous personal items and furniture—one family had even brought a piano—and now faced the decision of abandoning these items in Auckland or paying to transport them. Various routes to Albertland were hastily planned, all relying on boats to ferry the settlers at least part of the journey. Most opted to take a boat from Auckland to Riverhead, walk to Helensville, and board a second vessel to Port Albert via the Kaipara Harbour and Ōruawharo River. Others sailed to Mahurangi or Te Arai and then walked overland to the settlement, although this was a treacherous route and the risk of becoming lost in the dense bush was an ever-present danger. Those who chose to live in the northern Albertland blocks at Paparoa took similar routes, with most walking overland from Te Arai to Paparoa.

The establishment of settlements in New Zealand by different religious and commercial groups has long been of interest to historians. However, this interest has typically been directed towards settlements that were successful in achieving a specific goal despite facing hardship. This leaves a gap in the understanding of settlements in New Zealand, as it omits those settlements that appear to have failed to gain traction and achieve their goals. Discussion of whether the failure of these settlements was due to their location, a lack of coherent leadership, lack of aid from outside groups, or disagreements over community governance is also absent. The Albertland settlement has long been assumed to have been one of these failed settlements, but this may not be entirely accurate. The Albertland settlers faced significant challenges: the land they were given was remote and unsuitable for farming, many people abandoned the scheme almost immediately after arrival, and the settlers who ventured to the district were dispersed across a large area. However, difficulty in establishing the settlement does not equate to failure. The pivotal first years of the Albertland settlement demonstrate the nature of an aspiring community who adjusted to a new reality and made their settlement work regardless of the challenges they faced. They show the administrative

efforts of the settlers and the strength of the communal bonds they built. It can also be observed how the settlers' decisions were influenced through their new governing bodies, recreational entities, commercial ventures, and familial connections.

Ngāti Whātua and the Purchase of the Albertland Block

The Albertlanders initially relied on the kindness of their neighbours, Ngāti Whātua. The open acceptance Ngāti Whātua had of the new arrivals and their eagerness for trade ensured that the Albertlanders who made their way to the settlement had access to fresh food in lieu of the rations they had carted to the settlement from Auckland. Near starvation was staved off when local Māori provided fresh fish, fruit, and vegetables to the Port Albert market. This relationship was in stark contrast to the war raging in the Waikato between the Kingitanga and Imperial troops which many of the settlers feared might spill into the north of the colony.¹ Māori were noted as assisting the Albertlanders upon arrival but then were only mentioned in passing in histories of the settlement. This does not mean that Ngāti Whātua are irrelevant to the story of Albertland; rather, it shows that the genealogical and historical sources written about the settlement were composed as settler, not bicultural, histories. They detail the experiences of a specific group, and this does not by default dismiss the place of Ngāti Whātua in the story of Albertland or the wider Kaipara region.

The purchase of the Ōruawharo and Paparoa/Matakohe blocks for settlement by the Albertland Special Settlement Association followed a two-decade series of sales and dealings between Ngāti Whātua and the Colonial Government. From 1848 to 1853 Ngāti Whātua sold 16 blocks of land centred on the Waitematā Harbour, sales that left them with no reserves or special sections. A second phase of sales from 1854 to 1856 included another five blocks, while a third phase lasted almost a decade, from 1858 to 1868, and covered 23 transactions, two of which were the Ōruawharo and Paparoa/Matakohe blocks.² Reserves were set aside in these blocks, although most were inaccessible by land. Any disputes that arose from these later sales were swiftly dealt with by the Crown, and the iwi appeared content with the

¹ E. Grant, *Cradle of the Kaipara* (Dargaville: E. Grant, 1994), p. 9.

² Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngāti Whātua and The Crown: Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, 9 September 2011, p. 25.

outcomes. By the end of this series of sales, all Ngāti Whātua interests had been effectively removed from Auckland north to Riverhead and the Ōruawharo.³

By the 1860s the two leading rangatira of Ngāti Whātua, Arama Karaka and Paikea, were hopeful that a new group of settlers could be persuaded to settle around the Kaipara Harbour and form a buffer between Ngāti Whātua in the South and Ngāpuhi in the North. As an added concession, the two rangatira pledged to protect any settlers from attacks in the North or the violence starting in the Waikato.⁴ Numerous blocks of land were offered to the Auckland Provincial Government for surveying and inspection. The Provincial Government decided to purchase the Ōruawharo block for use in their “40-acre scheme,” and retained the full title to all the land until settlers had remained on their allotments for five years. The deed for the Ōruawharo block detailed the boundaries of the block and the surrounding blocks along with the stipulation that the sale was final and included all the land contained in the boundary—the rights to the waterways and any minerals that could be found in the future. The only exception made was the Paraheke Reserve, which was set aside as both an important food source and a wāhi tapu. Eighteen members of Ngāti Whātua signed the deed and the District Commissioner, John Rogan, signed on behalf of the Crown with a total of £500 paid for the block.⁵

The cultural differences between the Albertlanders and their Ngāti Whātua neighbours caused some strife, usually owing to the ignorance of the settlers. While travelling with a group of settler men, Edwin Stanley Brookes Jnr noted that two settler boys had gathered firewood from a clearing near Puatahi—unaware that it was a burial ground. The settlers retreated to a nearby missionary’s house when the trespass was discovered by local Māori, who stood outside the house until the missionary explained why it had happened. The missionary was able to assuage the fears of the settlers, assure them that they would not be harmed, and he warned them to avoid the tapu area and consider carefully where they were collecting their resources in future.⁶ This appears to be the only incident with potential for a violent escalation that the settlers encountered, no other major transgressions were

³ Waitangi Tribunal, *Ngāti Whātua and The Crown*, p. 25.

⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Kaipara Report: Combined Record of Inquiry for the Kaipara Claims*, Wai 674 (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2006), pp. 38-39.

⁵ Deeds – No. 161. Ōruawharo No. 1 Block, Kaipara District, 1862, FC16, Map Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Deeds – No. 162. Ōruawharo No. 2 Block, Kaipara District, 1862, FC16, Map Collection, Albertland & District Museum, Wellsford.

⁶ Edward J. Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block: A Story of Albertland as related in the letters & manuscripts of the Brookes family* (Wellsford: The Albertland & Districts Museum, 1995), p. 52.

committed, and the two communities coexisted peacefully through the initial period of settlement.

The Impossible Road: Travelling to the Settlement

Immediately upon arrival in Auckland confusion began to take hold of the settlers as the inhabitants of Auckland informed them that the Great North Road did not exist, and that they had nothing but hardship ahead of them. George Brookes wrote that “no one knew where we should go first, or whether our goods would have to be landed in Auckland or go round by the North Cape, which they ought to have done.”⁷ James Trounson wrote that “among us was a young Scotsman; when he heard the bad news he said ‘we all like sheep have been led astray. I am going back again with this same ship!’”⁸ This confusion led to many seeking employment in Auckland, as they did not want to risk the journey to Albertland and found the wages in Auckland far higher than they had expected.

The numerous routes offered to the settlers afforded them no comfort (Figure 24). Those who chose to travel overland became lost in the dense bush, with some only finding the settlement through the intervention of experienced guides and local Māori they met during the journey. Those who sailed through the Kaipara Harbour saw for themselves the impenetrable nature of the bush, the steep hills that they would have to farm, and the muddy estuaries that would make shipping almost impossible for the new settlement.⁹ The scheme’s leaders worried that too many settlers were abandoning the scheme and hurriedly packed as many as they could onto a cutter bound for Riverhead. The settlers were discontented with having to sleep on board and having to leave their luggage in Auckland due to a lack of space.¹⁰ George Brookes said that of the Nottingham party of settlers only two or three families left Auckland, but those who did go stayed together, “having been together since we left the ship, coming up in the same boat, pitching our tents near one another, always been at one fire.”¹¹ However, the journey was easier for some. The settlers who made Wharehine, in

⁷ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, pp. 43-44.

⁸ R. D. Tounson, *The Tounsons of Northern Wairoa* (Mangonui, The Tounson Family, 1988), p. 3.

⁹ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 44.

¹⁰ Tounson, *The Tounsons*, p. 3.

¹¹ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 33.

Albertland South, their home were dropped at Te Wheau which was close to their allotments. They therefore did not have to endure the ten-mile trek the Port Albert settlers faced.¹²

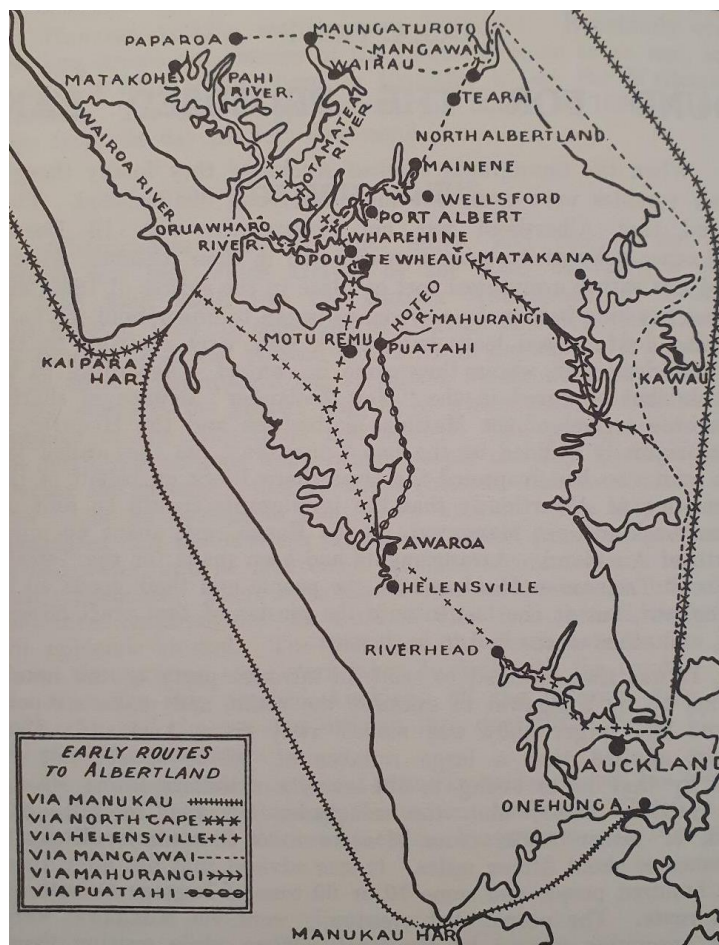


Figure 24: Image, *Early routes to Albertland*, in Henry Brett, Henry Hook, *The Albertlanders: Brave Pioneers of the 'Sixties* (Auckland: The Brett Printing Company Limited, 1927), p. 68.

Upon arrival Edwin Brookes Jnr was given a position as a government surveyor and left his two younger brothers to make their way to Albertland alone (Figure 25). Charles and George Brookes took a leadership role and organised transportation for themselves and 30 other settlers to Port Albert. The brothers hired small boats for the group leaving for Albertland via the Riverhead route. Supplies for the journey were an ever-present issue, although George noted that “there was plenty of bread and water, and while we had lived on that for two days, we enjoyed it for we could not get anything else.”¹³ Because the group had brought ten tons of combined luggage with them, multiple return journeys were the only way to move their belongings inland once they reached Riverhead. They moved a luggage case two miles and then returned for the next before repeating the process. This made the

¹² Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 44.

¹³ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 44.

enterprise far slower than if they had left their luggage in Auckland and only taken necessities.

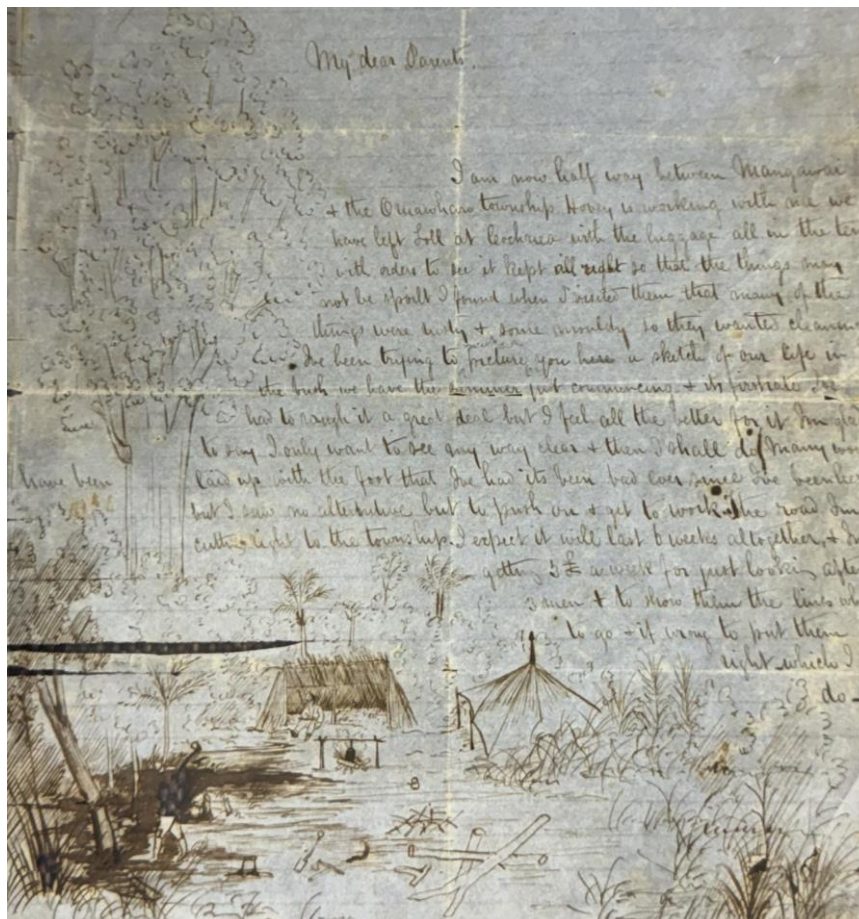


Figure 25: Edwin Brookes Jnr received a commission as a government surveyor but before he took up his first assignment, he assisted in cutting tracks near the Albertland settlement. The sketch is of the surveyor camp and his brother, who briefly assisted him, as they cut a road near Port Albert. The difficulty of the task is gleaned from the size of the trees he has drawn. Document, A Letter from E. S. Brookes Jnr to his Parents dated 31 October 1862, 2007-84-4, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The first Albertlanders to arrive at Riverhead waited three weeks for a bullock dray team to arrive and cart their luggage overland to Helensville. This itself took almost a week, and many became enraged that William Brame was not present to explain the delays and lack of organisation. Brame appeared at Riverhead after the first party had been there for a week, but only to collect money for the boats he had organised to carry settlers from Auckland to Riverhead. He was charging 2/6d per passenger, including their luggage, and this was described as a better arrangement as those who organised their own passage had to pay two separate fees for themselves and their luggage.¹⁴ Regardless of the better price, resentment

¹⁴ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 34.

towards Brame continued to grow as the settlers felt he had not shown any leadership since their arrival and was believed to only be interested in self-serving financial matters. The settlers were told to ride on top of the drays for the 12-mile journey from Riverhead to Helensville, but many preferred walking through knee-high mud to the constant rocking and waited for the bullock team to catch up while they made camp each night. One of the drays of the *Matilda Wattenbach* party overturned, sending furniture and belongings tumbling down a gully, and a piano was accidentally left on the roadside for days in the rain.¹⁵

The delays the settlers of the *Matilda Wattenbach* suffered influenced the decisions the settlers of the *Hanover* made regarding their journey to Albertland. Many of the *Hanover* party sent their luggage to Albertland by boat via the North Cape, rather than cart it overland like the *Matilda Wattenbach* party, meanwhile they travelled via Helensville. However, when the next boat arrived in Helensville, arguments between the two parties broke out over who would get to go first. The *Matilda Wattenbach* settlers argued they should go first as they had been waiting for weeks, whilst the *Hanover* party argued they should go first as they had no belongings with them and the boat carrying their luggage would soon be at the settlement. George Brookes described the disagreement as “like the War of the Roses.”¹⁶ It was also in Helensville that the settlers began to run low on rations. What bread they had brought with them had run out, milk was scarce, and oatmeal porridge became their chief provision. On the boats to the settlement, they had to make do with raw kūmara or potatoes, although the Marcroft family were able to scavenge oysters and caught some ducks once they arrived at Te Wheau. This gave the families hope that when they arrived at the settlement their supply issues would be resolved—and that Brame’s descriptions of abundant wild fowl and pig were true.¹⁷

Though the *Matilda Wattenbach* party left Helensville first, their trouble continued when one of their boats ran aground and the settlers were forced to sleep on board in the rain. The next issue they faced was where they should put ashore. While some wanted to go straight on to the settlement, others wanted to go ashore nearer the blocks they planned to farm. This meant that families who wanted to go to Port Albert were left to walk along the banks of the Ōruawharo if their fellow settlers elected to put ashore in Wharehine.¹⁸ After

¹⁵ Trounson, *The Trounsons*, p. 3.

¹⁶ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 45.

¹⁷ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 37.

¹⁸ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 46.

arriving at their promised land, the settlers were let down by the shanty town that awaited them. The tents provided some shelter, but many built nikau whare that provided more comfort and could fit their furniture and luggage. These were to be their homes until permanent cottages could be built.¹⁹ Many families sent the men to set up a makeshift camp on their allotments, if they could find where they were, while the rest of the family waited at the township (Figure 26).

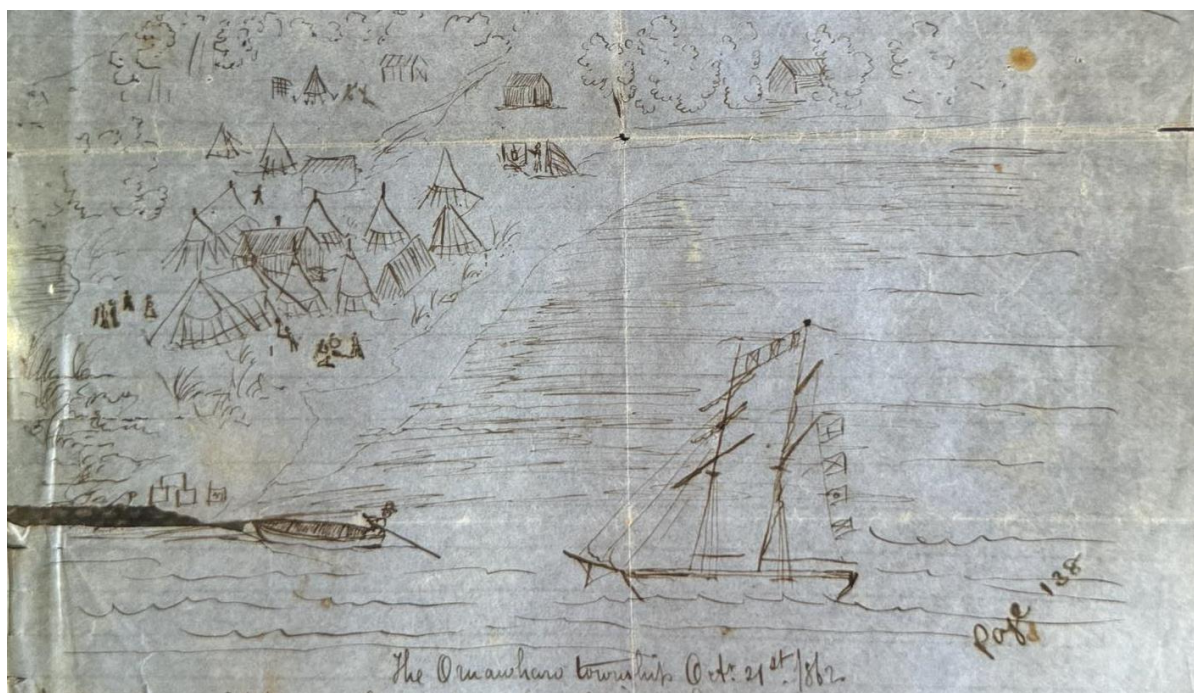


Figure 26: A sketch of Port Albert by E. S. Brookes Jnr in a letter he sent to his parents. All the dwellings at Port Albert were either tents or hastily constructed nikau whare. Document, The Oruawhoro Township 21 Oct 1862, a sketch of Port Albert by E. S. Brookes Jnr in a letter he sent to his parents, 2007-84-4, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The Trounson family became the first Albertlanders to meet Rev. William Gittos when he arrived unexpectedly at Riverhead (Figure 27). Gittos had been active in the Kaipara area for decades, having settled in Waingohi in 1856, and had a close bond with the local iwi Ngāti Whātua. It was through Gittos' intervention that the iwi sold the Albertland block, and his continuing presence in the district encouraged cooperation between the settlers and their Māori neighbours.²⁰ Gittos arrived at Riverhead via boat and offered it to the family, helping negotiate a reasonable price with the two Māori men who had rowed him there. The family were rowed to Shelly Beach, where they spent a night before making another stop at a Māori camp at Karakanui. Here the women of the family felt apprehensive at being surrounded by

¹⁹ Savage, *Edwin Stanley Brookes*, p. 46.

²⁰ Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, pp. 11-13.

the Māori inhabitants so the men had to promise to stand watch over their whare until the next morning. Another day of travel landed them at Pahi—a six mile walk from their land at Paparoa.²¹ The disappointment the family felt upon arrival was immense. They learned that their sections had not even been surveyed and that they could not begin farming or building a home until the surveys were complete, a task that could take up to six months for remote sections. To survive, the family planted a small vegetable garden on the banks of the river, knowing it would be left to waste when their section was ready for clearing.²² The rest of the Trounson's group at Riverhead had to wait another fortnight before a dray team arrived; with their party spread out, it was impossible for them to assist each other.



Figure 27: Rev. William Gittos, 2004.2.2007.1138, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The Webb family arrived on the *Gertrude*, later than the first two ships. They saw the difficulties the earlier arrivals had endured and made their own plans accordingly. They decided to settle north of Paparoa and Matakoho, which gave them a longer journey to plan and the prospect of unknown obstacles that other settlers had not encountered. Thomas Webb and his 13-year-old son Thomas Stirrup Webb made the journey first.²³ Thomas Snr's wife Mary-Ann and their other six children remained in Auckland until the men had found a clear

²¹ Trounson, *The Trounsons*, pp. 4-6.

²² Trounson, *The Trounsons*, p. 6.

²³ Thomas Webb J.P., *Reminiscences* (Dargaville: North Auckland Times, 1929), pp. 10-11.

path north, identified their land, and built a temporary structure to serve as their home. Thomas Stirrup Webb reminisced that the journey northward was very difficult. When crossing the Manukau Bar their boat was rocked so heavily that his father tied him to the mast to keep him from being thrown overboard. The boat made stops at Port Albert, Pahi, and Matakoho before stopping at Mititai where they disembarked; the journey took them three weeks.²⁴

The Webb family were initially helped by neighbours, none of whom appear to have been fellow Albertlanders. The area where they settled was sparsely populated even in comparison to Port Albert, Paparoa, and Matakoho. They were completely isolated until they made a canoe, although this was only used to explore the creeks on their land and was not fit for the wider rivers or the Kaipara Harbour. Only after months of toil on their allotment were they able to purchase a punt that could take them further.²⁵ The lateness of their arrival and isolation of their land meant that the Webb family missed the events surrounding the establishment of Port Albert, the difficulties the other settlers faced in gaining access to their allotments, and the discussions on the government of the settlement.

The Thomson family made similar arrangements to the Webb family. George Thomson and his oldest son, ten-year-old George Lamberton Thomson, made their way to Matakoho after procuring a cottage on Grey Street in Auckland for the other members of the family to live in temporarily. The Thomson men secured passage on a ship travelling through the Kaipara Harbour and, unlike the prolonged voyages endured by others, it took them only a single day to arrive at Pahi from Onehunga. However, upon arrival they found the boat was unable to pull into shore so they had to rely on a group of Māori with a large canoe to assist them. The difficulties continued: they had been put ashore over a mile from their allotment, and they feared the tide would wash their belongings away.²⁶ The family later bought their own punt and were able to ship their larger items up to Matakoho, including a piano, carpets, and other large pieces of furniture.²⁷ This was a considerable feat as Matakoho was extremely isolated, even compared to the other parts of Albertland, being surrounded by two tidal creeks on the eastern side and the Ruawai and Tokatoka swamps on the western side.²⁸

²⁴ Webb, *Reminiscences*, pp. 10-11.

²⁵ Webb, *Reminiscences*, pp. 10-11.

²⁶ Ethel Fenwick and Basil Avery, *Legacies to a Young Land* (Auckland: OTM Limited, 2005), p. 7.

²⁷ Fenwick and Avery, *Legacies*, p. 8.

²⁸ Margaret Wilson, ed., *Paparoa-Matakoho: 1862-1962* (Paparoa: Paparoa, Matakoho and Districts Centennial Association, 1962), p. 6.

The Smith family of Dollar, Scotland also settled in Matakoho, hiring a whaleboat and team of Māori men to row them there. On their journey, the family spent a night in a Māori camp. They were welcomed warmly, and their baby son William was passed around by the inhabitants as he was the first European baby many had seen. This caused Catherine Smith much anxiety; she became worried they would not be able to leave with the child the next morning.²⁹ Nevertheless, their time together endeared the family to the local iwi, and they maintained a good relationship throughout the early years of the settlement. The family had a vague notion of where their land was, as they had been shown a map in Auckland before departing. This meant they did not have to stop at the settler camps in Matakoho or Paparoa and could make their way directly to their allotment. Many settlers who had chosen north Albertland as their home had to stay in the Pahi Barracks for up to six months as they waited for the ballots to be drawn at Mangawhai.³⁰ The beginning of the Smith family's time in Albertland was far easier than for others, as they were able to clear and cultivate their section immediately.

It was not only transportation issues that hindered settlers journeying to Albertland. Some found themselves pressganged into the colony's militias due to the ongoing war in the Waikato. One such settler in this situation was Edward Antrobus. Upon arrival in Auckland his military record, having served in various imperial conflicts before emigration, was too good for the local militia to let pass and he was asked to join the Waikato militia at the rank of Major. The danger present in the Waikato was not to be trifled with; although an experienced soldier, Antrobus was killed in action 24 August 1864, a year and a half after arriving in New Zealand. He never visited Albertland.³¹

Typically, it was the young single men who found themselves in the militia. Albert Edward Brookes arrived on the *Gertrude*, five months after his brothers, and confronted a stark choice. He wrote to his parents explaining "you will not be very glad to hear that I am a soldier but there was no help for it, as I was in Auckland when the briefs came out...and anybody that did not go over the age of 16 years, was made to pay £5."³² Albert made the choice to go into the militia rather than pay the £5 for an exemption; he noted that his

²⁹ Sterling and Smith, *Recollections*, p. 11.

³⁰ Sterling and Smith, *Recollections*, p. 14.

³¹ "Auckland," *New Zealand Spectator And Cook's Strait Guardian*, Volume XIX, Issue 1993, 7 September 1864, p. 3.

³² Letter from Albert Edward Brookes to his Parents dated 23 July 1863, 1863, 2007-84-63, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

younger brother was only allowed to go on to the settlement because he was just shy of 16 years old. He also told his parents that half of the young men who were on the *Gertrude* were there with him and that the other half escaped doing military service by going into the bush. He noted some *Matilda Wattenbach* settlers were also present.³³ George Dibble, of the *Hanover*, served as a Private in the Auckland Militia Cavalry. Unlike the other serving Albertland men who were single, he had emigrated with his wife and three children. However, the length of service he had with the militia was short: he arrived in New Zealand in September 1862 and was discharged from service in February 1864.³⁴ It may have been this short term of service that encouraged him to still make his way to Albertland with his family.

Injuries gained during militia service may have caused many young men to abandon the Albertland scheme. William Vickery arrived in the colony on board the *Hanover* and was conscripted into the Auckland militia. He was given the opportunity to go to the Auckland Church of Christ, where he converted from Anglicanism, before beginning his service. Within a month he was on sentry duty in Drury and was injured when a soldier cleaning his rifle forgot to check if it was loaded and fired a shot that hit Vickery in the chest. His life was only saved thanks to the round hitting his greatcoat button first and stopping before it hit his heart. The injury brought his service to an end but meant there was no way he could survive life in Albertland, thus he remained in Auckland.³⁵ With so many of the scheme's young men being pressed into military service, the Albertland settlement lost a valuable source of manpower. This may have contributed to the difficulties suffered at the settlement when manpower was required to make roads and clear bush.

Upon arrival in Auckland the Albertlanders found themselves without accommodation, without food, and without clear directions to the settlement. Families were split as some travelled north and others either stayed in Auckland or entered military service. These difficulties contributed significantly to the decisions of many to settle permanently in Auckland, ultimately leading to the decline of the Albertland scheme.

³³ Letter from Albert Edward Brookes to his Parents dated 23 July 1863, 1863, 2007-84-63, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

³⁴ "From: Captain Hutton Date: 9 February 1864 Subject: Requesting to discharge Private George Dibble," 9 February 1864, 1864/391, National Archives C-338-484, Box No. 16, Central Filing System, Deputy Adjutant-General - Inwards Letters, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

³⁵ Marjorie Pictor, *Looking Further Back: The Evans, Huddleston(E) and Vickery Families* (Wellsford: Marjorie Pictor, 2022), pp. 14-15.

Land Without Leadership: Internal Conflict

Each leader in the Albertland scheme had their own motivations for taking part in the venture. Upon arrival these motivations clashed and may have contributed to the hardships the settlers faced establishing themselves at Albertland. William Brame's faltering charisma and business dealings brought him into conflict with the settlers, who had become suspicious of his intentions while voyaging to New Zealand. Without a unifying figurehead it became easier for the settlers to scatter. Frictions amongst the other leaders, especially Dr James Bell, Rev. Samuel Edger, and Rev. William Gittos, intensified over the governance of the new settlement. The distance between the settlers' properties, lack of crops and marketable goods, and the lack of funding for the carving of roads made any attempt at forming a centralised governing committee impractical. Concurrently, the presence of a resident minister in the district caused conflict amongst the religious leaders of the settlement. This culminated in Rev. Edger feeling usurped and betrayed, to the point he saw no alternative but to leave the district entirely.

When the bulk of intending settlers decided to remain in Auckland, Brame found himself in a financially disastrous position. Without settlers on the land, he forfeited the payments he stood to gain from the Auckland Provincial Council. He travelled about Auckland looking for his settlers, trying to determine why they were abandoning the scheme. He discovered it was the better wages offered in the city and tried to encourage some young men to travel north promising 5 shillings a day for work. When they discovered four shillings was the maximum they could earn at the settlement, he tried to appease them by offering work building his home as well. Unfortunately, he had already promised this work to men from another ship. This confusion led to both groups of men abandoning the project and the frame of Brame's house stood unfinished for years afterwards.³⁶

To alleviate his financial burdens, Brame claimed the township sections of the Ōruawharo block—intending to sell off the sections for a profit (Figure 28). He obtained the Crown grant for these lands and had the deed put in his own name.³⁷ His claim over the town lands and the use of a ballot system to decide who received the other allotments at Port Albert enraged the settlers. They felt that all lands should be sold at auction and that Brame deserved

³⁶ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 63.

³⁷ "The Town Lands," *The Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 2.

no special treatment. Brame attempted to curry sympathy among the settlers of the ship *Hanover* by telling them upon their arrival that he had been forced to use a ballot system by the settlers of the *Matilda Wattenbach*. Those settlers were no longer in Auckland and could not defend themselves against his accusation.³⁸ The settlers felt that Brame was wielding irresponsible power, and the uncertainty he created dissuaded many settlers from travelling to the settlement.

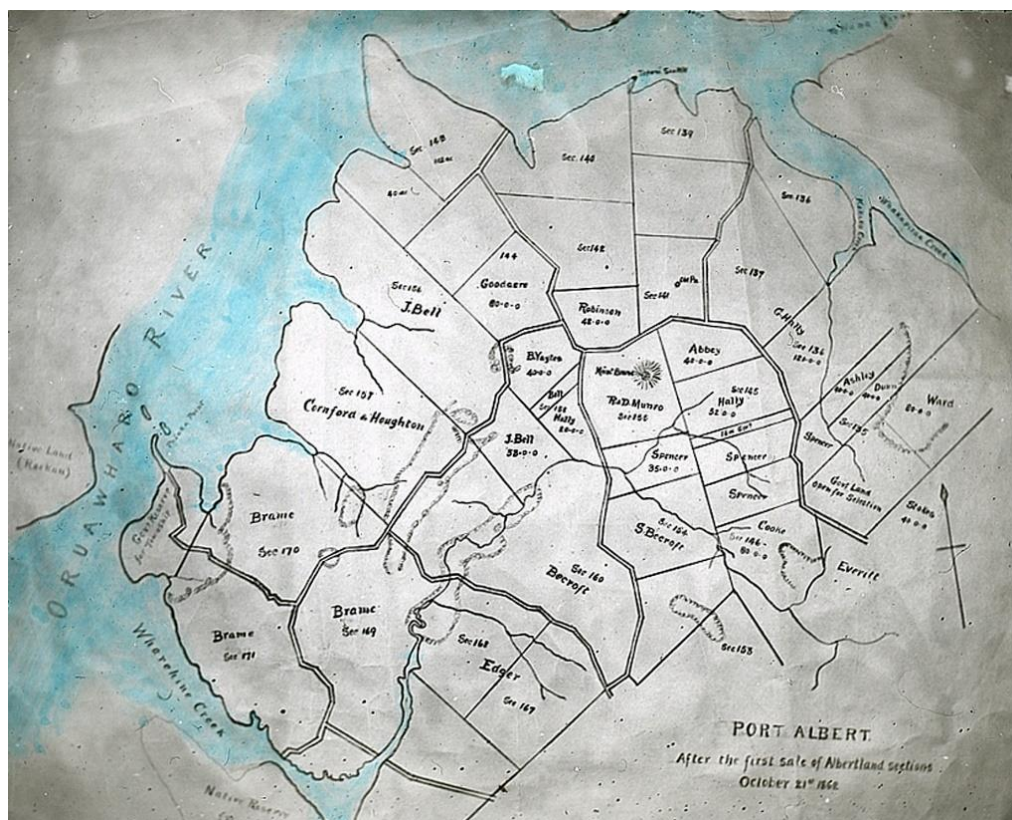


Figure 28: Map of Port Albert after the first sale of land. On this map the main settlement of Port Albert extends into the Oruawharo River to the left of the map. The three town lands allotments that William Rawson Brame claimed, causing a major dispute in the fledgling settlement, are adjacent to the Port. Image, *First map of Port Albert. Oct 1862 showing land holders allotments*, 2004-2-2007-1140, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The settlers felt the only way to settle the dispute over the town lands was to force Brame to give control of the sections to a group of trustees. Rev. Edger had planned to hold his allotments as a shareholder with other settlers to foster a greater sense of communal co-operation; thus, he was nominated as one of the trustees to oppose Brame. Edger was the first to accept the new office, one of only five who did, and Brame eventually signed the town lands over to the group.³⁹ The deed of conveyance was negotiated by a solicitor acting on behalf of the settlers and included a concession in which Brame could purchase a town

³⁸ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 43.

³⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 97-98.

section for a reduced price.⁴⁰ Due to this dispute, Brame lost control of Port Albert township and the surrounding allotments—a new group of leaders supplanted him with the settlers' support.⁴¹

Brame's final visit to Port Albert was disastrous. He had hoped to act as the courier for the settlers, transporting the possessions left in Auckland for the initial journey to Port Albert, and charge a fee for his work. He did this through a general store he established near the Port Albert township. The agent Brame appointed to run the store while he was in Auckland supplied some of the settlers with alcohol, and one woman allegedly became so drunk she attacked her daughter with a knife. Although nobody was hurt, the blame was placed solely on Brame for the supply of alcohol. This incident and the exorbitant charge Brame planned for shipping, described as open robbery, caused him to abandon the venture.⁴² As he left Port Albert, news spread amongst the settlers that he intended not to return. A correspondent at Albertland reported "Brame has gone to Auckland, and says he shall never come back again. Everyone hopes it is true!"⁴³ In a letter to his brother Samuel in Britain, Brame said "Albertland still lives, but it has nearly killed me. I have been very ill indeed since the last mail."⁴⁴

Brame died of a suspected aneurysm just before his 30th birthday, having only visited Albertland twice after arriving and vowing there would not be a third time. The settlers had lost faith in him, his reputation and financial situation were in tatters, and it took decades before he underwent any rehabilitation in the eyes of his fellow Albertlanders. He wrote his Will only 11 days before he died. He asked that all real estate he owned at the time of his death be sold, and bequeathed all returns from the sale to his wife, or should she die, to his siblings.⁴⁵ Edwin Brookes Jnr wrote a small obituary for him that began "He being at heart a Puritan endured all the trials that ensued with resignation... this too while life's stream was just ebbing and while his earthly career was fast closing."⁴⁶ Brookes Jnr also wrote to his

⁴⁰ "The Town Lands," *The Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 3.

⁴¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 93.

⁴² Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 67.

⁴³ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ Bede Scott, "Old Man Kaipara," *New Zealand Geographic*, no. 026, Apr-May 1995, accessed 10.09.2022. <https://www.nzgeo.com/stories/old-man-kaipara/>

⁴⁵ "BRAME, William Rawson – Parnell – Settler," 1863, National Archives R18803630, Box No. 12, Record No. 202, Auckland Probates - First Sequence, Archives New Zealand, Auckland, New Zealand.

⁴⁶ E. S. Brookes Jnr, "To the Memory of William Rawson Brame: President and Founder of the Albertland Special Settlement Scheme," Handwritten obituary for William Rawson Brame, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

father that “this defect and the time of waiting for the sale of the land cost the settlers considerable sums and for all this the leader got the blame, although he was not in the least responsible.”⁴⁷ Perhaps the most ironic tribute to Brame was the naming of Albertland’s highest point as Mount Brame, a conical peak that was turned into a quarry and reduced to a small hill, brought low like the man who was its namesake.⁴⁸

With Brame dead and the town lands in their grasp, the new trustees began the arduous task of organising the allotments and found that many who had bought town sections at auction had never paid the dues (Figure 29). There were 11 families registered as residing on town lands but having not paid. The trustees gave them three months to pay their dues, or the lands would be forfeited along with any amounts already paid. The trustees also announced that any applications for town lands had to be made in writing and submitted only to them, no other applications would be accepted. This was an attempt by the trustees to restore order and resolve the issues Brame caused when he attempted to sell the town sections himself.⁴⁹ The attempt backfired: the trustees found that rather than pay the dues the settlers either moved onto the rural allotments, which they were entitled to under the 40-acre scheme, or left Albertland permanently. Of the 11 families named in the dues notice four moved onto rural allotments in south Albertland, two families left the district, a single man moved to the Wharehine block of Albertland, and another family became one of the founders of the new township of Wellsford. It is unknown what happened to the remaining three families, but it is likely they also left the district entirely.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 55.

⁴⁸ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 70.

⁴⁹ “Advertisements,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 6, 4 November 1863, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 117-118

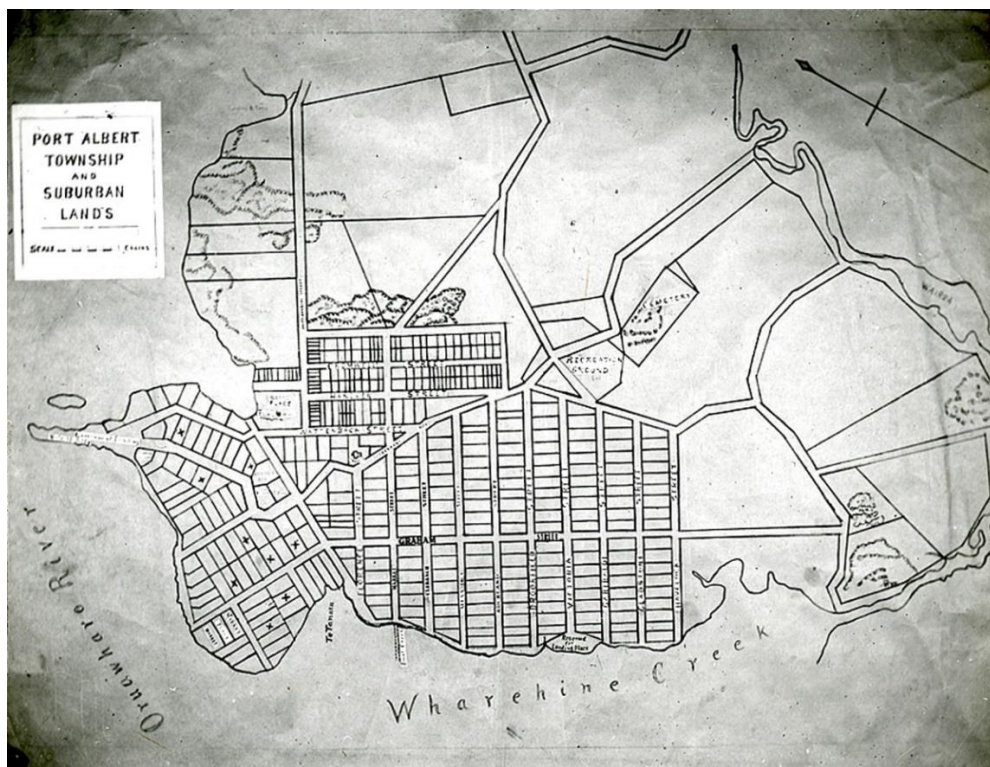


Figure 29: Map of the planned town of Port Albert. The map includes spaces for Wesleyan, Methodist, Anglican, and Catholic Churches. A recreation ground and marketplace are also reserved. Many of the planned streets were to be named after the Albertland ships. None of these plans came to fruition. Image, *Map of Port Albert township*, 2004-2-2007-1141, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The *Albertland Gazette* shows Rev. Edger took the duties of trustee seriously. In the first issue after Brame's death, the issuing of tenders for public works was placed under his name.⁵¹ His assertiveness in this role may have been the cause of future conflict, as two camps began to form amongst the trustees: one following Edger and the other following Dr Bell. Funding the building of the settlement was the primary issue; although the trustees held the town lands, they could not support any public works unless they disposed of them through auction or used them as collateral for a loan. Edger insisted that a £500 loan be taken against the 300 acres of town land immediately, or all road making would have to be stopped. Dr Bell insisted that such a loan was unnecessary as the government was determined to settle the area; the value of the town lands would then inevitably rise, making a later sale the preferable course. The outcome was a compromise that left neither side satisfied: a small loan was secured, and the town lands properly surveyed and sold to raise the community funds.⁵²

Another issue was that the Provincial Government had no way of communicating with the settlement because there was no local governing board. Bell put forward a motion for a

⁵¹ "Public Notice," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 2.

⁵² "Public Meeting," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 3.

council of three, charged with the general administration of the settlement and be elected for life. Edger countered with a council of nine, initially including some of the trustees, to be elected annually. The motion was tabled and the consensus from the settlers was that Edger's proposal was far more agreeable.⁵³ At a meeting a month later, it was proposed by the trustees that the new governing board instead be ten persons. While some wished for the trustees to be included on the board and for Port Albert to have two representatives rather than one, so as to keep the town the centre of the community, Edger retorted that the trustees should be separate and one representative to each area would suffice.⁵⁴ Edger was concerned that power over the settlement would be bestowed on a select few, endangering a sense of common good and returning the group to similar struggles like those between the trustees and Brame. His outspokenness began to cause a rift between himself and the other leaders of the settlement.

Edger's disagreements with his fellow Albertlanders became a burden to him. Near the end of 1865, the opportunity to take charge of the Albert Street Congregational Church in Auckland was offered and he took the chance for some respite. This was a temporary posting, intended to last only a month, yet he found the non-sectarian principles he had been promised in Albertland were fully supported by many in Auckland.⁵⁵ It was during this absence, Edger claimed later, that the settlement's physician and a Methodist missionary based in the Kaipara, became antagonistic towards him. These two, whom he does not name, were probably Dr Bell and Rev. Gittos. While the circumstances are not clear, it appears to have once again been regarding the town lands. The physician and missionary worked in conjunction to spread the rumour that Edger had misused chapel funds.⁵⁶ With the help of the Albert Street Congregational Church Deacons, Edger was able to find the person who had supposedly made the initial accusation, only to discover they had no knowledge of it. When this information was forwarded to Bell and Gittos, they made no effort to quell the rumours they had allegedly started (Figure 30).⁵⁷

⁵³ "Public Meeting," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 3.

⁵⁴ "Public Meetings," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 4, 1 September 1863, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 89-90.

⁵⁶ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 84.

⁵⁷ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 84.



Figure 30: Dr James Bell, official physician of the Albertland scheme. A major opponent of Rev. Edger throughout the early years of the Albertland scheme, he sided with Rev. Gittos on many issues, further alienating Edger as the official minister. Image, *Dr James Bell*, 2006-1-114-31, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Further alienating him from his congregation was Edger's finding that many of his duties were being performed by Rev. Gittos. The first marriage in Albertland was between Richard Cutforth and Emily Martha Pettet, and the *Albertland Gazette* stated that the new couple intended to stay in the district and live on William Pettet's allotments known as "Cambridgeville."⁵⁸ The ceremony was officiated by Gittos; Edger merely assisted.⁵⁹ That the first marriage of the settlement was officiated by a non-Albertlander and not the official minister of the scheme signalled that the planned hierarchy developed in Britain was not stable. The influence of Gittos was not limited to presiding over notable events. He continued to aid the settlers in their discussions with the local iwi and became a regular preacher in the Albertland congregations, being heard mainly at Port Albert. However, this does not appear to be a deliberate attempt to replace Edger, who is also named on the preaching rosters in

⁵⁸ "Local and District News," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 4.

⁵⁹ "Local and District," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 4.

different parts of Albertland. It seems that Gittos merely filled vacant slots while Edger travelled through the district.⁶⁰

In the opening week of August 1866, a momentous shift in fortunes ended the Rev. Edger's time in Albertland. Returning to Port Albert from Auckland life seemed to return to the same routine for Edger. The family attended morning services together, and while the others returned home Edger remained for an afternoon or evening service. One evening, while Edger engaged in dinner with others from the later service, his family returned and informed him that their house had completely burnt to the ground. Years later Edger wrote, "To this day, when all is so changed, the mere thought [of the event] is enough to bring into the soul an indefinable and inexpressible agony."⁶¹ While friends and neighbours raised over £100 and donated various amenities and furniture to the family, Edger decided the time had come for them to leave Albertland and settle in Auckland permanently.

To establish themselves in Auckland, the family partially sold their interest in two sections of land in Wharehine. Lot 1 and Lot 2 of Wharehine totalled 262 acres and Edger sold 130 acres to three buyers, all Albertlanders, for £195.⁶² With this financial capital the move to Auckland was achieved, and less than a month after losing the family home Edger was preaching in Parnell. He did not build his own church or use any other, preferring just to use any large building capable of holding a congregation. His non-sectarian services had their detractors, but he simply focused his religious teachings on the question "would Christ have done it?" Those who knew him later remarked this left many of his congregation feeling they could never achieve so high a standard.⁶³

Developing the Land: Ambition and Aspiration

The struggles of the settlers endured long after their arrival in Albertland; their "misery in the new colony therefore constituted a challenge to the colonial dream, and to the growing myth of better life, and of a future 'ideal society' far from home."⁶⁴ They faced both food shortages

⁶⁰ "Untitled," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 5, 1 October 1863, p. 3.

⁶¹ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 87.

⁶² Wharehine Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.2, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 5.

⁶³ Samuel Edger, *Sermons Preached at Auckland, New Zealand*, edited by Kate M. Edger & Lilian Edger (London: Yates & Alexander, 1870), p. viii.

⁶⁴ Waltraud Ernst, "The Social History of Pakeha Psychiatry in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand: Main Themes," in *A Healthy Country: Essays on the Social History of Medicine in New Zealand*, ed. Linda Bryder (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), p. 67.

and communication issues, employing many methods in their attempts to overcome these challenges. Albertland began to show signs of a burgeoning community with regular events and groups being established, and families welcoming newborns. However, with such small returns in their first harvests, many families resorted to sending as many working members as they could back to Auckland for work. Any wages they earned would be sent back to the family or if the family sent lists of their needs to Auckland, these would be procured and shipped back to the settlement. So many did this in Matakohē and Paparoa that settler George Thomson was for a time the only head of household remaining in the district.⁶⁵ However, the family did not feel this situation disadvantaged them. After two years they were able to purchase a single cow, and the influx of gum-diggers to the district gave them a market to supply with butter and other dairy products. Other families envied the Thomsons for being able to supply this market.⁶⁶

The Cullen family took a similar approach, prioritising the clearing of land and growing of food over building a home. They went to Albertland in two separate parties: the men moving first, with the women and children following later. The men took only a tent, farming implements, tools, and seeds they had purchased in Auckland, and they cleared an acre by themselves before planting maize, pumpkin, and melons. They did not invite the rest of the family to join them for another three months, and even then, the family did not have a cottage to live in until 1865.⁶⁷

While some settlers felt betrayed by the Albertland Association, others were not so forlorn at their prospects. The Brookes brothers wrote excitedly to their parents about the land they had been given and the great success they foresaw. Describing his allotment, George Brookes stated “the beach is excellent, it is as good as any sea beach...there are plenty of oysters on bits of rocks about 50 yards out which we can get when the tide is out...the land here has been a native cultivation at one time and there is some beautiful soil upon it. I shall get some Indian corn, pumpkins and melon seeds in...there are plenty of pigs and wild boars in our woods.”⁶⁸ However, the animals living in the surrounding bush were not always a useful source of food for the Albertlanders; many proved to be dangerous. The Before they had built a permanent residence, the Thomson family had to contend with wild

⁶⁵ Fenwick and Avery, *Legacies*, p. 8.

⁶⁶ Fenwick and Avery, *Legacies*, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Rex Evans and Adriene Evans, *The Cullen Family of Maungaturoto* (Auckland: Evagean Publishing, 1995), p. 8.

⁶⁸ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 64.

dogs during their first month in Matakoho. These were supposedly the offspring of a dingo, the escaped pet of a Wairoa settler, and other escaped dogs which terrorised the district and attacked the limited herds of sheep and poultry the settlers had.⁶⁹ One young man was thought to have abandoned the settlement, but a shark was captured, and human remains found in the stomach, thought to be his. George Brookes admitted to his parents that not all was well in the settlement and that families were leaving every week and not returning.

Surviving the initial years of settlement did not disqualify the settlers from further hardships. In Paparoa the lack of food remained an ever-present worry to the settlers. If the shipments of flour being brought to the settlement were delayed, famine-like conditions occurred. On one occasion, the situation was so dire that a man carried a bag of flour cross country to Paparoa from Mangawhai on his back.⁷⁰ Ever present dangers such as accidents, animals, and disease could cause major ructions, and families had to be prepared for the possibility that the breadwinner of the family would be unable to work. The Cockayne family suffered such an incident. Unable to sustain a living, Thomas Cockayne left his family to tend to the land while he worked in Auckland. His death in January 1865 caused great upset as without the income he provided, the family had to consider abandoning their allotment at Paparoa.⁷¹ Their neighbours, the Parson family, had a similar situation with the matriarch of the family, Caroline, dying in early 1864, leaving her husband to both work and raise their young children. To alleviate the pressure on both families, the widowed Harriet Cockayne married the widower John Parsons, and the two families merged.⁷²

While issues over the governance of the town lands continued and rifts appeared in the leadership, the settlers attempted to put the town lands to their intended use. On 1 June 1863, the first Port Albert market was held on Market Street with some success; another market was held a month later to higher attendance. The *Albertland Gazette* acknowledged that it was difficult to find produce to sell at the market as the local iwi had opted not to take part, leaving the settlers to rely on themselves.⁷³ The paper notes a stark change between the two markets and how quickly the settlers adjusted to foraging and growing their own produce. At the first market the only sale was of two heifers and one bull brought from

⁶⁹ Fenwick and Avery, *Legacies*, p. 8.

⁷⁰ Rev. E. W. Hames, *Historical Survey and Witness 1862-1967* (Port Albert: Port Albert Methodist Church Trust, 1967), p. 3.

⁷¹ "Deaths," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXI, Issue 2350, 31 January 1865, p. 8.

⁷² The Cockayne and Parsons Families; Albertlander Settlers in Paparoa and Pahi, 1862-1940's by Don Goodall, Family History Research Collection, The Kauri Museum, Matakoho, p. 1.

⁷³ "Our Markets," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 4.

outside the district; these were bought by three separate buyers, denying any of them the chance to breed a herd. The second market was attended by three ships that brought produce, but the settlers also had an array of foraged goods such as cherries, apricots, pears, apples, figs, and peaches. Henry Marcroft had a bullock slaughtered, and the meat sold; however, the amount did not satisfy the crowd, with many leaving empty handed and disappointed.⁷⁴ The paper stated that better supplies would hopefully be available at the next market, but with warning that “supply does not always follow demand in this country.”⁷⁵

Within six months of the first markets, the settlers established an agricultural society. As many had no prior experience in farming, it was hoped the society would encourage cooperation, the sharing of resources, and mutual instruction in agricultural matters. The first meetings of the society were held in the homes of the members. On 2 March 1864 the society held an exhibition of produce, and the wide range of goods on display brought hope to the settlers that their work in Albertland could yield results. This was the first market day that the settlers contributed to on a large scale without relying on shipped or foraged goods.⁷⁶ It was decided that the market display was so successful a competition would be held early the next year and that all living in the Albertland district would be invited, as “it is only by united efforts of this kind that the difficulties of the first settlers can be overcome, and a prosperous course secured for them.”⁷⁷

The distances between the settlers throughout the settlement may have also contributed to its difficulties. Though the allotments were allocated through ballot, there was a clear division made between the settlers who came as family groups and those who came alone, especially the single young men. The latter were allocated blocks in Wharehine, away from the township of Port Albert, so many in fact that the Wharehine block was nicknamed the ‘Bachelor’s Block’ (Figure 31). Many of the young men felt they were being ostracised from the community and relegated to the role of labourers who were not to be included in the governance or social life of the settlement. The Paraheke block, a block still owned by Ngāti Whātua, and the Wharehine Creek were situated between the Wharehine block and Port Albert, effectively cutting off the Wharehine settlers from the rest of the settlement. The only

⁷⁴ “Our Markets,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 4.

⁷⁵ “Our Markets,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 3, 1 August 1863, p. 4.

⁷⁶ “Oruawharo (From Our Own Correspondent.) March 16,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XX, Issue 2082, 22 March 1864, p. 4.

⁷⁷ “(From Our Own Correspondent.) March 16,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XX, Issue 2082, 22 March 1864, p. 4.

direct route to Port Albert was via the Ōruawhāro River, but at first the young men did not have the money needed to purchase boats or canoes. However, whilst many Albertlanders were dismayed at the sections they were given, which featured dense bush, steep inclines, and unfruitful soil, the Wharehine blocks were not as densely forested, featured numerous fruit trees from former Māori settlements, had easier access to the Kaipara Harbour, and soil that proved very fertile.⁷⁸



Figure 31: The Wharehine Block. The distance between the allotments pictured, a majority settled by single men, and the main settlement of Port Albert exacerbated feelings of abandonment by the Wharehine men. Document, Map of Wharehine, Paraheke, and Opou drawn by E. S. Brookes Jnr, 2007-84-8, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

While the settlers around Port Albert tried to eke out a crop yield individually on their blocks, the men of Wharehine appear to have worked together to survive the initial period of settlement. Charles Brookes was offered work by Alfred Steventon, who had decided to plant a garden on the riverfront where they first landed in Wharehine. As part of the arrangement, Brookes was paid a half crown per week for his work, given a place in Steventon's tent, and a share of the garden's yield. This ensured that both men had enough food and potential financial capital to tide them over while they cleared their individual sections.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 121.

⁷⁹ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 45.

For the settlement to survive, regular communication between Albertland and the wider province was essential, and a postal service was the simplest way achieve this. The first postmaster was Samuel Johnson, editor and publisher of the *Albertland Gazette*, who used his own home as the settlement's first Post Office (Figure 32). Johnson's work was difficult, as he was faced with either a seven-mile journey on the river or a ten-mile journey overland to collect and deliver mail.⁸⁰ Johnson excelled in the role and two postal services were established: a weekly post carried overland to the East Coast where it was then shipped to Auckland; and a monthly post collected by cutter at Port Albert and shipped down the Kaipara Harbour. The combination of his roles as postmaster and newspaper publisher meant Johnson was well placed to gather news and disseminate it through the district. However, his time in the settlement was short, and it may have been his work as postmaster that encouraged his departure. He was relieved of duty by the Chief Postmaster in Auckland because of an accusation that he lost a registered letter sent from Auckland to Port Albert. A petition was mounted by the settlers to have him reinstated but this was not heeded, and the dismissal was confirmed.⁸¹ Johnson left the district within a month of his dismissal. The Post Office was transferred to the co-operative store owned by Henry Marcroft, and Alfred Steventon was appointed as the new postmaster for Port Albert.⁸²



Figure 32: Unidentified settlers in front of the first Port Albert Post Office building. This photograph was taken in the 1870s, well after the Albertlanders arrival, but shows the nature of the first years of settlement where government services and businesses usually operated from small structures or from settlers' homes. Photograph, *Port Albert Post Office*, "Albertland Settlers," Te Ara Encyclopaedia, accessed 06.07.2024. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/16105/albertland-settlers>

⁸⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 101, 112.

⁸¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 106.

⁸² "New Zealand Gazette," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume I, Issue 252, 2 September 1864, p. 5.

A full year passed before Paparoa and north Albertland had an official mail carrier and postmaster. The settlers carried their mail to the shore and hoped that a boat captain might be willing to carry it to Auckland for posting. William Little Jnr and Charles Hook eventually took on these roles, as mail carrier Little was expected to make a 30-mile journey to Mangawhai via Maungatūroto and Kaiwaka over steep terrain and dense bush.⁸³ Hook brought a prefabricated home to Paparoa, though it was shipped to the settlement separately; until its arrival he and his son slept in a boat, while his daughters slept ashore in a tent.⁸⁴ Hook's English cottage, which acted as the first Paparoa Post Office, became a beacon of civilisation in the wilderness, and Hook took on any duties that helped the fledgling settlement survive. However, he still had to perform other tasks for his own welfare. In 1863 he took part in clearing the first road from Tokatoka to Mangapai as a means of building financial capital whilst he cleared his land.

Despite the hardships of working the land and establishing a postal service, there were still moments to celebrate. Early in 1863 the first birth at Port Albert occurred. Sarah Ann Shepherd gave birth to a daughter, Mildred, in the family's nikau whare, a small structure with two rooms divided by a curtain. At the same time, the family's first cow gave birth and as it was raining the calf was brought inside. A woman who had been caught in the rain while travelling was also present alongside some Māori who had hoped to trade peaches with the family. The family made many new friendships with their Māori neighbours thanks to this coincidental meeting, and the arrival of a new generation at Albertland so soon after arrival gave many in the community a sense of permanence.⁸⁵

Conclusion

The first year of settlement at Albertland brought numerous challenges that many had not foreseen. These challenges contributed heavily to the collapse of the initial plans for the settlement, especially the establishment of Port Albert as the political and economic heart of the community. Issues over getting to the settlement dissuaded most settlers from ever journeying to the district. Splits within the leadership over governance, economics, and

⁸³ William & Jane Little; *Albertlanders* by Jock McLeod, 1984, File F-P, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁸⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 241.

⁸⁵ Utting, "Sarah Ann Shepherd," accessed 25.04.2022. <https://www.birkenheadheritage.org.nz/post/sarah-ann-shepherd>.

religious duties added extra layers of conflict and tension. Hardships endured on the land and overcoming the settlement's isolation proved too difficult for many who returned to Auckland disheartened. However, a sizable group of settlers remained throughout Albertland, and they continued their work in establishing a sustainable settlement, with some marked successes such as the markets, agricultural cooperation, and postal services. This indicates that, rather than representing an unravelling of the scheme, or its failure, this was a period of transition from ignorant optimism to stark realism. With the reality of their situation determined, the settlers began to rebuild; their founder, and the dream of utopia he had expounded, were cast aside.

Chapter Five: Adjusting to New Circumstances

The stark nature of settler life brought an end to the dreams of many Albertlanders. The inability to traverse the land and eke out a living on their sections caused many to turn back to Auckland. However, those who remained began to lay the foundations of a new community complete with trade and new institutions. The settlers who remained began to build larger permanent dwellings in lieu of the smaller temporary homes they had. These building projects provided work opportunities for the Albertlanders who did not have money for their own ventures. With many farms remaining isolated, the building of infrastructure such as roads, fences, and community chapels and halls became the cash crop of the settlement. The opening of the Albertland block to settlement led to an influx of new families who were not connected to the Albertland scheme. These settlers brought with them new financial capital and knowledge that benefitted the settlement socially and economically, providing stimulus to the wave of building and infrastructure projects.

As the population stabilised new leaders began to emerge. These new leaders faced many challenges; they had a district of settlers who had to live and work together despite their differences. Large landowners began to establish a form of hereditary leadership in the settlement. They wielded significant intergenerational power over their fellow settlers and determined how the society operated in both business and religious matters. Others of more limited means took leadership roles within congregational and civic bodies, embracing a more democratic approach to administration. However, none of the settlement's new leaders were able to keep the entire district united under a single headship. At times, this meant that the original plans for the settlement had to be forgone in favour of practical solutions that benefitted the smaller communities of Albertland rather than the entire district. The compromises of the leaders were felt most keenly through the churches and chapels of the district, and their approaches to the introduction of alcohol to the settlement.

The Role of Religion

The non-conformist foundations of the Albertland scheme were set from its inception, but maintaining this feature of the settlement through the decades took active leadership. Increasingly easier communication and travel between Albertland and the wider colony brought new settlers, ideas, and conformist churches to the district. The New Zealand census,

conducted every four to five years from 1871 onwards, provides insights into the religious make-up of the Albertland settlement and whether its non-conformist foundation held through the decades up to the First World War.¹ However, the census only recorded data by county. Albertland was originally in Rodney County before part of the latter was separated and joined with parts of Hobson and Whangarei Counties to form the new Otamatea County in 1887. This split resulted in North Albertland, Paparoa, Matakohē, and the surrounding areas being in Otamatea County, while South Albertland remained in Rodney.² As the data represents the entire counties and not individual ridings or settlements, the data taken can only be considered indicative.

In 1874 there were 1,008 Anglicans in Rodney County. This was 37.85% of the county population and below the average Anglican population across all the counties of New Zealand, which was 42.52%.³ The number of Anglicans in Rodney County slowly grew to 1,268 by 1881, but after this was a significant drop: by 1891 the census shows only 1,014 Anglicans making up 31.99% of the population in Rodney County. This also marked a significant drop compared to the average Anglican population across all counties, which had risen to 43.29%.⁴ The number of Anglicans in Rodney grew again, reaching 1,329 by 1916, although they never accounted for more than 33% of the population.⁵ In stark contrast, Otamatea County had an above average number of Anglicans: from the 1891 census (which first recorded the county) until the First World War, they accounted for 45% of the population. This only dropped to below the 43% average in 1911 when 38% of the county stated they were Anglican.⁶

¹ “Historical Census Collection,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/census/previous-censuses/historical-census-collection/>

² *Counties Act 1886*, (50 Vict. 1886, No. 49), Part II.

³ “Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the night of the 1st March 1874,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1874-census/1874-results-census.html

⁴ “Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand: 5th April, 1891,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1891-census/1891-results-census/1891-results-census.html

⁵ “Report on the Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 15th October, 1916,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1916-census/Report%20on%20Results%20of%20Census%201916/1916-report-results-census%20.html

⁶ “Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand: taken for the night of 12th April 1896,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1896-census/1896-results-census/1896-results-census.html#d50e119024; “15th October, 1916,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025.

The other large conformist denomination in Rodney County was Roman Catholicism. This was largely due to the Puhoi settlement, where Catholicism was the firmly entrenched denomination of choice for the entire community. As Puhoi grew, so did the number of Catholics in the county and their percentage of the population. By the First World War Catholics represented almost a fifth of the population in Rodney county, which was above the national average for counties in New Zealand.⁷ In Otamatea County the Catholics were a much smaller group, and in the 1891 census they represented less than 5% of the population. However, they expanded quickly and within 20 years one in ten people in Otamatea were Catholic.⁸

Non-conformist denominations in the district show the exact opposite trend through the decades from 1871 to the First World War. Methodists are more difficult to trace through the census owing to the fractious naming amongst the denomination. Across the censuses from 1871 to 1916 numerous terms were given for Methodist adherents, including Methodist, Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist, Calvinist Methodist, Methodist Church of Australasia, and Methodist Not Defined. The most common term ascribed to Methodists was Wesleyan; over 90% of Methodists were described as such until the 1911 census which excluded the term.⁹ Primitive Methodists numbered less than 30 until the 1911 census which counted 94 in Rodney. However, the interchangeability of these terms at the turn of the century must be noted. In 1911 and 1916 the term Wesleyan was not used in the census yet Methodist Church of Australasia was. In 1911, 495 people were counted as part of the latter group, the first year it was used in a census. Methodists in Rodney were 2-5% above the national average every census from 1874 to 1916.¹⁰ In Otamatea the interchangeability of Methodist denomination names is again demonstrated. Wesleyans in 1901 numbered 350, with only one Primitive Methodist and 15 listed as “Other Methodist.” Five years later, without the option of Wesleyan in the census, 280 are listed as Methodist Church of Australasia, 73 as Primitive Methodists, and 32 as “Undefined.” Clearly, the Wesleyans were able to identify with another

⁷ “15th October, 1916,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025.

⁸ “5th April, 1891,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025; “Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025.

https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1911-census/1911-results-census.html#d50e127728

⁹ “Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025.

¹⁰ “Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025; “15th October, 1916,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025.

term they felt sufficiently described them in the 1906 census, with some choosing the Australasian church and others Primitive Methodism.¹¹

Although there were less than one hundred Baptists in Rodney County recorded in any census up to 1916, they still represented approximately 2% of the population—above the typical national average of 1.5%. The small size of the group in Rodney is probably representative of the congregation of Minniesdale Chapel, which was the Baptist chapel on the Wharehine block in Southern Albertland. Similarly, in Otamatea County the Baptists never numbered more than a hundred people, staying above the national average in every census. There is a clear difference between Rodney and Otamatea Counties when concerning Congregationalists. In Rodney the Congregationalists numbered only 55 in 1874. This steadily declined until only 6 were recorded in the 1911 census. Oddly, in 1916 the number had recovered to 20 adherents.¹² Otamatea had 140 Congregationalists in 1891. Since there was no significant drop in number in the Rodney census that year, it can be surmised that the Congregationalists may have lived in the areas of the Hobson and Whangarei Counties that broke away to form Otamatea. This does not rule out the possibility that they were Albertlanders, as the county borders were drawn two decades after the Albertlanders had already settled throughout the area. Congregationalists remained overrepresented in the county, averaging 5% of the population, well above the national average of less than one percent.¹³

Presbyterians were the only non-conformist denomination that was not overrepresented in Rodney County. The 1871 census only recorded data by province. Auckland province had a below average representation of Presbyterians, with only 18% of people resident in the province noting themselves as adherents of the denomination. This is due to the large number of Presbyterians resident in Otago Province, which was established specifically for the Scottish Free Churches and included many Presbyterians.¹⁴ By 1886

¹¹ “Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 29th April, 1906,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025.

https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1906-census/1906-results-census/1906-results-census.html#d50e123576

¹² “1st March 1874,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025; “Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025; “15th October, 1916,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025.

¹³ “Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025.

¹⁴ “Results of a Census of New Zealand: Taken for the Night of the 27th February, 1871,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1871-census/1871-results-census.html

Presbyterians represented only 15% of people in the county, well below the national average of 23%; even though their population grew to 750 by the First World War, their share of the population never breached 20%. Regardless, the Presbyterians were the largest non-conformist group in Rodney, with a population relative to all the adherents of different Methodist churches combined. In Otamatea County, Presbyterians were outnumbered by both the Anglicans and Methodists.¹⁵

The censuses also reveal the people who were recorded under more generic terms such as evangelical non-conformist, no denomination, protestant not defined, and small named protestants. Together these terms form the largest group in Rodney County, accounting for over 25% of the population in 1874.¹⁶ By 1911 these groups outnumbered the combined named denominations and accounted for 35% of the population. Otamatea County did not have the same composition. Less than five people were registered under these generic terms in the 1891 and 1896 censuses. However, by 1901 that number had grown to 35 and by 1906 dropped again to 20. The five years to 1911 saw a dramatic increase to 83 people. It is possible that adherents of these groups had moved into and out of the district in the years between censuses, but it is also probable that people were registered under different terms each census and were not concerned with the different names.¹⁷ Other denominations were also present in the Rodney and Otamatea counties, such as Lutherans, Quakers, Unitarians, Brethrens, and Salvation Army. However, these each had less than 30 adherents in each census and, except for the Quakers, fell below the national average (see Table 3 and Table 4).¹⁸

¹⁵ “Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand: taken for the night of the 28th March 1886,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025.

https://www3.stats.govt.nz/Historic_Publications/1886-census/Results-of-Census-1886/1886-results-census.html

¹⁶ “1st March 1874,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 04.07.2025.

¹⁷ “Historical Census Collection,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025.

¹⁸ “Historical Census Collection,” *Statistics New Zealand*, accessed 04.07.2025.

	Religious Composition of Rodney County 1871-1916										
	Auckland	Rodney County									
	1871	1874	1878	1881	1886	1891	1896	1901	1906	1911	1916
Anglican	28210	1008	1210	1268	1187	1014	1163	1217	1301	1346	1329
Roman Catholic	10976	351	416	451	452	475	509	563	809	747	4
Presbyterian	11408	596	645	584	491	511	589	652	732	708	747
Baptist	1349	79	77	74	92	114	78	87	67	74	50
Wesleyan	4952	263	276	306	387	436	412	429			
Primitive Methodist	433	13	9	16	11	8	16	10			
Methodist Not Defined		10	4	43	9	14	1	17	1	6	
Methodist Church of Australasia									495	445	
All Methodists combined	5385	286	289	365	407	458	429	456	533	545	495
Congregationalist	1615	55	58	55	36	19	13	11	11	6	20
Evangelical & Non-conformist		447	494	428	784				942	962	878
No Denomination		63	52	44	62	44	103	85	105	77	99
Other Protestants		8	109	144	1	1	18	1	6	2	
Small Named Protestants	3729	196	348	363	429	433	440	469	478	531	400
Protestant Not Defined	31	7			4		6	3	2	10	4

Table 3: The religious composition of Rodney County according to the National Census 1874-1916. The first column represents Auckland Province as the census did not yet separate data by County.

	Religious Composition of Otamatea County 1871-1916								
	Auckland	Otamatea County							
	1871	1891	1896	1901	1906	1911	1916		
Anglican	28210	903	1176	1258	1330	1365	1697		
Roman Catholic	10976	98	175	259	195	457	338		
Presbyterian	11408	257	280	299	362	400	492		
Baptist	1349	37	62	63	54	44	52		
Wesleyan	4952	281	332	350					
Primitive Methodist	433	1	3	1				73	32
Methodist Not Defined		1	2	15				58	107
Methodist Church of Australasia					280	298			
All Methodists combined	5385	283	337	366	411	437	519		
Congregationalist	1615	140	123	149	174	203	191		
Evangelical & Non-conformist		508	1	14	2				
No Denomination		50	24	49	63			65	50
Other Protestants		5	9	10	11			77	50
Small Named Protestants	3729	248	286	331	474	525	344		
Protestant Not Defined	31	3	35	11	11	0	0		

Table 4: The religious composition of Otamatea County according to the National Census 1874-1916. The first column represents Auckland Province as the census did not yet separate data by County. Otamatea County did not appear in the census until the 1891 census, five years after its creation.

The non-conformist character of the settlement is also apparent when compared to demographic data from Britain. The 1851 British census included a count of religious churches, chapels, and other places of worship. While the data is from the decade before the Albertlanders immigrated to New Zealand, it does shed some light on the religious composition of Britain. The census measured church attendance on a single Sunday and “revealed the Church of England and Protestant Non-conformity to be neck-and-neck, with 5,293,000 and 5,213,000 worshippers respectively in England and Wales. Non-conformists thus apparently constituted 29 per cent of the population.”¹⁹ However, non-conformists were likely to attend chapel and Sunday school twice in one day, thus worshipped more regularly than Anglicans. This means many may have been counted in the census twice, inflating their numbers. It is more likely, through study of attendance records for non-conformist denominations, that non-conformists accounted for a maximum of one fifth of the British population.²⁰ This may have changed in the following decades, but it shows that the non-conformists in Rodney and Otamatea Counties accounted for a larger proportion of the population compared to their Anglican counterparts in Britain.

Census data shows that despite the settlement scheme failing in its initial objectives and the presence of a large group of conformist Christians, especially Anglicans, the two counties that constituted the Albertland area maintained an above average proportional population of non-conformist Christians. Furthermore, the data shows that the non-conformist character of the area was maintained beyond the initial years of settlement and into the next century. The Albertlanders immigrated from a country where non-conformists were only one fifth or less of the population and established a community where they were the dominant group demographically.

The new leaders of Albertland became deeply embedded in the religious life of the settlement. Given a considerable proportion of the population registered under different denominations, controlling the churches in Albertland was a way to exert considerable influence over the community; thus, it was essential for the leaders to establish chapels in the first years of the settlement. Additionally, as meeting places for both religious and civic events, the settlement’s chapels combined two major aspects of settler life. As discussed

¹⁹ Clive D. Field, “Counting Religion in England and Wales: The Long Eighteenth Century, c. 1680-1840,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63, No. 04 (2012): p. 700.

²⁰ Clive D. Field, “Counting Religion in England and Wales: The Long Eighteenth Century, c. 1680-1840,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63, No. 04 (2012): p. 700.

previously, the Albertland Association had decided that one minister would see to the religious needs of the settlement. This was Rev. Edger, who was promised payment for his work along with a £100 nucleus to assist with his own settlement. On board the *Matilda Wattenbach*, the Association decided that a Chapel Building Fund be established, and the settlers were encouraged to contribute throughout the voyage.²¹ Edger was to nominally oversee this fund but have a body of settlers advise and assist him on its expenditure. The splitting of the immigrants between multiple ships meant that Edger could not form a bond with most of his new congregation; hence, other ministers and preachers, such as Rev. Worker, stepped in to fill the positions of religious leaders. Upon arrival, the Rev. Gittos also took a leadership role in the settlement as a trusted figure in both religious and civic life.²²

Protestant preaching in this era could tie congregations to preachers, rather than to the churches themselves. Rev. Edger had used this to his benefit in Britain when pastor in Kimbolton and then Abingdon. He was consistently invited back to the Kimbolton Chapel after the end of his tenure to continue preaching, and was popular enough with the congregation at Abingdon to have his tenure extended regardless of the hostile nature of the trustees of the church.²³ The circuit system of the Methodist and Baptist churches in New Zealand and the isolation of the Albertland settlement also tied the loyalties of the Albertland congregations to their preachers, who were also leaders in civic life and could be in their roles for decades. Without these preachers providing spiritual leadership, it is unlikely that the community would have survived.

Rumours began early after arrival that small disagreements within the Albertland congregation were signs of greater disunity. The *Albertland Gazette*, printed and written by Samuel Johnson, reported that these rumours were due to the delay in constructing a proper chapel and that there was “an intermittent external interference, encouraged by a very small amount of- as we think- misguided sympathy from within.”²⁴ Johnson was a clear supporter of the non-denominational ideals of Rev. Edger. He believed that with the construction of a chapel the non-denominational congregation would become a permanent fixture in Albertland, convincing outsiders that sectarian ideals were not welcome there. However,

²¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 20, 25.

²² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 20, 25.

²³ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 77.

²⁴ “Church Of the Oruawharo,” *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 9, 3 February 1864, p. 4.

Edger clarified years later that his definition of non-sectarian simply meant the acknowledgement and toleration of other denominations.²⁵

A meeting held on 25 January 1864 revealed the divide between Edger and other church leaders. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss funding for various aspects of a chapel such as hymn books, construction, and a church bell. Numerous resolutions were passed under the supervision of Rev. Gittos, Rev. Worker, and a small group of men who formed the core of a lay preaching collective in the Methodist circuit. Johnson felt it important to note that the meeting was called while a) the Rev. Edger was away from the settlement, and b) he did not sanction any of these motions as official minister for the settlement.²⁶ Johnson was not counted amongst the religious leaders of the settlement, yet his religious convictions were well documented in further issues of the *Albertland Gazette*. He regarded sectarianism in the settlement as a display of ignorance by the settlers, that is, objections settlers had to changing denomination illustrated both their ignorance of a true relationship to God and their devotion instead to certain prescribed denominations. Johnson stated the point of a non-sectarian church was to not impose uniformity but to cherish the uniting of diversified forms of worship.²⁷ He decided to leave the settlement for Blenheim, as he felt his skills as a newspaper publisher, editor, and pressman were not yet necessary in Albertland.²⁸

Rev. Edger's broader religious views were recorded in an essay-discourse he wrote, later published by his daughters. While this work was collected and published after Rev. Edger left the settlement, the attitudes within likely represent a progression or development of the attitudes he held while at Albertland and some, like his non-sectarian views, were already well-known. He wrote that his dislike for sectarianism stemmed from a distaste for orthodoxy, which he defined as "no more than going with the strongest or, rather, most popular party."²⁹ He preached that theological politics barred people from a relationship with God and that while Christ was divine, he only performed miracles as exhibitions of power; it was the word Christ preached that should be the centre of religious devotion.³⁰ Edger also displayed a mild distrust in secularism, seeing its intent as "making this present life as

²⁵ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 83.

²⁶ "Church Of the Oruawharo," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 9, 3 February 1864, p. 4.

²⁷ "The Christian Church," *Albertland Gazette*, Issue 5, 1 October 1863, p. 2.

²⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 119.

²⁹ Edger, *Sermons Preached at Auckland*, p. xviii.

³⁰ Edger, *Sermons Preached at Auckland*, pp. 1-5.

honorable, as virtuous, as noble as possible, without christianity.”³¹ Likewise he denounced spiritualism, stating that spiritualists could justify all wrongdoing by saying they were mistakes of conscience.³² It is clear from these sermons the type of non-sectarian and religious community Edger wished to create.

In Britain, Edger had been outspoken on education and morality and was also willing to address these in New Zealand. In 1866 he preached in favour of the abolition of capital punishment in New Zealand, arguing that Christians ought to meet violence and crime with brotherly love and that retribution and vengeance were the realm of the divine.³³ His remarks about capital punishment were mentioned in a letter to the editor of the *Daily Southern Cross* two months later. The author of this letter argued against the assertion that capital punishment was a necessity and that the maxim “Let us do evil, that good may come”³⁴ offered no justification. The author quoted Edger directly, referring to him as “a well-read theologian.”³⁵ Edger’s aversion to capital punishment did not waver; in 1877 he preached a sermon titled “A Christian Protest Against the Hanging of Martin Curtin,” which was met with both support and disagreement. Edger did not advocate that Curtin was innocent; rather, he argued that to hang a man was to commit another act of murder and did nothing to deter other crimes of passion, as fear of divine retribution only came after the act was committed.³⁶ He voiced disapproval of the wars between settlers and Māori in the colony, stating they were “contrary to scriptural principles.”³⁷ Edger concluded that increasing worldwide depravity in social matters, as he saw them, was due to the failure of church preachers. These preachers, who should have been offering guidance, were instead seeking popularity, preaching faith and not virtue as important to society, and using scripture to defend social injustice.³⁸

Edger believed that education for women was important, but his liberal views were not always met with acceptance. A letter to the editor, penned in 1871, quoted Edger as “prepared to appreciate woman, her position, and her rights.”³⁹ The author appears to agree but launches a diatribe against Edger centred on the notion that woman should not endeavour

³¹ Edger, *Sermons Preached at Auckland*, p. 178.

³² Edger, *Sermons Preached at Auckland*, p. 193.

³³ “Sales, Meetings, Amusements, &c., This Day,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2728, 14 April 1866, p. 4.

³⁴ “Advertisements,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2826, 16 August 1866, p. 7.

³⁵ “Advertisements,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2826, 16 August 1866, p. 7.

³⁶ “The Rev. S. Edger on Capital Punishment,” *Auckland Star*, Volume VIII, Issue 2166, 12 February 1877, p. 3.

³⁷ “Events Of the Month,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume III, Issue 792, 29 May 1866, p. 6.

³⁸ “Present Moral State of Society,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2808, 26 July 1866, p. 4.

³⁹ “Woman's Rights,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVII, Issue 4287, 11 May 1871, p. 3.

to work in either medicine or law. Edger is accused of being “in the light of Scripture...derogatory to the dignity and true position of man,”⁴⁰ and his views on women’s rights and capital punishment are stated as childish. However, the author also notes that Edger’s views are founded on his understanding of scripture. This demonstrates that Edger’s social views were strongly influenced by his religious convictions and explains his open preaching of these views in Albertland and Auckland.

Rev. Edger hoped for a non-sectarian congregation, but the Albertland settlers were a naturally fractious group. While they were non-conformists, they were not precluded from following denominational creeds. Initially the settlers relied on each other’s residences for religious gatherings and meetings, which forced the non-sectarian line to dominate. The eventual establishment of separate chapels meant denominational leanings started to appear, as the majority in each district could dictate the denomination of the chapel. New preachers, along with Rev. Gittos and Rev. Worker, collectively took over Edger’s role as religious leader in the settlement, though it was not until Edger left the settlement in 1866 that he officially abdicated the role.⁴¹ Official Methodist and Baptist chapels, along with regular visits from Anglican clergymen, were established quickly after Edger’s departure. John and Sarah Ann Shepherd, John Legge, Robert Nicholson, and Alfred Neal alongside Rev. Worker became leaders amongst the Methodist Albertlanders at Port Albert, while the Brookes family and Minniesdale Chapel were focal points for the Baptist settlers.

The Albertland settlement was near other religious settlements that saw their religious beliefs and places of worship as central to their identity. The Scots of Waipū and the Bohemians of Pūhoi had far stricter religious expectations within their settlements. The Scots of Waipū, under the watchful gaze of Rev. McLeod, remained united in religious convictions and allowed this to heavily influence life in their community. They attempted to remain isolated from other settlements in the area, including the Albertlanders and the Bohemians of Pūhoi, and banned recreational activities such as dancing and cultural trappings such as kilts or bagpipes.⁴² This allowed them to maintain a strictly Presbyterian settlement. However, as noted by Brooking, despite their strict adherence to a single denomination, the Waipū Scots were only able to maintain a distinct identity for two decades after arrival.⁴³ The Bohemians at Pūhoi established a strict Roman Catholic settlement, and the influence of that church was

⁴⁰ “Woman’s Rights,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVII, Issue 4287, 11 May 1871, p. 3.

⁴¹ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 87.

⁴² Molloy, *Those Who Speak*, p. 135.

⁴³ Brooking, “Sharing out the Haggis,” pp. 50, 55.

felt in other aspects of community life.⁴⁴ The Pūhoi settlement remained distinct from its neighbours far longer than the settlers at Waipū due to their separate language as well as their religion.

The Albertlanders sought to maintain a distinct identity through non-conformism, and for a time they were able to set aside denominational differences. However, unlike the Presbyterianism and Catholicism of their neighbours, non-conformism was not a strong enough force to keep them united. When comparing the denominational leanings of the Albertlanders and the neighbouring communities a unique paradox emerges. Though the Albertlanders had more denominations in their district, and many were intent on attending services of their specific denomination, they were less denominational than their neighbours. As some Albertlanders found themselves in communities where they were the only adherents of a specific denomination, rather than worship separately they made the practical decision to worship at the nearest chapel. The Waipū and Pūhoi communities lost their identities quickly because new arrivals brought with them new denominations, causing conflict. New arrivals in Albertland were either assimilated into an existing congregation or, if there were enough people, started their own denominational chapel that any agreeable Albertlanders might also join. This allowed the Albertlanders to maintain control of their religious life and likewise maintain their identity.

The Albertlanders found through the splintering of the settlement into separate communities that non-denominationalism was impossible. However, strict sectarianism did not imbed itself into the district as Edger had feared; cooperation between congregations was widespread. The Methodists in Wharehine, unable for a time to meet regularly with their fellow Methodists at Port Albert, were allowed use of the Minniesdale Chapel, a Baptist aligned chapel, for separate services.⁴⁵ The Anglican chapel at Tauhoa had a small debt that its congregation was eager to pay off. Their subscriptions did not meet the required amount, and they elected to have a lecture about the Indian Mutiny, given by a Captain Hearne, repeated in the district in the hope donations would be given by the attendees. On hearing of the problem their Anglican counterparts faced, the Methodists of Port Albert offered the use of their church for the event, an offer that was happily accepted and a letter of thanks given from the Anglicans.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Procházková, "Bohemians in New Zealand," pp. 21-22.

⁴⁵ Hames, *Historical Survey and Witness 1862-1967*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ "Untitled," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIII, Issue 7801, 22 November 1886, p. 4.

It is interesting to note that a conforming Anglican chapel was able to thrive within a non-conformist settlement. While many of the Albertland leaders in civil and church matters were non-conformists, primarily Methodist or Baptist, a large proportion of the settlers were not. Within the study group of 1021 settlers, 200 of them identified as Anglican. This is a significant percentage of the community that either have had to assimilate to non-conformist doctrines or establish their own church. When the town lands were surveyed by government surveyor R. C. L. Reay in 1863, the survey seemingly acknowledged this large number of Anglicans by setting aside an allotment in Port Albert township for an Anglican church. This same survey also reserved a main street allotment for a Roman Catholic church, and another for a Wesleyan church.⁴⁷ It is unclear whether these allotments were reserved by the surveyors as a standard measure for town plans. However, the survey map notes that the Anglican allotment was reserved “in the name of the Bishop Selwyn.”⁴⁸ The Bishop visited the settlement throughout the 1860s and may have requested an allotment be set aside.

The Anglicans of Albertland requested Bishop Selwyn send a minister to the settlement so that they could hold regular services. He refused, as he felt that the community was better served by the settlers worshipping together. Therefore, the Rev. Edger’s non-denominational services would have to suffice until the settlement was well and truly established. As settlers moved to their allotments a clear physical divide emerged between the Anglicans and the non-conformists. The Methodists, Baptists, and other non-conformists were firmly based around Wharehine and Port Albert, while the Anglicans were based around Paparoa and Wellsford.⁴⁹

It was not until the 1870s that regular Anglican services were held in the settlement, which shows that the settlers were willing to remain in the district regardless of whether their specific denominational needs were being met. They were initially held in the homes of the congregation and then Sunday afternoons at the Methodist Chapel in Port Albert.⁵⁰ The first Anglican church in Albertland was erected in Paparoa, not Port Albert. The Anglicans of Paparoa, and those identifying as Episcopalians, were able to raise funds with assistance from the ecclesiastical body in Auckland and received the donation of a bell and pulpit from St

⁴⁷ F. W. Flanagan, “Plan of the township of Port Albert/R.C.L. Reay, surveyor November 1863; drawn by F.W. Flanagan, June 27th 1878,” Wellington: General Survey Office, 1880, National Library Collection, Wellington, accessed 18.06.2024. https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE26850174

⁴⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 103.

⁴⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 111, 123, 201, 414.

⁵⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 315.

Marks, Remuera.⁵¹ Charles Hook, who had donated land for a non-denominational chapel and cemetery in Paparoa, sold the Anglicans an acre of land for £10 for the new church to be built.⁵² It is unfortunate that the first person buried in the new Paparoa cemetery was Hook's own daughter Mary, who died three years after arriving at the settlement.⁵³ The Anglican congregation of Paparoa introduced a system of lay readers in their church, with the understanding that they would be replaced by a resident minister when one was available, though this did not occur until 1881.⁵⁴

The Anglican laymen, like the Methodist lay preachers in Port Albert, were leaders in other parts of the community. Gervase Tibbits was an Anglican layman and a board member of the North Kaipara Agricultural Society before becoming the chairman in the 1890s.⁵⁵ After the first iteration of the society closed in the mid-1870s, it was Tibbits and another layman, George Skelton, who re-formed it in the 1880s.⁵⁶ Tibbits' daughter was first to be wed in the new Anglican church, initiating the tradition of church weddings in Paparoa; until this time weddings had taken place at a family residence.⁵⁷ Skelton was another community figure who stood for election to the County Board in 1881 and was elected the first chairman of the Paparoa branch of the National Association of New Zealand.⁵⁸

Non-conformist chapels and churches could become fractious as disagreements over church management or doctrine drove members of the congregation to form their own chapels. In Louth, Lincolnshire, former home of the Methodist lay preacher John Shepherd and other Albertlanders such as the Longbottom family, the Methodist church fractured several times after its establishment. The Louth Panorama, a panoramic painting of the town completed by decorator William Brown from the spire of the Anglican St. James Church, recorded five non-conformist chapels on a single panel. These included a Baptist chapel and a Congregationalist chapel, but notably three separate Methodist chapels. Between 1808 and

⁵¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 316.

⁵² *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXXII, Issue 5237, 25 July 1876, p. 1.

⁵³ 1866 New Zealand Death Record [Database Online]. Surname: Hook; Given Name: Mary; Registration Number 1866/4898, accessed 18.06.2024.

⁵⁴ <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/search/search?path=%2FqueryEntry.m%3Ftype%3Ddeaths>
⁵⁴ "The New Zealand Herald and Daily Southern Cross. Wednesday, May 25, 1881," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVIII, Issue 6090, 25 May 1881, p. 4.

⁵⁵ "North Kaipara Agricultural Show," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXIII, Issue 114, 14 May 1892, p. 2.

⁵⁶ "Untitled," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIII, Issue 7721, 20 August 1886, p. 5.

⁵⁷ "Paparoa," *Northern Advocate*, 24 November 1888, p. 3.

⁵⁸ "Advertisements Column," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVIII, Issue 6236, 11 November 1881, p. 8.
 "National Association," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXX, Issue 9210, 26 May 1893, p. 3.

1854 Louth saw six different Methodist chapels established, all competing against one another and all espousing variants of Methodist doctrine.⁵⁹

The lay preachers who rose to prominence in the Port Albert Methodist circuit were exclusively male, and most had practiced as preachers before their arrival in Albertland. In the 19th century non-conformist denominations did not generally allow their women members to preach. The *Taranaki Herald* in 1879 stated “there is a very strong public opinion against preaching by women, but almost every husband knows that women as lecturers are an entire success.”⁶⁰ While this is clearly a joke for the newspapers readers, it does reveal that it was a debate that people were familiar with. Even as late as 1894, 30 years after the settlers arrived in Albertland, there was an ongoing debate amongst the Wesleyan congregations as to whether women should be allowed to preach. The answer was negative; women should not preach unless the audience was entirely female. Other reasons were given: there were plenty of preachers in the circuits already, and there was no great desire from congregations to allow the practice.⁶¹ Rules were even imposed on any future scenario in which a woman might preach including that she should not preach in her own circuit, unless she had the permission of the circuit superintendent, and could not preach in any other circuit without a written invitation.⁶² Despite all these restrictions, the women of the Albertland congregations still had influence in the institutions of the church outside of the services. They possessed control in the Sunday Schools and community events that the chapels offered.⁶³

Amongst the Methodist leadership was a couple that wielded significant power in the life of the church, John and Sarah Ann Shepherd (Figure 33). John was a lay preacher and spoke regularly at community events outside the church, including the Port Albert Agricultural Society and Literary Society.⁶⁴ Sarah Ann was the superintendent of the Methodist Sunday School for over 30 years.⁶⁵ John and Sarah Ann were known for their altruism. Sarah Ann was heard to say shortly before her death, when in a state of confusion,

⁵⁹ David Robinson OBE and Christopher Sturman, *William Brown and the Louth Panorama* (Louth, UK: Louth Naturalists', Antiquarian and Literary Society, 2001), p. 70.

⁶⁰ “Advertisements Column,” *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XXVII, Issue 3232, 20 September 1879, p. 2.

⁶¹ “Women Preachers,” *Evening Star*, Issue 9432, 29 June 1894, p. 4.

⁶² “Women Preachers,” *Evening Star*, Issue 9432, 29 June 1894, p. 4.

⁶³ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 313.

⁶⁴ “The Seventh Anniversary of The Oruawhoro Settlement,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1735, 14 June 1869, p. 6.

⁶⁵ Hames, *Historical Survey*, p. 7.

“give the children something to eat. What are we giving them today? Have they had the right food to build Christian lives?”⁶⁶



Figure 33: Sarah Ann and John Shepherd, who for years held sway in the Methodist Church at Port Albert. Image, *Sarah Ann Shepherd*, 2006.1.114.9, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford; Image, *John Shepherd*, 2006.1.114.10, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

John Legge was another lay preacher who featured in the preaching roster; his wife Emma was also prominent at church events. Legge was known for his humour during preaching: he remarked that the biblical tax-collector Zaccheus was “a little man, a little bit littler than me [Legge].”⁶⁷ Legge was dedicated to the Methodist circuit in Port Albert, though his lay preaching took him further afield than many of his contemporaries. He announced at the 33rd Albertland anniversary that he would be leaving the district for the first time since arriving, the purpose was to preach in Auckland. He was seen as the best of the local preachers, and an article on the anniversary said that he would be able to lead many in a revival of the Auckland church. The same article noted his interest in the Salvation Army of Auckland, which could suggest that Legge was not averse to other systems of church governance. He may have taken part in the Port Albert Methodist services because they were the closest form of governance to his preferred option.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Hames, *Historical Survey*, p. 3.

⁶⁷ Hames, *Historical Survey*, p. 7

⁶⁸ “Port Albert,” *Observer*, Volume XV, Issue 858, 8 June 1895, p. 22.

The connexion and relationships that the Port Albert Methodists built between their chapel and the larger Methodist governing bodies in the colony gave them access to preachers from further afield. James Redfern was an Albertlander, but he remained in Auckland for a time before settling on the Paparoa block (Figure 34). He had been active in the Methodist circuit in his native Staffordshire as a preacher, trustee, and Sunday School superintendent. In Paparoa the Redfern family established a successful brick-making business, supplying a lucrative Auckland market, and established themselves as leaders in the district.⁶⁹ Redfern left the district for a period but returned in the mid-1870s and was appointed Home Missionary by the Methodist circuit in 1877. This role did not come with payment except for a small stipend to cover travel and status as an official representative of the Connexion. Redfern used his stipend to travel from Paparoa to Port Albert once a month to preach; his name is listed in fourth place in the plan of preachers for the circuit. This put him just behind Rev. Gittos and Gittos' assistant H. Waiti.⁷⁰



Figure 34: James Redfern, Albertlander and preacher in the Paparoa Methodist circuit. Photograph, *James Redfern*, Redfern Family Collection, Matakohē Kauri Museum, Matakohē.

⁶⁹ Simon Best, *James Redfern's Brickworks and James Wright's Potteries; Initial Surveys of Two Early Ceramic Sites in Albertland for The New Zealand Historic Places Trust* (Wellington: New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1992), p. 5.

⁷⁰ Hames, *Historical Survey*, pp. 3-4.

While many of the Methodist preachers in Albertland were already well-known in the community, and their prominence seemed to guarantee them a place of leadership, there are some who appear exceptions to this rule. John Becroft Jnr was the son of John Becroft, one of the original Wharehine settlers. He lived in Wharehine during his childhood but moved to Australia as an adult. There he suffered an accident that caused total paralysis in his legs. After returning to Albertland he started an orchard that he was able to traverse in a wheelchair and began to attend the weekly Sunday services at Port Albert, often travelling there without aid (Figure 35). Despite his disability, he went on to partake in lay preaching and maintained an active presence in the Methodist circuit until his death in 1907.⁷¹ His presence as a lay preacher indicates that while most preachers were prominent, married, and experienced settlers who had been in the settlement since its inception, outliers could still be included in the preaching roster.



Figure 35: The Becroft family outside their home, date unknown. John Becroft Jnr can be seen in the wheelchair he used to traverse his orchard and the rugged terrain of the district. Photograph, *The Becroft Family*, Becroft Family Documents, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁷¹ "Justice And Sentimentalism," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXVIII, Issue 221, 16 September 1907, p. 4.

The Methodist congregation were able to choose their own lay preachers, but joining the congregation to the local circuit meant that ministers were appointed by the wider circuit. This meant the ministers could be non-Albertlanders. One of these ministers was Rev. Gittos, whom the congregation were familiar with, but the minister from Warkworth, Rev. Barley, whom the congregation initially did not know, visited the district every three weeks to lead the Sunday service.⁷² In 1911 the Port Albert chapel was made the centre of its own circuit, but by then most of the original Albertlander preachers had either died, retired, or left the district. This new circuit covered the entirety of the old Albertland settlement, except for Paparoa, and the small towns in the surrounding districts.⁷³

Eventually, like their leadership, the Methodist congregation became a mixture of Albertlanders and non-Albertlanders, as settlers from the wider circuit began to join their services and events. This was demonstrated in 1885 at their annual New Year's soiree. Two hundred people were present at the Methodist Chapel, far more than normally found in the congregation, and many were from the Warkworth congregation. Rev. Stevenson of Warkworth was the presiding speaker and while the choir was led by Albertlander William Armitage, it was acknowledged that many of the singers were from Warkworth.⁷⁴ The soiree was held near the first Methodist Church building which was purchased earlier that year. This building was originally intended for another group but was purchased by the Methodist circuit, unfinished, for £100. Such assistance was necessary because the Albertlanders alone could not afford the building.⁷⁵ There were both benefits and detriments to the Methodist Church being part of the circuit. They lost the ability to appoint their own ministers, but retained their own lay preachers, and they were able to afford buildings beyond their standard budget.

The Baptists of Albertland were centred in the Wharehine district. Minniesdale Chapel became the religious focal point in Wharehine when it became apparent the trip to Port Albert for services was too great a task for most settlers (Figure 36). The Brookes family, led by their patriarch Rev. Edwin Brookes Snr, were the owners of the chapel, having brought the frame of the building with them from Britain. Funding for the building of the chapel, however, was provided by the 15 individuals from Wharehine who intended to worship there. Deacons elected by the congregation dealt with the administration of the

⁷² "Port Albert Anniversaries," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXVII, Issue 306, 4 January 1886, p. 4.

⁷³ Hames, *Historical Survey*, p. 10.

⁷⁴ "Port Albert," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXII, Issue 7225, 14 January 1885, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Hames, *Historical Survey*, p. 5.

chapel. The first two Deacons were Brookes Snr and W. Cutler.⁷⁶ The inaugural sermon of the chapel was conducted by Rev. Worker and was a vaguely Wesleyan service.⁷⁷ Services were taken each Sunday by Rev. Brookes who followed a strictly Baptist creed. He stated in the inaugural service that he intended the chapel to be Baptist and that church membership would be on condition of immersion, a form of baptism, but that he intended preachers of all denominations to be welcome.⁷⁸ Rev. Brookes joined the Baptist Union in Auckland and was present at their conference in 1886 as a presiding member.⁷⁹ During this conference Brookes bequeathed the chapel and surrounding property to the Union. This ensured the denominational leaning of the chapel was not tied to the minister but to a larger denominational organisation and demonstrated his strict adherence to the Baptist doctrine.⁸⁰ However, decades after Brookes' death the Baptist Union returned ownership to a group of trustees elected by the congregation.⁸¹



Figure 36: The prefabricated chapel brought to Wharehine from Britain by Rev. Edwin Stanley Brookes Snr. Photograph, *Minniesdale Chapel*, Local Matters, accessed 21.07.2024. <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/%C2%91the-cutest-chapel-in-the-whole-world%C2%92/>

Bequeathing the chapel to the Baptist Union was significant. It not only showed Brookes' intention for the chapel to remain Baptist after his death, but it removed control of

⁷⁶ G. R. Thompson, "The Minniesdale Chapel – A brief historical record 1867-1947," *Wesley Historical Society Proceedings* 5, 4 (1947): p. 1.

⁷⁷ "The Daily Southern Cross," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3272, 11 January 1868, p. 2.

⁷⁸ "South Oruawharo (From a Correspondent.)," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3273, 13 January 1868, p. 4.

⁷⁹ "New Zealand Baptist Union," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIII, Issue 7767, 13 October 1886, p. 6.

⁸⁰ "New Zealand Baptist Union," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIII, Issue 7770, 16 October 1886, p. 3.

⁸¹ Thompson, "The Minniesdale Chapel," p. 3.

the chapel from the community for a time. Brookes maintained leadership of the chapel from its construction to his death, and after this the community did not have the opportunity to select their own minister. That power now transferred to the Baptist Union and demonstrated that while Minniesdale Chapel was central to the community, it was never controlled by the community. This represents a stark contrast to the Methodist Chapel and later Temperance Hall which were built and maintained by a group of community leaders acting as trustees.

Brookes' work in the Baptist church within the Auckland region was noted by his peers, and he was one of the New Zealand ministers presented with the Baptist Mission Centenary medal. This honour may have been bestowed on Brookes because he was also one of the only ministers remaining who had heard the first Baptist Missionary, William Carey, preach in person over 60 years earlier. At a ceremony at Minniesdale Chapel to display the medal to his congregation, Brookes spoke on the work of William Carey as well as the work of missionaries from different denominations. Representatives of the Wesleyan church and Salvation Army were present at the service, showing that there were links between different denominations and the Wharehine chapel, regardless of Brookes' adherence to denominational doctrine.⁸²

Paparoa, as previously mentioned, mixed into the wider Methodist circuit, though it remained in more difficult circumstances than the chapel at Port Albert. The settlers of Paparoa found they were a mixture of Methodists and Anglicans, but owing to the insistence of Bishop Selwyn that the Anglicans continue to worship with their fellow settlers for a time, they felt no pressure to alter their services and started a non-denominational congregation for the sake of communal unity. By 1867 the Methodists of Paparoa had built their own chapel (Figure 37), using the first sawn timber in the district, and was described in the Kaipara circuit minutes book as "a small weather-board chapel... and is free of debt."⁸³ The chapel was free of debt because all the materials and labour were supplied by the settlers themselves, and the land had been donated by settler John Hook—noteworthy because Hook was a Baptist, not a Methodist.⁸⁴ The Paparoa Methodists relied on lay-preachers but experimented with having a regular preacher as early as 1863. A man named John Smith was appointed to this role. He was a regular in the circuit, assisting Rev. Gittos in his preaching, but as the

⁸² "Country News," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 9036, 15 November 1892, p. 6.

⁸³ E. W. Hames, *Paparoa Methodist Church: 1867-1967*, (Paparoa: Paparoa Methodist Church, n.d.), p. 3.

⁸⁴ Hames, *Paparoa Methodist Church*, p. 3.

settlers had no income and were unable to support him, Smith left soon after his tenure in the district had started.⁸⁵



Figure 37: The first Methodist Chapel at Paparoa, like other chapels in the district, was small and built of local materials. However, unlike other chapels, it was not able to afford a steeple and bell until years after its construction. Photograph, *Paparoa Methodist Chapel*, in Henry Brett, Henry Hook, *The Albertlanders: Brave Pioneers of the 'Sixties* (Auckland: The Brett Printing Company Limited, 1927), p. 271.

The issue of funding the Paparoa chapel continued, and it relied on the goodwill of its parishioners for repairs. In the first ten years a small surplus was achieved with a new chapel building being erected in 1877 and the old building sold to the Anglican vicarage. The amount of £200 was spent on the new building, with the total debts incurred being another £100. By the end of the decade a fulltime agent was appointed by the circuit to live in Paparoa. However, this agent had to administer to the entire district and the lay preachers remained essential.⁸⁶ The second agent appointed to Paparoa, Rev. T. G. Brooke, described the Paparoa circuit in his diary as “one of the hardest circuits in New Zealand Methodism. It is somewhere about a hundred miles in length and I understand I shall have to very nearly live in the saddle.”⁸⁷ Another agent appointed to work in the circuit was Shetland Islander Christopher Abernathy, described as hearty and well suited to rough bush life. He oversaw the splitting of the circuit into separate Māori and Pakeha circuits. The final split between the

⁸⁵ Hames, *Paparoa Methodist Church*, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Hames, *Paparoa Methodist Church*, p. 5.

⁸⁷ Hames, *Paparoa Methodist Church*, p. 13.

Port Albert and Paparoa Methodist congregations occurred in 1886 when they were placed in separate circuits and each had their own agents.⁸⁸

The Hames family was deeply involved in the Methodist circuit of Paparoa which, as the years progressed, brought them into the wider circuit of Albertland. Most of the information on the family's involvement in church affairs comes from their descendants, who remained active in the church community. Granddaughter Inez Hames became a missionary in the Pacific, while other descendants continued to preach in Paparoa.⁸⁹ Luther Hames noted that by some coincidence or by design, the Methodists became the dominant denomination in Paparoa—making disagreements on ecclesiastical matters rare. However, at Maungatūroto, the Congregationalists held the majority and any Methodists who did not agree with their systems of church governance had to travel to either Port Albert or Paparoa. It is also noteworthy that the only chapel built in Maungatūroto in the early decades of the settlement was Congregationalist.⁹⁰

The Methodists were the majority in the Matakoho and Paparoa area. When need for a chapel and public meeting place became dire in the late 1860s, however, it was the Congregationalists who were the drivers of the project. The Congregationalist minister of Maungatūroto held collections for the endeavour, and C. J. Metcalfe, a Congregationalist, raised over £100 to put towards the chapel.⁹¹ After such efforts, it was decided between the Methodists and Congregationalists that the latter group should hold the new chapel in trust but ensure it was open to all Protestant denominations; it was thereafter known as the Matakoho Undenominational Church.⁹² Despite his deafness Charles Hames was readily accepted into the preacher's roster for the circuit, preaching in Paparoa and at the Matakoho Undenominational Church (Figure 38).⁹³

The Hames family took their religious convictions seriously in public and in private. Their home was some distance from Paparoa, so services were led by Charles at home. Charles also gave theological lessons to his two older sons, and Mary Hames gave lessons based on stories from the Bible to the younger children. Family prayers were held twice daily and always included singing a hymn.⁹⁴ Additionally, Darwinian theories were forbidden in

⁸⁸ Hames, *Paparoa Methodist Church*, p. 6.

⁸⁹ Hames, "I remember..." p. 9.

⁹⁰ Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection, pp. 27, 30.

⁹¹ Wilson, ed., *Paparoa-Matakoho*, pp. 12-13.

⁹² E. W. Hames, *Paparoa Methodist Church: 1867-1967*, (Paparoa: Paparoa Methodist Church, n.d.), p. 28.

⁹³ Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 28.

⁹⁴ Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 28.

the household. Charles remarked in his journal that he had survived his older more robust brothers so was a testament to the “confusion of the Darwinian false theory,” that is, “mine [Hames] is a case of the survival of the unfittest [sic].”⁹⁵ In a diary entry from 1899, Hames was adamant that through decades of lay preaching, the majority of which he had been completely deaf, he had never missed an appointment through illness—any absence was due to accidents. He only chose to relinquish his duties as a lay preacher because of his failing eyesight, stating, he had always tried “to be scriptural, but have all along been conscious of feebleness... but it has done me good.”⁹⁶

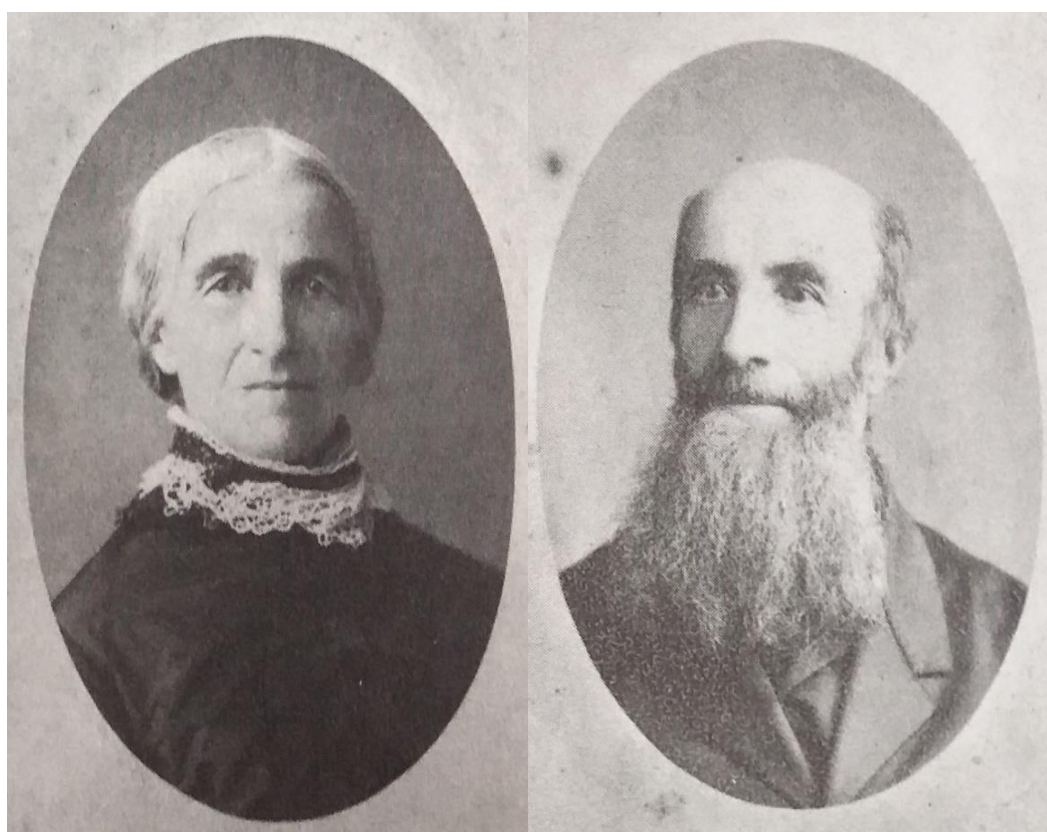


Figure 38: Mary and Charles Hames. Mary provided the family firm leadership while Charles acted as their spiritual steward. By the time of these photographs, c.1890, Charles was completely blind. Photograph, *Mary Hames*, 2000/428/9, Hames Family Collection, Matakōhe Kauri Museum, Matakōhe; Photograph, *Charles Hames*, 2000/428/8, Hames Family Collection, Matakōhe Kauri Museum, Matakōhe.

Luther Hames recalled that at the Paparoa Methodist church they were visited regularly by ministers from as far north as Whangarei and even had the Archdeacon Robert Maunsell give a sermon at the church. He reminisced that many felt the sermons of these visitors were great lessons by important figures. However, in retrospect he believed that the sermons given by local lay preachers were just as good and it was the novelty of having a

⁹⁵ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection p. 22.

⁹⁶ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection p. 47.

different person present in the community that drew such interest from the congregation.⁹⁷ Visits from Rev. Gittos to the Paparoa chapel were noteworthy as he was usually accompanied by rangatira Arama Karaka or the Rev. Hone Waiti who preached in te reo Māori, with Gittos providing interpretation.⁹⁸ From Hames' recollections it becomes clear that as the different congregations throughout the Paparoa block maintained their own chapels, the annual tea or lunch meetings of the Paparoa church were seen as an opportunity for the settlers to come together regardless of denomination. These meetings were a community event rather than a church event with many settlers remaining in Paparoa for up to a week on these occasions.⁹⁹

The dedication of the Hames family to the Methodist circuit was such that when Mary Hames died in 1919 the *Methodist Times* reported that "there passed to her eternal reward one whose name must ever be bound up with the history of the Paparoa Circuit, and who holds high rank among the revered band of pioneers whose heritage of example and achievement is worth many times more than any material wealth."¹⁰⁰ The firm Methodist foundation laid by the Hames family and their active participation in the leadership of the Paparoa circuit became an intergenerational role when Rowland Hames, the fourth son of Charles and Mary, continued the family's lay preaching by acting as substitute when required by the circuit but later by taking his father's place on the roster.¹⁰¹ As the years continued, the religious nature of the family life was handed down to the grandchildren. Inez Hames, who was born in 1892, recalled in her autobiographical notes that prayers before and after meals could be very long and that, despite an extensive library in the home, the illustrated Bible was almost exclusively read to her on visits to her grandparents' home (Figure 39).¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 29.

⁹⁸ Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 29.

⁹⁹ Recollections, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 29.

¹⁰⁰ "In Memoriam," *The New Zealand Methodist Times*, Volume X, Issue 3, 7 June 1919, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ Hames, "I remember...", pp. 6-7.

¹⁰² Hames, "I remember...", p. 5.



Figure 39: Photograph, *Hames Family Home, Paparoa*, Hames Family Collection, Matakohē Kauri Museum, Matakohē.

The splintering of the Albertland community was not simply economic or related to the allocation of land; from the outset of the scheme there was tension over denominationalism. However, necessity dictated—due to the distances many settlers had to travel—that the settlement required more than one church. Fracturing into separate denominations can similarly be viewed as evidence of the settlers’ desire to see the settlement succeed in the face of its abandonment by the majority of their fellow Albertlanders. Even after the disarray of the initial five years the settlers reformed into coherent congregations, and these new groups were the basis of a new religious and civil leadership. Their chapels and halls were available for multiple uses by the community, and the denominations stayed non-conformist (except for some Anglicans), thus maintaining the distinct identity of the Albertland settlement.

Prohibition in Albertland

As time progressed the Albertlanders found themselves less isolated from the wider Auckland Province. The governance of the settlement became entwined with the larger provincial government, so the settlers sought ways to preserve their identity. They became active in the politics of their district and keenly aware of their place in both the Auckland Province and the colony. The key goal of the settlement’s leaders was to maintain control over their governing

bodies, even if it meant being forced to function within government frameworks that were not of their design. Nowhere was this struggle to preserve identity more apparent than in the debates the settlers had over prohibition of alcohol in the settlement during the 1870s and 1880s.

Throughout the district regular meetings were called by the settlers to discuss issues the community was facing, and the Port Albert Association became the place for these political discussions. By 1869 the feeling of the district was firmly set against the provincial system; the settlers felt the Auckland Provincial Government ignored its rural districts in favour of the city. This was a common feeling throughout Northland as many settlements were disgruntled with the lack of a railway, which the Provincial government had promised, and were threatening to open trade with Sydney and bypass Auckland altogether.¹⁰³ John Shepherd led one meeting in which he stated, “that provincialism has succeeded to some extent in carrying out one of its most important functions (that of promoting immigration) our presence here testifies; but that they have entirely failed in carrying out the other equally important one of opening up the country our present land-locked position as fully proves.”¹⁰⁴ Subsequent speakers followed the same line of thought: while the province had helped bring in settlers, they had not connected the district to others and left Albertland isolated. A possible solution to this was a more substantial local government which could raise its own funding but also be given grants from the provincial government for larger projects.¹⁰⁵

The settlers and the Port Albert Association held special annual meetings on 30 May, considered to be the anniversary date of the Albertland settlement. These meetings were usually larger affairs than the regular society meetings, and in 1870 the meeting had almost 300 people present. Here, compulsory education was discussed with the core issue being whether children in the district would go to a secular or religious school. Secular was voted best to avoid any sectarian issues that religious education might cause.¹⁰⁶ The repeal of the Fencing Act was actively discussed after a request for their opinion was received from the Kaukapakapa Association. It was decided that repealing the Act would financially ruin most of the farmers in Albertland. This request shows that the Albertlanders were communicating

¹⁰³ Brett, *Acknowledge no Frontier*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁴ “Oruawharo,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1788, 6 October 1869, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ “Oruawharo,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1788, 6 October 1869, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ “Port Albert: Anniversary Meeting. (From Our Own Correspondent),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3995, 11 June 1870, p. 4.

with the surrounding districts on political issues and how those issues might affect their community.¹⁰⁷

Communication with the surrounding districts was not limited to other settler groups. The neighbouring iwi were still involved in the life of the settlement, though by the beginning of the 1870s their role had changed. They were seen more as neighbours, as the trade they had offered in the initial years of settlement was no longer essential to the settlers' survival. At the 1870 anniversary meeting Dr Bell informed the settlers that many of their cattle had been running onto the iwi's land, and the iwi was considering charging five shillings a head to the owners of the cattle for any harm they caused to their crops or orchards. Most of the community felt this was a reasonable request and a motion was moved to ensure this occurrence did not happen again.¹⁰⁸

These community meetings often drifted from the original issue being discussed towards other topics such as prohibition and teetotalism, which had had supporters in Albertland since its inception. The formation of prohibitionist societies had been discussed on the voyages to the colony, and the religious leaders of the settlement all favoured the temperance ideal. Therefore, it is unsurprising that in early 1869 at a meeting of settlers held at the home of George Totterdell Hartnell, with Rev. Worker assisting, they proposed the formation of a local branch of the United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Traffic in All Intoxicating Liquors (commonly known as the UKA) or a society with similar values. The UKA was a temperance society that had grown popular in the United Kingdom in the early 1850s. It was impressed on those present that such a society would be able to counter any attempt to grant a licence to sell alcohol in the district, which they saw as detrimental to the development of a civilised society.¹⁰⁹ This topic was raised again a few months later when, at a meeting of the Literary Society, the same group of men read papers on total abstinence and expressed their desire to stop the construction of a public house in Port Albert. The conversation got as far as to whether coffee and tea should also be banned—they could also be injurious to the drinker.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ "Port Albert: The Fencing Act. (From Our Own Correspondent) July 16," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4031, 23 July 1870, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ "Port Albert: Anniversary Meeting. (From Our Own Correspondent)," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3995, 11 June 1870, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ "Port Albert. (From Our Own Correspondent) May 22," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3701, 29 May 1869, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ "Port Albert," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1785, 2 October 1869, p. 5.

Formed on 23 June 1869, the Port Albert branch of the UKA held its first meeting in February 1870, with over 50 people in attendance. The purpose of the first meeting was to push for the introduction of a permissive prohibitory liquor law which would allow the district's inhabitants to block any liquor licences and to communicate with other societies to push for education on the "evils of alcohol."¹¹¹ An interesting interjection was made by a Mr Stevenson who admitted that while he was not a teetotaler, he did not want to see alcohol sold in the community. However, he argued there was a need for a lodging house, and it would be hard to finance if it did not sell alcohol.¹¹² The meeting ended with no clear answer to the issue of whether a boarding house would be built or, if so, how it would be financed without the selling of alcoholic beverages. The Alliance's committee membership was almost identical to that of the school committee, showing that the power in the district was increasingly held within a small circle of settlers, although there appears to have been no large public objection to this occurrence.¹¹³

The Independent Order of Good Templars (I.O.G.T.) also established itself in Albertland. While primarily an anti-alcohol organisation, the order also served as a place for social gatherings. Numerous leaders of the community were involved in the Hope of Albertland Lodge I.O.G.T., including Methodist lay preachers John Legge, John Shepherd, and Henry Marcroft.¹¹⁴ Many of these men also regularly attended the Literary Society. Another temperance organisation was the Port Albert Band of Hope, established in 1873. Its influence, combined with that of the UKA and the Good Templars, went to ensuring that no licensed public house was established within 20 miles of Port Albert. A letter between members of the Watson family written almost 25 years later in 1900 stated "I see no drinking here or drunkenness either to speak of, having no hotels in the district."¹¹⁵ Two other Band of Hope branches were established in Wharehine and Wellsford, and the triad interacted through regular joint meetings and musical competitions.¹¹⁶ The Literary Society, usually held at Cypress Lodge, the residence of Rev. Edger, was not intended to be a political or religious

¹¹¹ "Port Albert. Annual Meeting of the Port Albert Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance. (From Our Own Correspondent)," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3907, 1 March 1870, p. 4.

¹¹² "Port Albert. Annual Meeting of the Port Albert Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance. (From Our Own Correspondent)," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3907, 1 March 1870, p. 4.

¹¹³ "Port Albert. Annual Meeting of the Port Albert Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance. (From Our Own Correspondent)," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3907, 1 March 1870, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ "Port Albert," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XV, Issue 5070, 15 February 1878, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Lyn Johnston, "History – Fighting the Demon Drink," *Localmatters*, 12 May 2021, accessed 13.11.2023. <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/fighting-the-demon-drink/>

¹¹⁶ J. Malton Murray and Rev. J. Cocker, *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand* (London: The Epworth Press, 1930), p. 29.

group but a cultural one. However, as politics was becoming a contentious issue and religion was so closely ingrained in the settlement's culture, the literature they discussed was usually of a spiritual nature and was in reference to issues such as temperance and prohibition.¹¹⁷ The society's membership largely represented the same membership as the temperance societies in the district.

The men who formed the basis of the temperance leadership were not a fringe group; they were leaders in many aspects of the settlement's religious and civic life. The founding of a school in the district meant that a board was required to manage its finances, and these men formed the bulk of that board. Dr Bell refused to be appointed to the school board because he objected to the way the application for a grant had been made to the Provincial Government. However, Rev. Worker, George Hartnell, and Messrs Shepherd, Plummer, Judd, Utting, and Turner all accepted positions.¹¹⁸ Hartnell was not just known in the district for his views on temperance and prohibition, he was an accomplished farmer and orchard owner; his apples were highly prized in the district and were known as far south in Auckland (Figure 40).¹¹⁹



Figure 40: George Totterdell Hartnell, an avid prohibitionist and leader of the temperance movement in Albertland. He campaigned to keep alcohol out of Albertland and while he succeeded in gaining popular support, he ultimately failed as alcohol was produced and sold throughout the district. Photograph, *George Totterdell Hartnell*, Hartnell Family Documents, File F-P, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

¹¹⁷ "Port Albert: The Fencing Act. (From Our Own Correspondent) July 16," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4031, 23 July 1870, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ "Port Albert," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1785, 2 October 1869, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ "Untitled," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XX, Issue 6645, 6 March 1883, p. 4.

Hartnell raised the issue of prohibition many times. At a meeting in 1869 he suggested that any new local government bodies that replaced the provincial system should be allowed to veto the issuing of alcohol sales licences in their districts by a majority vote. This was readily agreed to by others at the meeting. A committee was formed and instructed to begin corresponding with surrounding districts in advancing the issue of local government with the Provincial Government.¹²⁰ At the 1870 Albertland anniversary celebration Hartnell gave an address on what he considered social evils, saying no civilised society could survive if it allowed the existence of drink traffic, gambling, and “other kindred social evils.”¹²¹ He stated that any law seeking to merely regulate the sale of alcohol would fail, since people who drank alcohol tended to move from weaker liquor to stronger and not the reverse. Total bans were the only way to ensure no lewd or drunken behaviour sullied the Albertland community.¹²² The UKA in Albertland and its brethren Alliances in the Auckland Province sent a petition to the Provincial Government to allow local bodies to veto the opening of public houses in their respective districts. John Shepherd had even introduced a Bill to the Provincial Government for that purpose years earlier in 1864. With the aid of the petition and after much angst that law was passed in 1871, the first law of its kind in any self-governing British settler colony. However, the same law did not fare well when introduced to the General Assembly and it remained a Provincial law.¹²³

While Hartnell may have been persuasive in his advocacy of temperance, his views on other issues were not so readily accepted and often openly ridiculed. At a meeting of the Port Albert Literary Club, Hartnell read a paper titled “A Negative View of Vaccination.” He promoted the idea that vaccination was not only dangerous but had in no way contributed to the decrease in cases of smallpox over the preceding decade, and that practitioners of medicine were unable to provide accurate conclusions from their own statistics and data.¹²⁴ Whilst two other members at the meeting supported these views, the chairman of the meeting, Frederick Utting, denounced Hartnell’s views, stating that there was conclusive proof that vaccinations had helped stop the spread of smallpox.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ “Oruawharo,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1788, 6 October 1869, p. 6.

¹²¹ “Otway v. Armstrong,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3999, 16 June 1870, p. 3.

¹²² “Otway v. Armstrong,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3999, 16 June 1870, p. 3.

¹²³ Murray and Cocker, *Temperance and Prohibition*, p. 29.

¹²⁴ “Port Albert Literary Club,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4708, 25 September 1872, p. 3.

¹²⁵ “Port Albert Literary Club,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4708, 25 September 1872, p. 3.

Paparoa's temperance and prohibition movements did not reach the same level of organisation, though there is evidence that some of the households considered themselves teetotallers. The Hames family were complete abstainers from "setting an evil example --- from the woe of him who gives his neighbour drink --- from misleading the unsuspecting --- from patronizing the liquor trade and thus encouraging the evil traffic --- from acquiring drinking habits – and a thirst for liquor."¹²⁶ The family refused to allow alcohol in their house and did not serve any to guests; all the children were raised to be abstainers and, as far as Charles Hames was aware, they remained so until his death.¹²⁷

The leaders of the settlement may have worked hard and succeeded in prohibiting the sale of alcohol in the district, but they were unable to stop the production of alcoholic beverages in the district by their fellow Albertlanders. The most notable manufacturers were the Levet family, who settled near the township of Wellsford. Neither Charles Levet nor his son Joseph had any experience in agriculture and viticulture, but they were determined to try their hands at wine making after studying a large volume on the topic (Figure 41). Years after their deaths, Charles' grandson remarked on having seen the well-thumbed volume in the house.¹²⁸ With limited knowledge and the help of a single book, the Levet family made their wine through a long process of trial and error.



Figure 41: Charles and Joseph Levet in front of their wine shed the centre of their wine making operation. After their deaths and the family's move away from viticulture, the shed and winepress remained unused for decades. It was slowly ruined by weather and vines before being torn down by descendants of the family. Photograph, *Charles and Joseph Levet*, "History – Pioneer Vintners," Local Matters, accessed 21.07.2024. <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/history-pioneer-vintners/>

¹²⁶ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, p. 19.

¹²⁷ Journal and Reminiscences, Documentary Heritage Collection, pp. 19. 20.

¹²⁸ Dick Scott, *Pioneers of New Zealand Wine* (Auckland: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2002), p. 46.

The allotment they were granted was 13 kilometres from a water source and like the other allotments featured dense bush, steep hills, and soil that was hard and tough. After clearing the land and supporting themselves by selling the kauri timber for milling or shingles, the father and son began to build their vineyard. They set up stakes along the hillsides and trailed planks across the top for their vines to wrap around. The top of the stakes were set to be equal with those further up the hillside, meaning at the bottom of the hill they had vines drooping almost four feet and at the top two feet.¹²⁹ In 1863 they announced the opening of their vineyard, advertising their intention for “Purity, Maturity and Soundness.”¹³⁰ To supplement seven acres of vines the Levet family also built their own kauri wood wine press, which allowed them to produce the wine themselves rather than ship the grapes to another producer.

Aside from the difficulties the Levet’s faced on their allotment with clearing bush, preparing the soil, and harvesting their first crops of grapes, they also faced other difficulties of a societal and legal temperament. The Licensing Acts in both the Auckland Province and the wider colony banned the sale of alcohol from anywhere but hotels. This presented the Levet family with a serious problem in that there was no hotel in the district to supply with their wine. Shipping their wine out of the district was expensive and the law forbade them to sell directly from their vineyard.¹³¹ The family’s business remained small in its first decade until they found an unlikely but well-known patron, one that provided them the spotlight they required to grow beyond the confines of the Albertland district. The Levet family became the official suppliers to the Governor, Sir William Jervois, during his tenure, 1883-1889. Jervois’s successor, David Boyle, the Earl of Glasgow, also took a liking to the Levet family’s wine, so much so that he allowed them to rename their vineyard in his honour and use the royal arms in their advertising (Figure 42).¹³²

¹²⁹ Scott, *Pioneers*, p. 46.

¹³⁰ Scott, “Old Man Kaipara,” accessed 10.09.2022. <https://www.nzgeo.com/stories/old-man-kaipara/>

¹³¹ Scott, *Pioneers*, pp. 46-48.

¹³² Scott, *Pioneers*, p. 48.

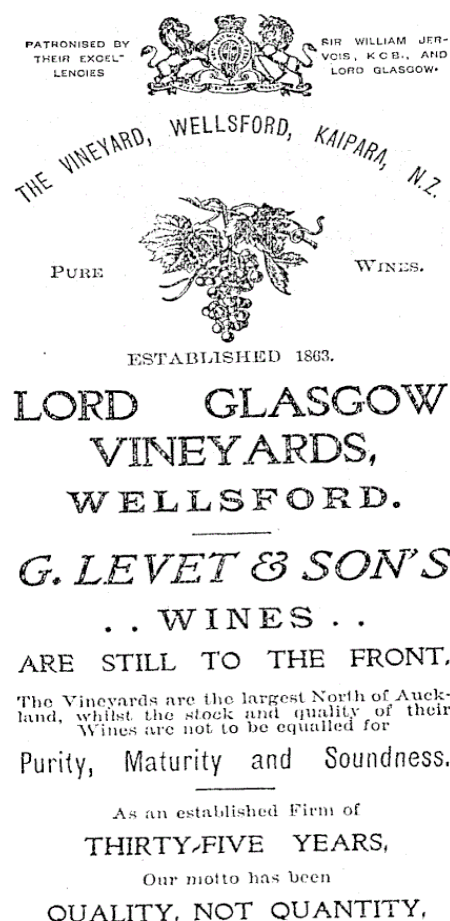


Figure 42: Advertisement for the Levet family vineyard, “Lord Glasgow Vineyards.” The Royal Arms, whose usage was granted by Lord Glasgow while he served as Governor, are visible at the top of the advertisement. Image, *Lord Glasgow Vineyards*, *Auckland Star*, Vol XXIX, Issue 284, 1 Dec 1898, p. 19.

How they initially made the connection to the Governor is unknown. However, it is likely that it was through the local MP for Rodney, Seymour George. George was the nephew-in-law of former Governor Sir George Grey and had many connections within the upper echelons of the colony’s government.¹³³ He argued in parliament that liquor laws should be amended to allow the licensing of wine shops for sales from their local vineyards. The first shop licence was granted to Israel Wendel, whose wine shop on Symonds Street, Auckland became the main distribution point for the Levet’s wine. The Levet family distributed from here as the law only allowed sales from a vineyard in quantities of two gallons or more, while a shop could sell smaller more affordable amounts. However, the Levets were known for their hospitality and allowed many travellers to “sample” their wines

¹³³ *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, edited by G. H. Schofield, Vol 1. A-L (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, New Zealand, 1940), p. 291.

without making a purchase, thereby bypassing the restrictive laws, before sending shipments to these customers after they had left the district.¹³⁴

Despite the Levet's successes, the business and vineyards did not survive the father and son who had worked so hard to cultivate them. Charles Levet died in 1907, leaving the business in the sole hands of Joseph who died without warning in 1909 at Kingsland railway station.¹³⁵ Their vineyard became unsustainable, and the rest of the family had no training in harvesting and making wine. Eventually it was decided that the land was better used for cattle farming, and a herd was turned loose on the vines. The last remnant of the vineyard was the wine-making shed and the wine press, which survived over a century of neglect before collapsing.

The Levets were not an isolated case of alcohol production in Albertland. Alfred Woodcock also began a vineyard on his allotment and while he didn't reach the same clientele as the Levet family, his wines still proved popular. The Woodcock family settled near Hoteo, initially with some difficulty, and began their wine-making operation. Alfred travelled to the settlement whilst his wife and children stayed in Auckland. He found what he thought was his allotment and began to clear the land, only to be told that his calculations were off by several miles. He had to cut a path through the bush yet again to reach his 40 acres. He also purchased more land on the Opou block when this was opened for sale. The family appear to have been wealthier than the average Albertland family, purchasing cattle early in the district's development and profiting heavily from their resale. Woodcock clearly did not require financial capital as he sold an ox to Henry Marsh, his neighbour on the Opou block, for £19. However, rather than make Marsh pay the amount upfront, Woodcock had him pay off the amount slowly by travelling to the market and purchasing goods for him.¹³⁶ It became clear that, despite their financial security, Woodcock's lack of experience as a farmer was detrimental to the family's success. They sold their Opou land in 1871 and moved to the Komokoriki block nearer Wellsford.¹³⁷ Woodcock seems to have been respected by the settlers in this area as he was elected to their first Highway Board shortly after arrival.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Scott, *Pioneers*, p. 48.

¹³⁵ "Deaths," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLIV, Issue 13494, 22 May 1907, p. 1; "Accidents and Deaths," *Ashburton Guardian*, Volume XXIX, Issue 7783, 30 April 1909, p. 4.

¹³⁶ Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, p. 135.

¹³⁷ Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, p. 94.

¹³⁸ Mabbet, *The Rock and the Sky*, p. 163.

The original Woodcock farm near Hoteo was on more level ground than that the Levet family contended with, and they left some parts of their allotment covered in bush providing a natural protection for their vines. Their vineyard was producing up to 600 gallons of wine a season, even though large quantities of sugar were used during wine production.¹³⁹ The Woodcock family also experimented with how they grew their vines. They attempted to build a large grid of vines by putting up posts seven feet high and running wires across the tops for the vines to grow along. This system meant the vines were out of reach of cattle or sheep but could still be reached by men on horseback who could ride underneath the vines picking the grapes. However, by 1881 this idea was abandoned, and the family considered tearing up their vineyard and planting grass. Sheep and cattle farming represented the largest part of their 500-acre property so the family did not need to depend solely on the vineyard for income.¹⁴⁰ Woodcock built a boarding house in Wellsford, hoping to turn it into a hotel if the town grew and became a prominent stop between Auckland and the North. This may be why Herbert Woodcock supported the granting of liquor sales licences in the area in 1891; it would have benefitted the family business if they were able to sell alcohol.¹⁴¹ The business did not survive, and the building was demolished by 1909 when the railway arrived in Wellsford.¹⁴²

Albert G. Allom, of the Great Northern Land Agency, was so impressed with Woodcock's wine that he wrote a letter to the *New Zealand Herald* in response to an article the paper had written regarding wine growing in New Zealand. Allom stated that the frosts of late spring had ruined Woodcock's crops before and were a constant fear for the viticulturist. These frosts were the reason Woodcock had to add sugar to his wine: the wines he produced without sugar were akin to a port but without the sweetness. Allom's most interesting comment was that "it is much drunk by the settlers round about the district and very little of it finds its way into our Auckland market."¹⁴³ Notwithstanding, then, the abolitionist tendencies of the district leadership, the settlers themselves were still partaking in the drinking of alcohol—including that which was being produced locally.

Woodcock's operation, despite his reservations, kept going, indeed expanded over the next decade, and continued beyond his death in 1887 under the stewardship of his son Alfred

¹³⁹ "The North," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVIII, Issue 6058, 18 April 1881, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ "The North," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVIII, Issue 6058, 18 April 1881, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ "Advertisements," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 8560, 7 May 1891, p. 6.

¹⁴² Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, p. 119.

¹⁴³ "Wine Growing In New Zealand," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XIX, Issue 6529, 20 October 1882, p. 3.

“Fred” Jnr. By 1890 the vineyards covered four acres and two glasshouses, each over 200 feet in length. With a stock of aged wine half a decade old, Woodcock was now distributing throughout the entire provincial district. Other members of the family had purchased their own properties, and there was another Woodcock vineyard of two acres of vines on an adjoining property.¹⁴⁴ The Woodcocks complained that the law did not allow the distilling of the refuse to fortify the wine for export. Further, while they could distil the refuse into other drinks such as brandy, they were still not allowed to sell that locally.¹⁴⁵ By the turn of the century the Woodcock family’s vineyards were still producing wines and selling as far as Russell and Wellington.¹⁴⁶

Conclusion

The assertion that the Albertland community fractured or failed in its first years does not acknowledge the intricacies of their situation. Despite the more grandiose hopes of the Albertland Association not being realised, the settlers were flexible in their approaches to the problems they encountered, and while the district may not have acted as a cohesive whole, the smaller communities achieved successes. The settlement succeeded as a non-conformist settlement, regardless of the large number of conformists. Non-conformists in Albertland organised themselves into their respective denominations quickly and built chapels before the conformist denominations. The smaller communities even achieved a form of non-denominationalism as they worshipped together; while they had denominational chapels, many settlers worshipped at chapels of different denominations because it was the closest available. Even Bishop Selwyn encouraged the Anglicans to worship elsewhere until the settlement was more established. The separate congregations aided each other financially and maintained connections throughout the entire community; however, the non-conformists were always in a stronger position, whether by percentage of population, their organisation, or resources.

¹⁴⁴ “Visit to Messrs. Woodcock's Vineyard,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVII, Issue 8198, 8 March 1890, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ “Country Life: Matakana,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 8496, 21 February 1891, p. 1 (Supplement).

¹⁴⁶ “A Trip to Warkworth,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVII, Issue 11388, 2 June 1900, p. 5 (Supplement).

The debate over prohibition may have divided the community, but it did not prevent the settlers from interacting with each other and did not lead to individuals being ostracised from the community. The founding of temperance groups displays a willingness to form structured groups within the settlement, and the debates within other societies over prohibition suggest a willingness for open discussion rather than closed obstinacy. Some successes were still considered sources of pride for the district, even though they contradicted the beliefs or intentions of the original scheme—including the Levet family winery. The Albertlanders did not achieve district wide cohesion, but success as individuals and smaller communities.

Chapter Six: Property Ownership and Settlement

The objective of the Albertland scheme and the hopes of its founders were that those who joined them would form a united community. The 40-acre scheme implemented by the Auckland Provincial Council was key to achieving this, as it supported prospective settlers, who may not have had the necessary financial capital, to purchase allotments for themselves. As the Albertlanders began to settle the district, dissatisfaction with the whereabouts of allotments arose and led to a system of selling and trading for more desirable locations. Many desired to move closer to the budding township of Port Albert or the waterways that provided trade and communication. Meanwhile, others in the interior who did not wish to sell and were unwilling to travel the overland distance to Port Albert for trade, began the new township in the south of Albertland named Wellsford.

In this state of disorder, different styles of ownership began to emerge. Many, in the spirit of non-denominational egalitarianism, chose to have co-ownership of several allotments and work together on the land for mutual benefit. Rev. Edger encouraged many settlers to use their properties in this way. Some, such as the Brookes family, took advantage of the faltering resolve of other settlers and purchased their sections, intending to build large estates that outmatched other holdings in the district. This chapter will explore the tension between those who attempted to hold to the original intentions of the scheme through co-ownership and those who worked for personal benefit, and how the eruption of these tensions shaped the development of the communities at Albertland.

Speculation in the New Zealand Company

Speculation had been present in planned settlements throughout New Zealand long before the inception of the Albertland scheme. The Wakefield settlements of the New Zealand Company provide an example of settlements that not only involved speculation but required it for their success. This was a dangerous contradiction: if the primary goal was to establish settlers on the land, then allowing speculation endangered that. The Wakefield schemes eventually all fell victim to rampant and unchecked speculation. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, founder of the New Zealand Company, created a political and economic theory for “systematic colonization.” To form a civilised society, Wakefield argued, there needed to be a capitalist system in which labourers were required to provide wage work for a wealthier upper class

who had the financial capital to maintain control over the land. Rural areas and townships needed to be developed simultaneously and provide each other essential services.

Land in these two areas, rural and township, had to be sold at different rates to ensure that a) a tenant class developed and b) labouring settlers and investment settlers grew in proportion to each other.¹ Different land prices would also ensure that settlerism triumphed over “nomadism.” The latter concept was used by Wakefield to argue that, in the context of a settler society, having land available for too low a price led to unpredictable movement by settlers, thus hindering the development of a stable settlement. Unable to afford their own allotments or travel elsewhere, the tenant class would be forced to live and work locally.² Wakefield attempted unsuccessfully to implement this system in the New Zealand Company settlements of Nelson, New Plymouth, Wanganui, and Wellington through the late 1830s and early 1840s.

A system such as this relied heavily on speculation. The land needed to be acquired cheaply from its owners, in Wakefield’s case the local Māori iwi, so that it could be sold to prospective settlers. Wakefield felt that local iwi were eager to sell land for the lowest possible price, and his confidence in his theories made him comfortable enough to make enormous purported purchases from Māori.³ “Some of these purchases were so large that acres or square miles were inadequate measurements; the deeds could be worded only in degrees of latitude.”⁴ In turn, the allotments had to be sold at a rate that guaranteed the Company a profit or at the least cover their costs. The price also needed “to be set at a high enough level to prevent labourers from easily purchasing their own land and quickly leaving the labour market.”⁵ Profits from sales could then be used to build infrastructure in the settlement, increasing the speculative value of the land and driving additional investment.⁶

¹ Phillip Steer, “On Systematic Colonisation and the Culture of Settler Colonialism: Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s *A Letter from Sydney* (1829),” *BRANCH: Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, ed. Dino Franco Felluga, Extension of *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, accessed 18.10.2023. https://branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=philip-steer-on-systematic-colonization-and-the-culture-of-settler-colonialism-edward-gibbon-wakefields-a-letter-from-sydney-1829

² Phillip Steer, “Forms of Settlement: Colonial Space, Time and Genre from ‘Adventure in New Zealand to the Fossil Pits,’” *Journal of New Zealand Literature (JNZL)*, no. 28 (2010): pp. 63-64.

³ Stuart Banner, “Two Properties, One Land: Law and Space in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 24, no. 4 (1999): p. 821.

⁴ Stuart Banner, “Conquest by Contract: Wealth Transfer and Land Market Structure in Colonial New Zealand,” *Law & Society Review* 34, no. 1 (2000): p. 57.

⁵ Jon Henning, “New Zealand: An Antipodean Exception to Master and Servant Rules,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 41, no. 1 (2007): p. 70.

⁶ Michael Belgrave, “Pre-emption, the Treaty of Waitangi and the Politics of Crown Purchase,” in *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 1 (1997): p. 30.

Wakefield had many detractors, including G. Scrope, who described his theories as an attempt to establish “a sort of modified white slavery.”⁷

By way of contrast, the Auckland Provincial Government’s 40-acre scheme left the Albertlanders to decide their own systems of governance, and as the acquisition of land merely relied on the settlers remaining on their allotments for a five-year period, it removed the need for financial capital to cover land acquisition. Therefore, the establishment of separate landowning and labouring classes was not necessary as all settlers received their own land.⁸ While it seemed that speculation would be unable to take root in Albertland because of the 40-acre scheme, it appeared almost immediately. Speculation was used by some outside the scheme to take advantage of vacant lots after the initial failure of the 1860s. However, the largest speculation came from one of the scheme’s leaders, whose actions directly undermined the goals of the Albertland Association.

A Family Affair: the Brookes Family and Land

The difficulties the Albertlanders had finding their allotments, the purchasing of additional allotments, and the trading of titles between settlers made clear the different objectives many had for their land. The Brookes family, despite their early connection to the scheme, displayed little adherence to its goal of forming a religious utopia. The family acted as entrepreneurs, using financial capital they brought with them to amass swathes of land far larger than their entitlement. By controlling land, they were able to exert control over civil and religious matters in Wharehine. This contrasted to the shareholder method of land ownership adopted by Rev. Edger and his supporters.

The story of Wharehine is intricately entwined with the experiences of the Brookes family. After clearing their respective blocks and surviving the first years of settlement, the Brookes brothers of Wharehine began to prepare for the next step of their family’s expansion in Albertland. Three years after the brothers left Britain, the senior members of the family and their younger siblings came to join them. This was a momentous occasion for the family, and the brothers made sure to tell their parents everything they needed for the journey and establishing their own homestead. George recommended foodstuffs such as lard, cocoa, and

⁷ Henning, “New Zealand,” p. 70.

⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 16.

treacle, farming equipment such as a plough and a saddle, a case of books for a library, and a servant for the ship journey. He further recommended a case of sturdy clothing that could be sold to local Māori groups who, he said, paid high prices for such goods. Edwin Brookes Snr heeded his son's advice and brought many of these items, along with enough stone slate to tile any house he built.⁹ To speed along the process of relocating, Brookes Snr placed the family home of Rock Cottage, and all furniture within, up for auction with the stipulation that possession be had immediately.¹⁰

As Nottingham agent for the scheme, Brookes Snr had paid for the passage of many intending settlers on condition their land grant be given to him in return. However, when discovered, this practice drew the ire of many of his fellow settlers. George Brookes wrote to his father nine months before the latter departed Britain, warning him that there were threats being made by settlers of the *Tyburnia*. He wrote "You [Brookes Snr] paid a female's half passage... They brought her case forward and said your land was a wholesale monopoly and some even went so far as to say it was a swindle. It was agreed to Memorialise the Government against what they called your monopoly...Barton and Mason strongly opposed it. At the same time they lost the friendship of all those concerned."¹¹ George encouraged his father to purchase his own land, as the people he intended to obtain land grants from had to sign for them in person, and he doubted many of them would be able to be found by the time his father arrived.

The three brothers had kept their parents abreast of all developments involving their allotments and had asked them to act as arbiters in any disagreements that arose between them. A letter between the oldest brothers and their parents discussed how their different blocks should be divided between them. This letter indicates that while each brother owned his block individually, they were acting to develop them as a family group.¹² The letter discussed a disagreement regarding the division of allotment 13 in the Wharehine Parish. Brookes Jnr wanted to bisect the block so that one brother got the entire road front and the other the bush. George believed they should both get a share of the road front and the bush. As this was the smallest block the brothers held, it is likely to have been their youngest

⁹ Letter from G. H. Brookes to E. S. Brookes Snr dated May 1864, 1864, 2007-84-81, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

¹⁰ *Nottingham & Midland Counties Daily Express*, Vol. X, No. 1,494, 13 October 1864, p. 1.

¹¹ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, p. 101.

¹² Letter from Edwin Stanley Brookes Jnr and George Hovey Brookes to their Parents, 1864, 2007-84-8, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

brother's 20-acre block.¹³ Despite the brothers having their own land grants, it is possible that Brookes Jnr, the eldest brother, had been issued these in his name only because property records show him as sole owner of all three allotments.¹⁴

The arrival of Edwin Brookes Snr and the rest of the family was bittersweet for the three brothers, as they felt they had failed their father over the purchase of the Opou block. This block sat west of their farms in Wharehine and formed an isthmus between the Ōruawharo and Tauhoa Rivers. Fertile land with an abundance of fruit trees planted by local Māori made the Opou block an ideal expansion for their farms, and their father had demanded the brothers purchase the block for the family. In a letter dated September 1863, the brothers asked their father to send £200 to assist with the purchase.¹⁵ George believed that the block, consisting of 900 acres, would cost almost £300. He disagreed with his father and older brother's desire to purchase the entire block and believed that purchasing two or three of the block's sections was more practical, as any roads constructed meant fences needed to be erected and that was a cost they could not afford. George also observed neighbours crossing his land to view the block and took note of the prices they discussed. A speculator who visited with William Armitage was willing to pay £100 for the peach grove alone, whilst George's older brother could only bid up to £40. However, he hoped that if they bought only part, and no others partook in the sales, the Provincial Government might grant them the remaining land gratis.¹⁶

The sale did not go as planned; Auckland speculators were able to purchase most of the Opou block and two settlers from Auckland, named Marsh and Wilcockson, took the rest, including the peach grove.¹⁷ George and Edwin Jnr were able to purchase only two sections on the block, totalling 100 acres. Neither of their farms joined with the Tauhoa River, but they now had access as far west as Takahe Creek. In a letter dated 7 February 1864, Edwin Jnr wrote to his father, "you could not have done better than ordered me to take up the Opou land. It will be greatly to your advantage as a cattle run and a speculation ... It pleased me to

¹³ Letter from Edwin Stanley Brookes Jnr and George Hovey Brookes to their Parents, 1864, 2007-84-8, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

¹⁴ Wharehine Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.2, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 35.

¹⁵ Letter from E. S. Brookes Jnr to E. S. Brookes Snr dated September 18th 1863, 1863, 2007-84-13, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

¹⁶ Borrows, *Albertland*, pp. 112-114.

¹⁷ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 147.

hear of you intending to form a small township.”¹⁸ Unable to purchase the other lands on the Opu block, Edwin Jnr used the remainder of their funds to purchase land on the Maungatūroto block; however, they were not planning not to develop this section, leaving it instead to appreciate for a later sale.¹⁹

The plan for a possible township is reflected in Brookes Snr’s decision to bring a prefabricated chapel with him aboard the *Caduceus*. The chapel could double as a school hall or community hall. It was another two years after the rest of the family arrived before the Minniesdale Chapel was erected. The chapel gave Brookes Snr a place to preach and secured the Brookes family’s place as leaders in the district. At the same time, it gave the Baptists in the district a centre for religious instruction and added to the potential of a small township growing in Wharehine.²⁰ In addition to their own chapel, the family financed another in southern Albertland—costing £120, with a gothic edifice and capable of seating over 80 people. In 1868, Rev. Worker conducted the inaugural service to a full congregation. This second chapel solidified the Brookes family’s position in the district as financiers of communal projects.²¹

Brookes Snr and his wife settled on the Opu block along the bank of the Takapau Creek (Figure 43). The other land on the Opu block was taken up by the youngest of the three original brothers, Charles. These allotments gave him an opportunity to increase his income as, unlike his brothers, he had only received a 20-acre block upon arrival. He built himself a home near the Takapau Creek and like most settlers used the river to commute to Port Albert and elsewhere in the district.²² He was unfortunately the first of his family to die in New Zealand; in September 1868 his schooner was discovered at Rengarenga across the river from Port Albert still at full sail. At the inquest, his older brothers stated they had seen him on the Saturday morning and noted his intention to journey to Port Albert. Brookes Jnr admitted that he should have stopped his brother because he knew the weather was ill suited to the journey; Albert stated that the boat was sturdy but it had almost capsized many times before, and this may have been what had caused his brother’s disappearance.²³ By the time

¹⁸ Letter from E. S. Brookes Jnr to E. S. Brookes Snr dated February 7 1864, 1864, 2007-84-78, Misc Brookes Family Letters, Box J5:1, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

¹⁹ Halfpenny, *Bachelor Block*, pp. 100-101.

²⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 123.

²¹ “The Daily Southern Cross,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3272, 11 January 1868, p. 2.

²² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 159.

²³ “Inquest Proceedings on Charles Henry Brookes, 13 October 1868,” 13 October 1868, 1868/391, National Archives C-900-113, Box No. 79, Central Filing System, Inwards Letters and Registered Files, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

his boat was discovered he had been missing for five days and was last seen sailing past the home of his neighbour Henry Marsh. A week of searching revealed nothing, and his body was believed lost.²⁴

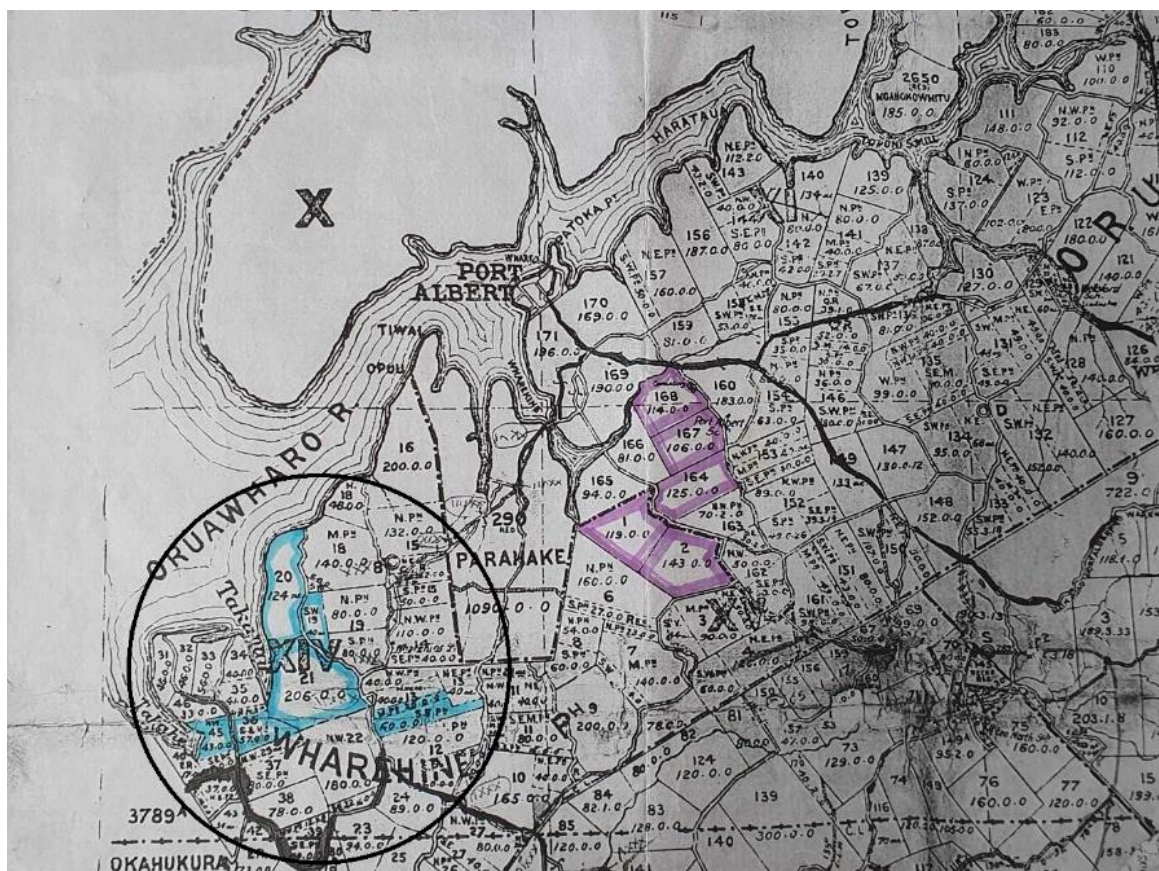


Figure 43: Excerpt of a map of Wharehine Parish and its allotments. The allotments that have been circled are those belonging to the Brookes family. Allotments no. 20, no. 21, and the highlighted sliver of no. 13 were the allotments granted to the Brookes brothers upon their arrival. Image, *Excerpt of a Map of Wharehine Parish and its Allotments*, Brookes Family Documents, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Brookes Jnr was given the crown grant to his allotments along the Ōruawharo in 1868, after five years of residency. This grant included other purchases as well as the land of his late brother, Charles, totalling 390 acres, far more than the 40 he was initially entitled to under the 40-Acre Scheme.²⁵ The family's next crown grant was given in 1870 when Albert, the fourth son to arrive in the colony, gained 100 acres in the Ōruawharo Parish, far from the family's other blocks (Figure 44). However, this was immediately sold to the Ashton family.²⁶ Brookes Snr secured his land grant in 1875, so late that it covered an area he had never occupied in the distant Hoteo Parish. This grant was significant, covering 897 acres.

²⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume V, Issue 1503, 18 September 1868, p. 5.

²⁵ Wharehine Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.2, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 35.

²⁶ Ōruawharo Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.1.1, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 181.

Like the Ōruawharo grant of Albert, it was sold in stages: 224 acres were sold in 1876, a segment of similar size was sold in 1883, and another piece was retained.²⁷

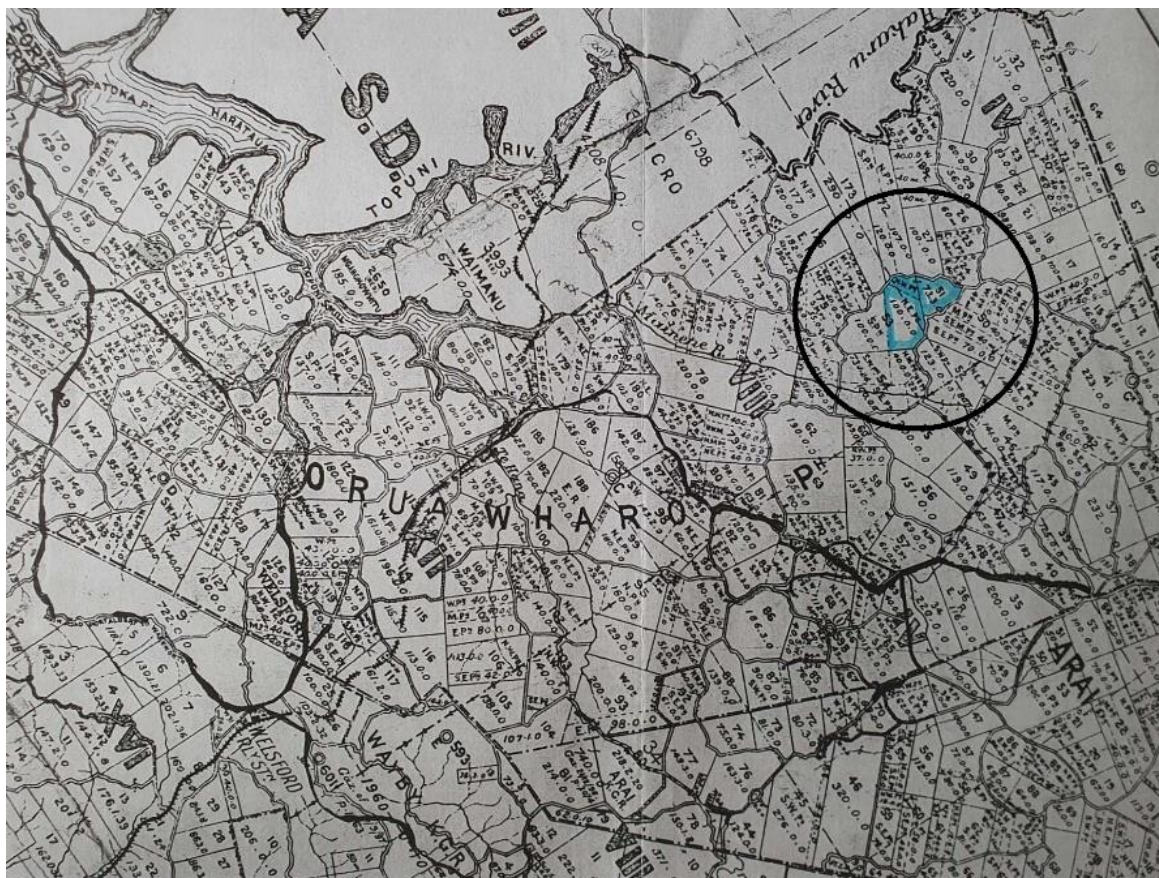


Figure 44: Excerpt of a map of Oruawharo Parish and its allotments. The allotments circled were owned by Albert Edward Brookes. The map shows the distance he put between his own allotments and those of the rest of his family. A map of the Image, *Excerpt of a Map of Oruawharo Parish and its Allotments*, Brookes Family Documents, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The money gained from these sales was used to purchase another 120 acres in Wharehine in 1884. Issued in 1888, the final crown grant for the family was 74 acres in Ōruawharo.²⁸ This section was held by Brookes Snr until his death in 1899. At their height, between 1889 and 1891, the Brookes family collectively owned 1,297 acres spread across the Wharehine, Ōruawharo, and Hoteo parishes. This is more than a thousand acres more than they were entitled to under the 40-acre scheme, showing their determination as a family to build a large contiguous land-holding in the Albertland settlement. This holding, reminiscent of the large estates of England that the Brookes family had lived near before their arrival in New Zealand, was not complete without a large home for the family. Their previous

²⁷ Hoteo Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.3, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 47.

²⁸ Oruawharo Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.1.1, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 201.

residence Rock Cottage in England had been sizable, and it appears they intended to build a similar home for themselves in Wharehine (Figure 45).²⁹



Figure 45: Minniesdale House, the large homestead built by Edwin Stanley Brookes Snr to act as the family seat on their new Albertland estate. It was a far larger dwelling than many others in Albertland. Image, *Minniesdale House c.1870*, “History – £22 house,” Local Matters, accessed 21.07.2024. <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/22-house/>

After a brief visit to the United States, Brookes Jnr returned to Albertland and applied for a position as a surveyor. Under the recommendations of Theophilus Heale, the Inspector of Surveys, he appointed assistant surveyor to the Taranaki Provincial Staff. Brookes Jnr assisted with some of the largest survey projects in the Taranaki Province, including the meridian line used to triangulate all surveys from 1875 onwards, and the settlement surveys for Hawera and the Waimate Plains.³⁰ Ever willing to improve the standing of his family, Brookes Snr wrote to the Colonial Secretary recommending a surveying protractor invented by his son in Taranaki be copied and used throughout the entirety of New Zealand. He stated it was “a crowning victory...that is perfect and its utility cannot be told.”³¹ He also emphasised that the protractor had been tested in the field, so no costly tests were required. While the Inspector of Surveys referred to the invention as “a most ingenious and real

²⁹ Brookes Family History, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

³⁰ C. A. Lawn, “The Pioneer Land Surveyors of New Zealand,” (Unpublished Manuscript, 1977), typescript, p. 142.

³¹ “From: E [Edwin] S [Stanley] Brookes Senior, Wharehine To: Colonial Secretary Date: 24 April 1875 Subject: Recommends adoption of surveying protractor invented by his son,” 24 April 1875, 1875/2673, Box No. C-320-484, Central Filing System, General Collection, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

contrivance,”³² he also stated that if Brookes wished to make something of the invention, he should refer it to an instrument manufacturer in London.³³

Brookes Jnr did have one innovation adopted by the survey department. He used a piece of steel wire for measurements, rather than a gunter's chain, which saved considerable effort when travelling cross country.³⁴ Tiring of the rougher life of a surveyor, Brookes Jnr resigned his post with the survey department and returned to Wharehine in 1885. He eventually published a book of reminiscences in 1892, with the help of Henry Brett, titled *Frontier Life in Taranaki*³⁵ for 5 shillings a copy. It received brief national attention from advertisers.³⁶

The Brookes brothers attempted to recreate part of their Nottingham life by setting up a volunteer corps in Wharehine. Familiar with, and possibly members of, the Robin Hood Brigade in Nottingham, they submitted an enquiry to government as to the regulations they had to follow to establish such a group, also whether a drill sergeant could be provided. However, the reply informed them that the forming of volunteer corps had been suspended by the Minister of Defence and their request was not granted.³⁷ Interest and support for military endeavours did not wane in the family; years later, in 1900, Brookes Jnr wrote a poem praising New Zealand's part in the Second Boer War: “From homes of the brave and free, that dear little isle has a magical chord to hearts in this furthestmost sea.”³⁸ A year after that, in a letter to the editor, he again praised the volunteers, likening their service to the larger empire to the covenant between God and Jacob at Shiloh in the Old Testament.³⁹

³² “From: E [Edwin] S [Stanley] Brookes Senior, Wharehine To: Colonial Secretary Date: 24 April 1875 Subject: Recommends adoption of surveying protractor invented by his son,” 24 April 1875, 1875/2673, Box No. C-320-484, Central Filing System, General Collection, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

³³ “From: E [Edwin] S [Stanley] Brookes Senior, Wharehine To: Colonial Secretary Date: 24 April 1875 Subject: Recommends adoption of surveying protractor invented by his son,” 24 April 1875, 1875/2673, Box No. C-320-484, Central Filing System, General Collection, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

³⁴ Lawn, “The Pioneer Land Surveyors,” p. 321.

³⁵ E. S. Brookes, *Frontier Life in Taranaki* (Auckland: H. Brett, 1892).

³⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LIX, Issue 18245, 11 November 1922, p. 1 (Supplement).

³⁷ “From: Mr Edwin Stanley Brookes, Wharehine Date: 19 March 1890 Subject: Requests to be forwarded Rules and Regulations for forming Volunteers Corp – would a Drill Instructor be provided,” 19 March 1890, M&V1890/654, Box No. C-337-445, Inwards Letters and Registered Files, General Collection, Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.

³⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVII, Issue 11264, 6 January 1900, p. 1 (SUPPLEMENT).

³⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVIII, Issue 11565, 31 January 1901, p. 7.



Figure 46: Rev. Edwin Stanley Brookes Senior and his wife Jemima Brookes nee Hovey. Pictured here in their later years, long after their arrival in New Zealand. Rev. Brookes Snr & Jemima Brookes, Brookes Family Documents, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The second member of the Brookes family to die was the matriarch Jemima, just before her 85th birthday in August 1894.⁴⁰ Brookes Snr followed five years later in 1899 (Figure 46). His obituary referred to him as a man of many friends, held in high esteem, and dedicated in his efforts for his church and community. However, it drew specific attention to the fact that he arrived in the colony a man of considerable wealth and resources and lost most of both by the time he died.⁴¹ His eldest son, Edwin Jnr, outlived him by only five years. He died mere days after his sister, and the newspapers speculated that in an already weakened state he could not recover from her loss.⁴² The last surviving member of the family was George, who in later life left Wharehine for Auckland. His service on the highway and road boards of Wharehine were noted in his obituary.⁴³ While the Brookes family continued to have a presence in Albertland, George's death ended the story of the first generation of the family that began with their migration to New Zealand 69 years earlier.

⁴⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXI, Issue 9594, 20 August 1894, p. 1.

⁴¹ *Auckland Star*, Volume XXX, Issue 119, 22 May 1899, p. 4.

⁴² "Untitled," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXV, Issue 196, 17 August 1904, p. 4.

⁴³ "Death Of Pioneer," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXVIII, Issue 20924, 14 July 1931, p. 10.

Cooperative Land Ownership in Albertland

There were clear differences amongst the settlers of how the community should operate, and these differences fed into how they approached land ownership. The development of different styles of land ownership was not simply due to economic circumstances, as families of similar financial situations approached land ownership in vastly dissimilar ways. The Brookes family's endeavour to accumulate a large land-holding in Albertland contrasted greatly with the aspirations of many of their fellow settlers. Many did not have the financial capital to purchase large quantities of land, while others, such as Rev. Edger, had different philosophical views on how the land in the settlement should be shared amongst the settlers. Edger had hoped that his new community would not only have a non-denominational stance in their houses of worship, but also take this religious ideology—one of community cooperation and governorship—into the civic realm and embrace an egalitarian style of land ownership.

Edger had hoped that the settlers, especially those who had allotments outside of the town lands, would either accept co-ownership or help each other through financial loans and mortgage agreements. Edger himself took part in various deals and mortgage agreements with his fellow settlers. As the settlers had to remain on their allotments for five years before they were granted the deeds, many land ownership records only begin years after their arrival. Most begin in 1866, the year of Edger's departure from the settlement, and reveal that he was still a presence in the settlement as an absentee owner beyond his tenure as the official minister.⁴⁴

Edger was granted the first and second allotments in the Wharehine block totalling 240 acres. In 1866, the year of his departure, he made three sales from these blocks to three separate owners: John Legge, William Partridge, and Albert Elliot. Legge bought 24 acres at £36, Partridge 46 acres for £69, and Elliot 60 acres for £90. It is likely that Edger sold these sections with the intention of using the money to fund his family's move to Auckland after the destruction of their home by fire. However, he and the other three settlers maintained joint ownership of the two blocks for eight years, with no changes in the boundaries between

⁴⁴ Oruawharo Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.1.1, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford; Wharehine Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.2, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

them or subsequent sales.⁴⁵ In 1874, Legge was transferred another 52 acres from Edger, and a year later Edger transferred 80 acres to another member of his family (although it is not clear whom). Edger kept an interest in the allotments until 1880 when he gave up his final stake to the Ward family. It was 16 years before the entire block had a single owner again—this was Legge, who became sole owner in 1896.⁴⁶

Edger assisted other settlers financially through mortgage agreements. In Wharehine he financed three separate mortgages on different allotments. Due to the Wharehine property records beginning in 1866 it is unclear whether Edger had financed others before this date. However, it is significant that he undertook these ventures in a year he and his family were placed under financial and material hardship. Benjamin Cranwell mortgaged 100 acres of his Wharehine property to Edger in 1866, effectively making Edger co-owner of the allotment. This continued for six years before Richard Cutforth bought Edger's interest in the property and became the mortgagee.⁴⁷ The same occurred to 70 acres of John Cocks' property. Edger acted as mortgagee before the land was sold to another settler, this arrangement lasted only a year.⁴⁸

A later example arose in 1870. Thomas Frederick Gooch had a holding of 160 acres in Wharehine. He mortgaged part of it to another settler named Crawford in 1867, before mortgaging another portion to Edger three years later. This arrangement lasted some time: Gooch sold a third portion outright in 1872 but maintained the mortgage agreement until 1885 when Edger transferred the mortgage to Thomas Judson.⁴⁹ Gooch left Albertland for Timaru in the mid-1870s and became an absentee owner. It is possible Gooch, not a farmer by trade, was unable to make a sustainable living at Albertland and so chose to use the money from the mortgages to finance his relocation.⁵⁰

Like Rev. Brookes, Rev. Edger brought with him others, paying for part or all their passage. However, his intention was not to claim their land grants in exchange for free

⁴⁵ Wharehine Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.2, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 5.

⁴⁶ Wharehine Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.2, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Benjamin Cranwell 1810 -1895 by Eleanor A. Percy, 2016, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Wharehine Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.2, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 20.

⁴⁹ Wharehine Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.2, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Gooch, *The Gooches of Timaru*, pp. 3-4.

passage but have them live on the allotments with him as shareholders and together establish a co-operative farm.⁵¹ This system appeared to benefit all involved in the initial years of settlement, and Edger seemed pleased with their first harvest. He wrote in his journal, “today we (Edger and Company) commence reaping our wheat – five acres of it. We are early – a month before many.”⁵² Edger believed that this united enterprise with the “company,” that being the farm labourers he had living on the allotments with him, was the reason for their early success. Many settlers were unable to sow any crops at all in their first year because they struggled to clear their land. It is unclear who Edger’s agricultural labourers were. However, the men Edger sold pieces of the allotments to—Legge, Partridge, and Elliott—were listed in the Albertland passenger registry as an agricultural labourer, a carpenter, and a labourer.⁵³ These three men do not appear in any of the Ōruawharo and Wharehine Parish property records as owners, so they are possibly at least some of the labourers Edger had hoped to establish a co-operative farm with.

Edger also controlled three other allotments in the Ōruawharo Parish, one of these connected his Ōruawharo holdings to his allotments in the Wharehine Parish.⁵⁴ These three blocks were situated along the Wharehine Creek but were also adjacent to the three allotments of the scheme’s founder, Brame. Edger was granted these lands as the official minister of the settlement; they were near the prospective township of Port Albert where the settlement’s official chapel was to be established. Unlike the Wharehine registry, the Ōruawharo registry does not identify any other possible members of the labourer group that Edger brought with him to Albertland. In 1867 Edger was a mortgagor to an individual identified only as “Clarke,” and in 1871 he sold part of the allotments to Rev. Worker who had succeeded him as minister at Port Albert. Edger retained ownership of these allotments until 1880 when he sold them, making the Wharehine allotments his sole remaining interest in the settlement.⁵⁵

Edger, unlike others, could not adapt his plans to meet the changing nature of the district. He was frustrated that the egalitarianism he had envisioned did not outlast the

⁵¹ Ford, *Unpretending Excellence*, p. 13.

⁵² Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 75.

⁵³ The Henry Barton Register of Intending Albertland Settlers, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, pp. 8-16.

⁵⁴ Ōruawharo Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.1.1, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 29.

⁵⁵ Ōruawharo Parish Land Records, 2005, 2005.1.1.1, Land Records Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford, p. 29.

settlement's first decade. The loss of his position in the community and his family's home exacerbated this dissatisfaction. He attempted to stay true to what he saw as the ideals of the Albertland scheme, but in the end this caused his departure from the district. However, to state that his style of land ownership was a failure in Albertland is too severe. Many profited from the mutual benefit of co-ownership and co-finance, going on to become successful farmers when they otherwise may not have had the financial capital to do so. Moreover, they were able to further adapt as the years passed, slowly getting to the point where they no longer required the same level of assistance.

Conclusion

Rev. Brookes and Rev. Edger represent only two of over a hundred settlers who made Albertland their home. However, being men of some influence, through their roles in the original scheme and later through their actions at the settlement, they provide an interesting contrast of different styles of land ownership and cooperation. Brookes opted to create a large estate for himself and his family, following similar styles of ownership in his native Nottinghamshire. Edger had attempted forms of ownership that encouraged cooperation and mutual benefit for all participants. Both men appear to have failed in their own personal endeavours. Brookes was able to accrue large swathes of land, but his other business dealings made it impossible to hold them for any prolonged period and portions of the allotments had to be sold to cover losses elsewhere. Edger found that, while initially successful, cooperative ownership and farming was not sustainable as settlers wanted their own allotments and financial hardships needed to be addressed.

The different styles of land ownership were successful, regardless of whether they held true to the original ideals of the scheme and whether the instigators of these styles were successful themselves. Many others, including those who were not part of the original scheme, such as the Marsh family, were able to profit from purchasing the unclaimed allotments throughout the district. Settlers who partook in co-ownership and co-finance were eventually able to end these arrangements and could afford to work independently, ensuring they remained in the district. In both cases, willingness to change and adapt benefitted settlers more than attempting to adhere to the original ideals of the scheme.

Chapter Seven: Building and Maintaining Community Cohesion

After the Albertland settlement splintered into smaller communities the settlers had to find different ways to build and maintain cohesion, which was not without challenges—from within and without the district. There were disagreements among the settlers as to how to address these challenges, and their joint responses dictated the path of the settlement. Some tried to keep affairs restricted to Albertland, while others opted to give up a portion of control to external parties as a way of mitigating any loss of identity. Three areas of communal life—civil government, responses to crime, and sport and recreation—make apparent the nature of cohesion in Albertland and how it could be district wide or confined to the smaller communities.

Civil Government and Building the Future

At the seventh Albertland anniversary celebrations, a tea and concert were held in one of the district chapels and approximately 170 people attended. The concert included a choir of 14 people under the leadership of William Armitage, a Wharehine settler.⁵⁶ An address at the celebration noted that outsiders viewed the settlement as a “poor, poverty struck, diminutive nondescript of a place.”⁵⁷ It acknowledged the settlement had been abandoned by most of its prospective settlers but highlighted that the work of those who remained had guaranteed the success of the settlement. The crowd heartily agreed with the speaker, and it was further noted that those families that remained were increasing in size, thereby bolstering the population.⁵⁸

After suffering through their initial hardships, the Albertlanders readjusted their plans for the settlement. The different districts of the settlement began to drift apart as they felt their needs were better served by local leaders, but the ideas and visions of these new leaders did not always align with the expectations of the settlers. As time passed contact with outsiders and external forces became increasingly common, and this contact brought with it

⁵⁶ “Port Albert Anniversary Tea Meeting. (From Our Own Correspondent),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3713, 12 June 1869, p. 6.

⁵⁷ “Port Albert Anniversary Tea Meeting. (From Our Own Correspondent),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3713, 12 June 1869, p. 6.

⁵⁸ “Port Albert Anniversary Tea Meeting. (From Our Own Correspondent),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3713, 12 June 1869, p. 6.

what some in Albertland saw as potential threats to their control of their communities. There were various responses to these perceived threats, and each response had to balance the need for external connection and the desire for internal self-sufficiency. Civil governance became a key arena for this struggle. The founding of road and highway boards, as well as school boards, caused separation, anxiety, and communication issues. However, even though such boards divided the civil administration among the smaller settlements, Albertlanders still attempted to combine their efforts against outside bureaucrats and connect the district through joint projects.

The building of roads came slowly to the district. After five years of settlement, the small tracks the settlers had cut through the bush no longer sufficed. This situation was exacerbated when, in 1869, the largest storm to hit the settlement thus far washed away or destroyed many of the boats and punts the settlers relied on for communication and travel. Lumber that the settlers had felled and left near the riverside was lifted by the rising tide and smashed into their docks and moorings; some were only damaged, but others were destroyed completely, leaving settlers stranded and cut off.⁵⁹ The river was no longer viewed as a reliable method of travel and communication.

The passing of the 1867 Highways Act allowed the formation of highway and road boards in the district. In 1868 the first official highway board was elected, and the same members were re-elected the following year.⁶⁰ The introduction of this Act brought about a split in the civil administration of the settlement; Wharehine settlers were concerned that the Highway Board would meet in Port Albert and that their needs would be underrepresented in any planned roadbuilding. After a successful petition to the Provincial Government, the Wharehine settlers were granted their own highway board that met in the Minniesdale Chapel at Wharehine—rather than in the Chapel near Port Albert.⁶¹ This divide in the organisation and governance of the district's roads hinted at larger divisions developing between the settlers of Port Albert and Wharehine.

The first meeting of the electors of Wharehine occurred at the Minniesdale Chapel a month after the Highways Act was introduced. This meeting saw the election of the first

⁵⁹ "Flood at Port Albert. (From Our Own Correspondent) March 6," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3635, 13 March 1869, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 123.

"Provincial Government Gazette," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3783, 4 October 1869, p. 3.

⁶¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 123.

Wharehine Highway Board.⁶² Minniesdale Chapel had been used for most of the public meetings at Wharehine and marks the significant influence the Brookes family had in the area. This highway board featured both original Albertlanders—Alfred Steventon, William Armitage, and Mark Stott—and settlers who had moved to the district without being part of the original scheme—brothers Henry and Thomas Marcroft of the Opou block. The Wharehine Board opted to levy a rate of a penny per acre owned for the year and this was agreed to by the ratepayers present.⁶³ The composition of the board members did not change much over the next decade, with a few exceptions. The Marcroft brothers were re-elected in 1874 and then served with breaks until the turn of the century.⁶⁴ While not part of the inaugural board, George Brookes was elected regularly; Edwin Stanley Brookes (it is unclear whether the father or the son) acted as chairman of the board multiple times throughout the following decades.⁶⁵

The Albertland South Highway Board similarly featured a roster of names regularly re-elected throughout the following decades. Chief amongst these were Rev. Worker and John Shepherd, who both served as chairmen of the board numerous times. Unlike their counterparts in Wharehine, this board did not appear as united in its work. As early as 1869 the *Daily Southern Cross* reported that “the great bane of the Albertland settlement was its petty dissensions and divisions.”⁶⁶ At an 1872 meeting Rev. Worker addressed the board and stated that very little had been accomplished in the last year owing to disunity in the body over expenditure and the legality of the 1872 board’s election. He argued that spending £100 on a single bridge meant the board had no funds for any other project. George Plummer recommended that to increase funding, the lands of the district be divided into three classes for levying rates. Rev. Worker opposed the motion, arguing that to do so would sow dissent amongst the settlers of the district.⁶⁷

Rev. Worker’s high standing in the district was not only owing to his place in the civil administration; he was also an active religious figure in the Port Albert area. As a Wesleyan,

⁶² “Provincial Government Gazette,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3441, 27 July 1868, p. 3.

⁶³ “Wharehine Highway District. Election of Highway Board,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3464, 22 August 1868, p. 4.

⁶⁴ “Annual Meetings of Highway Boards. Pakuranga,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXX, Issue 5288, 5 August 1874, p. 1 (Supplement).

⁶⁵ “Highway Boards,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4661, 2 August 1872, p. 5.

“Highway Board Meetings,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XV, Issue 5213, 1 August 1878, p. 1 (Supplement).

“Annual Road Board Meetings,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVI, Issue 9367, 17 May 1889, p. 6.

⁶⁶ “The Daily Southern Cross,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3792, 14 October 1869, p. 4.

⁶⁷ “Highway Board Meetings,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume IX, Issue IX, 10 July 1872, p. 5.

Rev. Worker was a member of the National Wesleyan Conference. At the behest of the Conference, he even left Albertland for a time and lived in the Manawatū region, administering to the Feilding and Sandon areas.⁶⁸ Worker's relationship with Rev. Gittos likewise secured him a place of standing in the community. Gittos was highly regarded by the settlers due to his efforts in helping them settle the area, his role as an intermediary in interactions with local Māori groups, and his religious guidance. Their relationship extended into the familial when Worker's second son married Gittos' eldest daughter, cementing a place for the Worker family in the social hierarchy of the settlement.⁶⁹ At the anniversary celebrations in 1897, the community's widespread admiration and respect for Gittos was noted and his absence lamented, though by this time he was once again residing in the district at Wellsford.⁷⁰ High social standing did not exempt the family from unfortunate circumstances. While Rev. Worker was preaching in the Feilding district his sons began a lumber business which lasted only a few years before they were forced to declare bankruptcy.⁷¹

Frustration with the Albertland South Highway Board grew, regardless of Rev. Worker's efforts to maintain equal rate systems. The Te Wheau section of Albertland even separated from the South Albertland Highway District and joined the Wharehine Highway District. The settlers left behind in the South Albertland District felt they had been saddled with greater costs, as their section had to construct the roads that connected the entire district to the wider Auckland region. It was decided by the South Albertland Board to send a petition to the Provincial Superintendent in the hope of having the entirety of the district annexed into the Wharehine Highway District.⁷² This change of boundaries did not occur but shows the dissatisfaction of the Albertland South settlers with their highway board's performance and what they viewed as the success of the Wharehine Board.

The returns from the highway boards over the years following their establishment show that the Albertland South settlers were paying more than their fellow settlers in other highway districts. The total levied in Albertland North and Wharehine was £80 and £73, respectively, compared to the £113 levied in Albertland South.⁷³ The boards were able to

⁶⁸ "Wesleyan Methodist Conference," *Auckland Star*, Volume XVIII, Issue 3894, 1 February 1883, p. 2.

⁶⁹ "Marriages," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXII, Issue 7320, 5 May 1885, p. 4.

⁷⁰ "Albertland Settlement," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXIV, Issue 10477, 24 June 1897, p. 5.

⁷¹ "Advertisements Column 3," *Auckland Star*, Volume IX, Issue 2475, 27 February 1878, p. 3.

⁷² "South Albertland Highway District," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume V, Issue 1527, 16 October 1868, p. 4.

⁷³ "Receipts And Expenditure of Highway Boards," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVII, Issue 4446, 24 November 1871, p. 3.

work together on projects, such as building a bridge between Port Albert and Wharehine, with both groups proposing to submit £100 each and petitioning the Provincial Government to provide additional aid for its construction.⁷⁴ Despite the Wharehine Board's successes and the petitions of the Albertland South residents to join their district, the *New Zealand Herald* reported in 1876 that the Wharehine Highway Board would eventually be absorbed into the South Albertland Highway Board. However, it survived for another 40 years as a separate entity before being absorbed into the Rodney County administration along with the other Albertland highway boards.⁷⁵

Further cooperation between the highway districts did occur, especially when issues affecting the entirety of Albertland arose. After the abolition of the provincial system in 1876 and the establishment of the county system, the highway districts found themselves answering to a new administrative authority. This system does not appear to have been welcomed as is apparent in the 1881 joint meeting held between the three Albertland highway boards. The main speaker was John Shepherd, who had tried unsuccessfully to gain a seat on the Provincial Council before its abolition. Matthew Armstrong of the Wharehine Board stated that "in the opinion of this meeting after four years' experience of the county system, it is found expensive, inefficient, and detrimental to the best interests of the country, and should be abolished and extended powers given to the Road Boards."⁷⁶ Their main grievance at this meeting was that they, as the Albert Riding, had only one member on the county board representing them while some smaller ridings had two members.

As the Port Albert and Wharehine settlers jostled for influence and struggled to find their common ground, the Paparoa district of Albertland found its administration and communication relied on the efforts of one man, Charles Hook. He had been a leader in the scheme before the settlers departed Britain and retained a leadership position even after their arrival in New Zealand. The first post office at Paparoa was simply a drawer in the Hook household and Charles was postmaster.⁷⁷ The first Paparoa store, which served the district as a communication and supply point, was also the work of Hook. Alongside farming and clearing his land, he worked in the store on alternate days, saving his fellow settlers a six-mile journey downriver to Pahi. The store was an enormous fair compared to what else was available in the district. Inside, three kauri timber counters separated customers from the

⁷⁴ "Wharehine Improvement Society," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4599, 21 May 1872, p. 2.

⁷⁵ "Wharehine," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XIII, Issue 4513, 1 May 1876, p. 2 (SUPPLEMENT).

⁷⁶ "Country News," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVIII, Issue 6085, 19 May 1881, p. 6.

⁷⁷ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 250.

merchandise, which the firm boasted included “anything from a cotton reel to a ship’s anchor.”⁷⁸ The Hook store sold guns, ammunition, furniture, cutlery and porcelain, and was also part of a Kauri Gum and Produce Store and a butchery.⁷⁹

Charles Hook’s standing amongst his fellow settlers as a man of respectable nature was shown when he was an elected member of the inaugural Paparoa Highway Board, serving as secretary and later as chairman.⁸⁰ He was announced as the collector of rates for the district in 1870 and in 1873 and, as an extension of this role, was named the Provincial Returning Officer for the district.⁸¹ In 1883 Hook was additionally named Clerk of the Magistrates Court at Pahi.⁸² Hook remarried after arriving in New Zealand; in 1866 he wed Sarah Bowling and the marriage produced four children.⁸³ Hook lived in the district for 25 years before dying at the age of 73.

Crime in Albertland

While the Albertlanders sought to maintain social order, criminal activity was an ever-present challenge to their cohesion. However, crime was never an existential crisis or overwhelming issue in Albertland, rather a nuisance to be dealt with in a timely manner. Even as many Albertlanders strove to maintain an idyllic view of their community, they had to overcome acts of violence—some committed under the influence of alcohol, and others done as deliberate acts against fellow settlers. Those who perpetrated criminal acts were met with different attitudes, depending on their relationship to the community—some were shunned or met with open hostility, while others were seemingly forgiven or even ignored. Within the first month of the settlement’s establishment, a woman wielding a knife assaulted her daughter while drunk. No physical harm was done, but it was clear to all that it would not be the last such case in the settlement, and the role of alcohol did not go unnoticed by those

⁷⁸ Wall Text, *Hook Brothers Store Kauri Shop Counter*, 2003/728, Kauri Museum, Matakōhe.

⁷⁹ Wall Text, *Hook Brothers Store Kauri Shop Counter*, 2003/728, Kauri Museum, Matakōhe.

⁸⁰ “Advertisements,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4110, 24 October 1870, p. 3; “Highway Board Meetings,” *New Zealand Herald*, Issue XIII, 20 July 1876, p. 2.

⁸¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4110, 24 October 1870, p. 3; *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIX, Issue 5021, 25 September 1873, p. 2.

⁸² *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XX, Issue 6857, 8 November 1883, p. 5.

⁸³ 1866 New Zealand Marriage Record [Database Online]. Surname: Hook; Given Name: Charles; Spouse’s Name: Sarah Bowling; Registration Number: 1866/5782. Accessed 19.06.2024
<https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dMarriageSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

settlers who proscribed to the temperance movement.⁸⁴ Albertlanders found themselves before the courts for numerous charges; while some were minor offences, others garnered the disdain of the wider community for their brutality or callousness. Settlers could become infamous for their repeated offences, and at times entire families could be embroiled in a criminal act.

To counter any criminal activity that could occur in their district, the Albertlanders appointed constables who acted as both law enforcement and legal arbitrators. One such constable was Thomas Inger, who was appointed district constable for Wharehine in 1870.⁸⁵ Inger was hand chosen by William Brame to take part in the Albertland scheme, as Brame wanted him to act as his lieutenant in civil matters and assist with the initial stages of settlement before taking up his own allotment. Before this appointment, the Inger family—which consisted of two adults and nine children—settled in the town lands of Port Albert and got by through odd jobs and feeding themselves with a small vegetable garden on their allotment. Inger took part in various early public works such as digging a boat channel from within the Port Albert town lands to the Ōruawharo River.⁸⁶ Even though Inger derived his early authority through association to Brame, he maintained his place as a prominent figure by securing the role of mailman in Port Albert.⁸⁷

After Inger's appointment as district constable, the family moved from Port Albert to the Wharehine block, though it is unclear if this was a condition of the appointment or of their own volition.⁸⁸ Inger appears to have had no intention of resigning his role as Port Albert mailman, as he had the new Port Albert gaol (a small building with two cells) built directly next to the Post Office for his own convenience (Figure 47).⁸⁹ Additionally, he was appointed Collector of the Education Tax in 1875 and Collector of Rates for the Port Albert and Te Arai Road Boards in 1876.⁹⁰ Inger held the position of County Tax Collector for 46 years and was manager of the Port Albert library for 27 years.⁹¹ It was probably due to his

⁸⁴ Borrow, *Albertland*, p. 67.

⁸⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 111.

⁸⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 69, 101.

⁸⁷ "Death of Port Albert Pioneer," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata And Kaipara Gazette*, 15 May 1935, p. 9.

⁸⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 111.

⁸⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 108-109.

⁹⁰ "The Daily Southern Cross," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXXI, Issue 5606, 14 August 1875, p. 2; "The Daily Southern Cross," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXXII, Issue 5324, 4 November 1876, p. 2.

⁹¹ "Albertland Nonagenarian," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata And Kaipara Gazette*, 10 May 1922, p. 4.

position as constable that Inger was given the role as tax collector. He continued his civic duties even into the next century. In 1901 he was appointed as a ranger under the Kauri Gum Act 1898.⁹²



Figure 47: The Port Albert gaol, formerly the Post Office and home of Thomas Inger, being moved from Port Albert to Wellsford c. 1907. Photograph, *Moving the Gaol*, 2004.2.2007.1182, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Inger's role as constable ran concurrent with other obligations that did not always allow him to act in a timely manner. It is clear from the number of positions he held that he did not prescribe any special significance to this role. Though he was probably given so many government postings because, as someone receiving a steady income, he was more likely to remain in the district and it was easier for the government to track who in the community held these responsibilities if it was a single resident. The family suffered a tragedy in 1879—their home being destroyed by fire. However, unlike the Edger family who removed to Auckland after a similar incident, the Inger family remained in the district.⁹³ Thomas Inger resided in Albertland until his death at the age of 104 in 1935. He was one of the last original adult settlers and had earned himself the nickname "Father of the Kaipara."⁹⁴

While Inger took the role of law enforcement, there were others who found themselves on the wrong side of the law. Walter Woodcock, fourth son of the local wine producer Alfred Woodcock, arrived in the settlement as a young boy of four years old; by the

⁹² "Advertisements Column," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata And Kaipara Gazette*, Volume 1, Issue 31, 1 November 1901, p. 3.

⁹³ "Latest Telegrams," *Evening Post*, Volume XVII, Issue 357, 1 March 1879, p. 2.

⁹⁴ "Veteran Passes," *Northern Advocate*, 8 May 1935, p. 4.

time he reached adulthood, he had established a pattern that saw him frequently before the courts. At the age of 21 Woodcock, then working as a labourer, was charged with breaking into a store in the Albertland area and stealing numerous items, the most notable of which were a large quantity of kauri gum and a firearm. He was caught using the firearm he had stolen to injure horses in the nearby Northern Wairoa.⁹⁵ He was also found in breach of the Malicious Injury to Property Act.⁹⁶ For this he was sentenced to 18 months of hard labour.⁹⁷

This pattern of crime and prison continued for Woodcock into the latter years of the century. In 1896 he was arrested for wilfully maiming a horse belonging to his neighbour William Jennings. The horse had numerous gun wounds inflicted upon it, with one eye being completely lost.⁹⁸ Woodcock denied the charge and pleaded not guilty when it was brought before a jury. However, the jury returned a guilty verdict without retiring to deliberate; the judge made clear that while the law permitted him to sentence Woodcock to 14 years hard labour, he instead received four years for the crime.⁹⁹ Such a punishment did not deter Woodcock. In 1906 he was still finding himself in court for crimes of varying degrees of seriousness. He was arrested for stealing a quantity of kauri gum belonging to a neighbour. In court the judge noted Woodcock's record but stated that as the kauri gum had been left on the side of the road it was plausible that Woodcock had thought the gum to be abandoned. He therefore imposed a lighter sentence of 18 months.¹⁰⁰

Woodcock was not alone in his propensity for crime; even in his own family he does not appear to have been an anomaly. His younger brother Howard, born after the family arrived in Albertland, was charged with obtaining funds under false pretences before fleeing the district.¹⁰¹ It was thought that after he obtained the money from Frederick Dibble, totalling £17 14s. 5d., he fled to Wellington with the intention of becoming a seaman.¹⁰² Howard was arrested around a month later by Port Albert constable Thomas Inger, though it

⁹⁵ "Supreme Court—Criminal Sitings.—This Day," *Auckland Star*, Volume X, Issue 3029, 5 January 1880, p. 3.

⁹⁶ "Law And Police," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVII, Issue 5656, 3 January 1880, p. 6.

⁹⁷ "Interprovincial," *Wanganui Herald*, Volume XII, Issue 3604, 6 January 1880, p. 2.

⁹⁸ "Untitled," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXVII, Issue 235, 5 October 1896, p. 2.

⁹⁹ "Law And Police," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXIII, Issue 10298, 24 November 1896, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ "Supreme Court," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXVII, Issue 121, 22 May 1906, p. 5.

¹⁰¹ 1865 New Zealand Birth Record [Database Online]. Surname: Woodcock; Given Name: Howard; Mother's Name: Maryanne; Father's Name: Alfred; Registration Number: 1865/9123. Accessed 09.05.2024 <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dBirthSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

¹⁰² "Offences Not Otherwise Described," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume IX, Issue 8, 15 April 1885, p. 61.

is not clear whether he faced any repercussions for his actions.¹⁰³ Except for a death certificate issued in 1936, Howard does not appear in any other police or newspaper records.¹⁰⁴

Two other Woodcock brothers, Alfred and Herbert married sisters Harriet and Mary “Big Mary” Gathercole. The Gathercole family were settlers from Norfolk and had originally settled in New South Wales before travelling to New Zealand.¹⁰⁵ It appears that the Gathercole family had some of the same predilections for criminal acts the Woodcock brothers. Thomas Gathercole, Thomas Gathercole Jnr, and Harriet Gathercole, a different family member from the Harriet mentioned previously, were all arrested and charged with stealing an ox and butchering the creature without the permission of the owners. The defendants stated that it was an honest mistake; they thought the beast belonged to the Woodcock family and had asked for permission to kill and butcher the creature.

Interestingly, it was the testimony of the Woodcock brothers and their father that further incriminated their in-laws. Alfred Snr stated that he had arrived at the defendant’s home to find them in an excited state, and they told him to return later. He did so and stayed the night but discovered in the morning that someone had locked him in his room. He saw the defendants heading in the direction the ox had been killed. It appears that Alfred Edward was instructed to investigate the defendant’s activities by his father, as he later went into the area and discovered the entrails of the butchered ox.¹⁰⁶ He returned to the Gathercole residence and confronted them, stating it was the third or fourth beast they had killed in this manner and that “I [Woodcock] was one of the family, and if he [Thomas Gathercole] shot the beast by mistake to own it and compensate the owners.”¹⁰⁷ At this time Alfred believed the ox to belong to his family; when he found the beast’s head in the bush and realised his mistake, he and his brother informed the proper owner. At trial Thomas Gathercole Jnr was found not guilty of cattle-stealing, and the newspapers made mention that the testimony of numerous Woodcock family members was a deciding factor in the verdict.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ “Offences Not Otherwise Described,” *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume IX, Issue 13, 24 June 1885, p. 105.

¹⁰⁴ 1936 New Zealand Death Record [Database Online]. Surname: Woodcock; Given Name: Howard; Age at Death: 71 Y; Registration Number: 1936/23431. Accessed 09.05.2024
<https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dDeathSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

¹⁰⁵ Mabbet, *The Rock and the Sky*, p. 288.

¹⁰⁶ “Assessment Court,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XX, Issue 6660, 23 March 1883, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ “Assessment Court,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XX, Issue 6660, 23 March 1883, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ “Untitled,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XX, Issue 6670, 4 April 1883, p. 4.

Herbert, the middle brother of the Woodcock family, was seen as an upstanding member of the community. When he and his wife Mary announced they were leaving the district, they were given a large farewell dinner by the community. This occurred a year after his brother Walter was sentenced for injuring his neighbour's horse.¹⁰⁹ However, shortly after leaving the district, Herbert was summoned to court on a charge of having deserted his wife and five children. He was not present for the proceedings as his location was unknown; it was suspected he had fled to Australia, but the judge still ordered that he pay 4 shillings a week per child in support.¹¹⁰ Five years later an order for dissolution of marriage was granted to his wife Mary as Herbert had not been found, nor had he made any attempt to support his children. Upon leaving he also sold the family's farm, house, and all furniture, keeping the money for himself. Mary Woodcock supported their children through various means, including gum-digging, and rebuilt the family's livelihood.¹¹¹

There is a report of two other Woodcock men, Frederick and Annis, being apprehended and convicted of "sly-grog selling" at Port Albert in 1901. However, it is not clear if either of these two were related to the Albertland Woodcock family. District Constable J. S. Rowe was awarded £2 in recognition of his work in stopping their operation.¹¹² Rewards such as these were often given to constables for their actions by either the National Reward Fund or societies that supported laws aligned with their causes. Three years earlier the constable at Port Albert, G. E. Thompson, was awarded £2 by the Auckland Acclimatisation Society for securing a conviction under the Animals Protection Act.¹¹³

There were those Albertlanders whose crimes may have indicated deeper familial issues, though the circumstances are not always clear. Like Herbert Woodcock, there were other men in the district who left their families without any explanation. Thomas Lacy was arrested in 1881 for disobeying the court's order to pay £1 per week towards the support of his wife.¹¹⁴ James Charles Booth was charged with having deserted not his family but his illegitimate child. He had failed to follow court ordered payments of 5s a week for the upkeep of the child, and the mother was afraid he would try to leave the colony.¹¹⁵ Booth was not

¹⁰⁹ "Northern Wairoa," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXIV, Issue 10588, 1 November 1897, p. 6.

¹¹⁰ "Law And Police," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXV, Issue 10735, 23 April 1898, p. 3.

¹¹¹ "Decrees Granted," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXIV, Issue 125, 27 May 1903, p. 5.

¹¹² "Miscellaneous Information," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XXV, Issue 17, 14 August 1901, p. 195.

¹¹³ "Miscellaneous Information," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XXII, Issue 15, 20 July 1898, p. 121.

¹¹⁴ "Deserting Wives and Families, &c.," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume V, Issue 19, 21 September 1881, p. 162.

¹¹⁵ "Deserting Wives and Families, &c.," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XXIV, Issue 23, 7 November 1900, p. 242.

arrested but instead paid £30 towards the upkeep of the child to have the warrant for his arrest dropped.¹¹⁶ Another man, Richard Young from Auckland, was found in hiding in Port Albert having deserted his wife.¹¹⁷

A group of Albertlanders took part in the apprehension of two well-known criminals, Frederick Plummer and Robert Martin, after the two had partaken in a crime spree throughout the northern districts.¹¹⁸ They were apprehended in Albertland in 1869 in an event so notable it was memorialised in newspapers 25 years later in a retelling by Joseph Bowmar. Plummer escaped from the gaol he was being held in after being apprehended by police and hid in the vicinity of Port Albert. He spent some time living in the bush, having stolen a horse and camping goods. He emerged from the bush at intervals to “rob the settlers of food, forage for his horse, and books to wile [sic] away his time in the bush in reading and smoking.”¹¹⁹ A group of settlers, led by John Mook, who Plummer had robbed repeatedly for feed for his horse, became determined to capture him. A small party set out into the bush and found Plummer lounging in a makeshift camp, whereupon he immediately set off on his horse to escape and refused to stop—despite warnings that the horse would be shot to bring him down. A shot fired at the front haunch of the horse instead hit Plummer in the leg causing him to fall to the ground where he was apprehended.¹²⁰

The settlers tended to Plummer’s wound, even feeding him and giving him wine, until the constables arrived to escort him to Mangawhai and then on to the Auckland gaol. Plummer threatened that if he escaped the gaol, he would return to Port Albert and use the same bullet that shot him to kill John Horner, the man who shot him. Horner considered this a credible and serious threat to the point that he left the district immediately, selling his home and farm and moving away from Port Albert. Bowmar stated that the reason these men sought out Plummer was that they “had acted from motives of humanity, but I [Bowmar] could have nothing to do with a young man who would not work or lead an honest life, and who went about plundering and terrifying the homes of peaceful and quiet settlers.”¹²¹

¹¹⁶ “Deserting Wives and Families, &c.,” *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XXV, Issue 1, 2 January 1901, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ “Deserting Wives and Families, &c.,” *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XXI, Issue 13, 24 June 1897, p. 116.

¹¹⁸ “Supreme Court.—Thursday. Criminal sittings. (Before His Honor Chief Justice Sir G. A. Arney),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3784, 3 September 1869, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ “Tee Plummer Case,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 8972, 1 September 1892, p. 3.

¹²⁰ “Tee Plummer Case,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 8972, 1 September 1892, p. 3.

¹²¹ “Tee Plummer Case,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 8972, 1 September 1892, p. 3.

Throughout the decades most of Albertland's crimes centred on theft, as there were very few instances of more serious crimes being committed. Livestock or horses were prime targets for thieves along with any boats or punts that the settlers left unguarded near the waterfront of the Kaipara or Ōruawharo. Police gazettes reported numerous thefts around Port Albert in the 1880s and 1890s, few of which appear to have been resolved. Edward Brown had a pure white heifer valued at £5 stolen in 1880, and less than a year later John Shepherd had two horses, a stallion and a mare, stolen.¹²² Samuel Wyatt had a reasonable suspicion of who the culprit was when his horse was stolen in 1881. He believed it was a schoolboy from Auckland who had abandoned his employment at Wyatt's farm.¹²³ Special Constable Thomas Inger was directed to the boy's sister who lived at Stoke's Point, and upon arrival at her property found both the boy and the stolen horse (which was returned to Wyatt).¹²⁴ The boy, John Mulhern, pleaded guilty at trial and was "discharged on recognizance."¹²⁵ John Shepherd once again became the victim of a theft when his boat was stolen in 1888, although the description of the vessel alludes to it having been in poor condition.¹²⁶

The discovery of kauri gum fields in the district brought an influx of new faces, but also an increase in crime. In 1889 and 1893 two thefts were reported, one of a punt and the other a large chest-nut mare, and both were attributed to gum-diggers.¹²⁷ Gum-diggers used Port Albert as a stop on their way north to the gum fields and may have stolen this property to make the journey easier. Travelling upriver on a small boat was much easier than overland by foot, even with the improved conditions of the roads in Albertland by this time.¹²⁸ Charles Booth, an Albertlander, felt he knew who had stolen one of his mares in 1894, he did not blame gum-diggers but a group of Māori who had passed through the district.¹²⁹

The theft of livestock appears to have increased through the latter years of the 19th century and into the early years of the 20th century. Three horses were stolen from two

¹²² "Horse and Cattle Stealing," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume IV, Issue 24, 1 December 1880, p. 205; "Horse and Cattle Stealing," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume V, Issue 19, 21 September 1881, p. 162.

¹²³ "Horse and Cattle Stealing," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume V, Issue 9, 4 May 1881, p. 74.

¹²⁴ "Horse and Cattle Stealing," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume V, Issue 10, 18 May 1881, p. 84.

¹²⁵ "Extracts from Victoria Police Gazette," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume V, Issue 17, 24 August 1881, p. 146.

¹²⁶ "Stealing Otherwise than from the Person or from Dwellings," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XII, Issue 20, 26 September 1888, p. 178.

¹²⁷ "Stealing Otherwise than from the Person or from Dwellings," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XIII, Issue 18, 28 August 1889, p. 163.

¹²⁸ "Horse- and Cattle-Stealing," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XVII, Issue 1, 11 January 1893, p. 3.

¹²⁹ "Horse- and Cattle-Stealing," *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1, 10 January 1894, p. 4.

separate owners in 1896 and 1897; and Lambert Heywood had 23 ewes stolen from his farm, inflicting a significant loss of income.¹³⁰ John Ward also had a horse stolen, but he was fortunate enough to have it returned a short time afterwards.¹³¹ John James Allen reported a gold watch stolen in 1895; however, he found it shortly after and announced in the newspapers and police gazette that it had only been lost, not stolen.¹³² It is possible that other items in the district that were reported stolen were also simply lost; livestock and horses could escape their paddocks and punts or boats could be washed away. However, which crimes were reported, how often, and how the settlers reacted to these events reveals a community that was just as vulnerable to crime as any other, as well as settlers who were not afraid to confront the perpetrators if need be.

Sport and Recreation in Albertland

Beyond the realm of civic and religious life, the Albertlanders sought social cohesion through sport and recreation. In colonial communities, sports gave settlers ways of measuring their progress towards a calm and orderly society—As they became more developed and secure there would be more time for leisure and organised communal activity.¹³³ Sport offered greater chances for cohesion than other events, such as dramatic productions, as most only required an open outdoor space. Furthermore, it “provided a common ‘social script’ intelligible to participant and spectator alike,”¹³⁴ where no matter a person’s social class they would be able to take part. Prior to the 1880s, however, most organised clubs dissolved after a single season and sports matches were one-off events often held in tandem with large community gatherings. At the same time the games played depended on the tastes of the community; for example, in Auckland in the 1870s there were five different football codes being played by different groups in the city. Rural communities tended to favour codes that required handling rather than kicking the ball, as uneven grounds made landing precise kicks difficult. Nevertheless, were examples of teams playing multiple codes or switching codes

¹³⁰ “Horse- and Cattle-stealing,” *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XX, Issue 6, 18 March 1896, p. 47.

“Horse- and Cattle-stealing,” *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XXI, Issue 2, 20 January 1897, p. 13.

“Horse and Cattle Stealing,” *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XXV, Issue 14, 3 July 1901, p. 158.

¹³¹ “PROPERTY RECOVERED,” *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XXXI, Issue 40, 10 October 1906, p. 359.

¹³² “Housebreaking, Stealing from the Person, &c.,” *New Zealand Police Gazette*, Volume XIX, Issue 11, 29 May 1895, p. 85.

¹³³ Greg Ryan and Geoff Watson, *Sports and the New Zealanders: A History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2019), p. 49.

¹³⁴ Ryan and Watson, *Sports and the New Zealanders*, p. 49.

frequently—it depended on the players.¹³⁵ All of these traits of settler community sports appear through the first decades of Albertland’s settlement.

Initially recreation took place in Albertland at large social occasions such as the settlement’s anniversary celebrations or church events. Open to all settlers who wished to participate, the games were chances for neighbours to meet—regardless of differences they had in civic and religious views. Inclusion was the driving influence of sport in Albertland, and a person’s location could be a decisive factor in which teams they were able to join. Teams representing different parts of the district gathered to compete, bringing the wider Albertland community together. However, sport and recreation also opened the community to outside influence. Games and matches brought the settlers into contact with outsiders who may not have shared their values, and in a place where intermingling and exchange were not easily controlled. As contact increased, sport and recreation developed from haphazard and informal internal community events to formally organised inter-community endeavours. The Albertlanders were willing, begrudgingly at times, to forgo some control of their official sports organisations to outsiders if it aided in their funding and maintenance.

The Albertlanders had a loose definition of what was regarded as a “sport,” tending to include other recreational activities. Edward Browne, a settler in the Northern part of the settlement, gave an address to the North Albertland Settler Association on unity in the settlement and the benefits of cooperative societies. He believed that the place of dancing in society was changing, and that this change was dangerous. Dancing, he asserted, was a sport that had traditionally only been done at night on a village green and only for special occasions.¹³⁶ To dance frivolously until the early hours of the morning gave youth a love for late hours and bound to be prejudicial to them when older. This caused some concern over whether public events went too late and encouraged the behaviours Browne discussed.¹³⁷ Browne was conservative on many issues; an active abolitionist, his views on dancing may have reflected his convictions on this issue, as dancing late at night might have encouraged drinking alcohol.¹³⁸

Over time the sports clubs they established became more structured in their management, and they were able to participate in interclub matches. This initially only

¹³⁵ Ryan and Watson, *Sports and the New Zealanders*, p. 77.

¹³⁶ “North Albertland,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VIII, Issue 2406, 11 October 1871, p. 3.

¹³⁷ “North Albertland,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VIII, Issue 2406, 11 October 1871, p. 3.

¹³⁸ “Our Home Letter,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XIX, Issue 6423, 19 June 1882, p. 2.

included other clubs within Albertland. However, travel using the rivers of the Kaipara Harbour and later the roads that connected Albertland to the wider region meant the clubs were able to interact with groups from other settlements in casual matches and organised tournaments. Regular contact with sportspeople from other districts led to the development of larger clubs that included non-Albertlanders. The Albertlanders, however, were still able to maintain some control over these clubs, through leadership appointments and the input of families who, by beginning of the First World War, had been involved in the sport for generations.

Many different sports were played by the Albertlanders, the two most popular tended to be cricket and rugby, which they referred to as football. The first record of a cricket match in Albertland states that the grounds of William Armitage's property were used and that the Wharehine team won over their Port Albert neighbours.¹³⁹ These informal games continued even as formal clubs were established. At the inaugural service of the Minniesdale Chapel, a match of cricket was played on the grounds with about 60 people participating.¹⁴⁰ Cricket was the most common game played by the settlers, though other games and activities were also enjoyed (Figure 48). The popularity of cricket in this period was widespread through the colony; Greg Ryan remarked that up until 1900 cricket "rather than rugby, was the 'national game'."¹⁴¹ It may have been that cricket, more than other games, "consciously sought to replicate English norms, whether through the amateur ideal or cricket's material practices, such as tea breaks."¹⁴² These norms can be appealing to people in an isolated community. The anniversary soiree in 1871 included inter-township matches between the settlers of Wharehine, Port Albert, Te Wheau, and Whakapirau, later renamed Wellsford.¹⁴³ The grounds first used for games were paddocks or clearings that owners allowed players to use; official practice grounds were not put in place for many years.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 124.

¹⁴⁰ "South Oruawharo. (From A Correspondent)," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3273, 13 January 1868, p. 4.

¹⁴¹ Greg Ryan, "British Traditions and New Frontiers for New Zealand Cricket," in *Sport in Aotearoa New Zealand: Contested Terrain*, ed. Damion Sturm, Rosalyn Kerr (London: Routledge, 2021), p. 32.

¹⁴² Chris McMillan, *Cricket, Capitalism and Class: From the Village Green to the Cricket Industry* (New York: Routledge, 2024), p. 60.

¹⁴³ "Port Albert," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VIII, Issue 2225, 14 March 1871, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ "Albertland," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume IX, Issue 2483, 10 January 1872, p. 3.

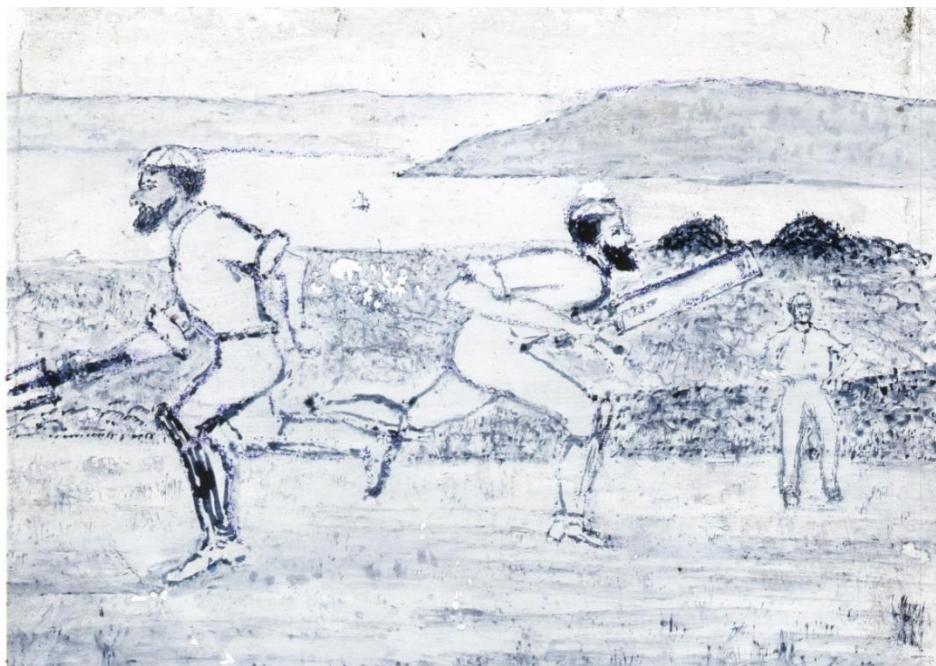


Figure 48: Games and pastimes like cricket were played from the earliest days of the settlement. Image, *Wharehine Cricket Series. Cricket at Wharehine in the "Sixties" (1860's) from a sketch*, 2004-2-2007-1030, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Inter-settlement sports events did occur, even when travel was predominantly via the rivers (Figure 49). Both the northern and southern sections of Albertland had a cricket team and one match between the two teams in Paparoa was cause for a three-day celebration. The Ōruawharo United Eleven rowed to Paparoa in a boat provided by the head of their club, one of the Brookes brothers. Both Edwin Brookes Jnr and George Brookes were members of the club. The Ōruawharo Eleven were welcomed by a large crowd and were billeted in the homes of their fellow settlers.¹⁴⁵ This meet was thought to be the largest gathering in Paparoa up until that time. After the Ōruawharo Eleven won the game by a significant margin, a friendly game was played with all members of the community involved before “a substantial dinner of roast beef and plum pudding was provided.”¹⁴⁶ Altogether there were two large dinner services and a tea meeting to celebrate the visit.

¹⁴⁵ “Albertland and Paparoa. Cricket match. (From Our Own Correspondent),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2709, 23 March 1866, p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ “Albertland and Paparoa. Cricket match. (From Our Own Correspondent),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2709, 23 March 1866, p. 4.



Figure 49: A friendly match of cricket between Wharehine and Kaipara Flats. While football and rugby slowly became more popular the Albertlanders never lost their zeal for cricket. Photograph, *Cricket - Wharehine vs Kaipara Flats 21 Dec 1901*, 2004.98.1109, Photographic Collection, Albertland & District Museum, Wellsford.

The cricket games could also emphasise the differences between the settlers.

Wharehine had been known as the Bachelors Block due to the number of single men that had settled there; the area surrounding Port Albert had been mostly settled by family groups. This disparity was openly discussed by the settlers and formed part of the basis of the splintering of the settlement, as the Wharehine settlers felt that their needs were being pushed aside in favour of the Port Albert settlers. On 7 April 1871, a cricket game was played at the Ohaupo cricket ground in Port Albert.¹⁴⁷ This was not advertised as a match between Wharehine and Port Albert townships, but between “married” and “single” players. It was planned that 11 married men would play 16 single men. However, only nine married and 15 single men ended up participating. The most notable players on the single team were Alfred and Edwin Brookes Jnr. They often offered their land for use in cricket games, and Edwin was noted as an excellent bowler—having been selected for a team that toured New Zealand (Figure 50).¹⁴⁸

Nine of the participants could be identified, both their last name and first initials being given in an article about the game, and eight of these were single men. The one identified married man, Alfred Steventon, was based in Wharehine.¹⁴⁹ All the identified single men were from Wharehine, with two exceptions: H. Rushbrook was from Wellsford, and D. Smith was from Matakohē in the northern area of Albertland.¹⁵⁰ Even though all the others were

¹⁴⁷ “Port Albert: Cricket Match,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVII, Issue 4268, 19 April 1871, p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁹ “Port Albert: Cricket Match,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVII, Issue 4268, 19 April 1871, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ Sterling and Smith, *Recollections*, p. 10.

single men from Wharehine, they may not have contributed to the area being known as the Bachelor's Block because they were the unmarried sons of families that had moved there later. B. Blackburn had emigrated with three family members, J. W. Marcroft with five family members, and C. F. Cray with six. The game ended with a victory for the married men, and the day ended with a meal along with the giving of thanks to the organisers. This game was noted as marking the end of the 1871 cricket season for the settlers.



Figure 50: Cricket pitches were merely empty paddocks prepared by the hosts in the days leading up to the match. Quality of the pitch depended on the level of preparation, but many took it very seriously such as this group in Wharehine. Photograph, *Cricket - forming the pitch at Brookes farm c. 1900*, 2004-2-01-226, Photographic Collection, Albertland & District Museum, Wellsford.

Paparoa similarly had avid fans of cricket in its midst. In the early years of the settlement, the game was played by community members of different backgrounds. George Skelton was the captain of the first Paparoa cricket team, though he was not an original Albertlander. Skelton moved to the settlement, alone, in its early years from County Fermanagh in Ireland. He purchased an allotment near Paparoa that had been abandoned by Albertlander Hermann Brown. Skelton's early arrival mitigated any effect his non-Albertlander status had in the settlement's history; his deeds there are discussed in the histories of Paparoa as if he were one of the original settlers.¹⁵¹ He was one of the major supporters of the Episcopalian church in the settlement, helping fundraise for the erection of a chapel for that denomination. Skelton sat as a Riding Representative for the Otamatea County

¹⁵¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 290.

Council, was secretary of the North Kaipara Agricultural Society, and chairman of the Paparoa Dairy Company.¹⁵² He outlived his wife by seven years and left a family of eight children. At the time of his death at age 64 he was also an acting J.P. in the district.¹⁵³

Richard Cliff was another member of the Paparoa cricket team. He was a dedicated Methodist who came to Albertland as an original settler with other family members. He was the organist of the Methodist Chapel at Paparoa, and his marriage to Elizabeth Sykes was one of the first weddings performed in that chapel. The ceremony was almost left without wedding bells, as when the chapel had been built no-one remembered to tie a rope to the bell. Thomas Nield rectified the problem by climbing the belfry and ringing the bell by hand.¹⁵⁴ Cliff did not take an active part in the politics of the settlement. However, his work in the settlement's religious life made him a well-known figure, and his early death at the age of 52 in 1897 was mourned by the community.¹⁵⁵ His wife was left to raise a family of nine children. To support the family, she took up midwifery and worked cases in the district in conjunction with several doctors. She outlived her husband by 50 years, dying in 1947.¹⁵⁶

Thomas Nield was a Paparoa settler from Staffordshire who came to Albertland with his parents and sister. Unlike Skelton and Cliff, Nield moved further north after fifteen years to Aratapu and partook in numerous organisations.¹⁵⁷ He was a member of the North Kaipara Agricultural Society, which included the Paparoa section of Albertland, and was responsible for the renaming of the society from Arapana Agricultural Society, as he felt the name did not adequately represent the entire settlement.¹⁵⁸ When Nield moved from Paparoa to Aratapu in the mid-1880s he maintained his interest in cricket, becoming the captain of the Aratapu team.¹⁵⁹ He also remained active in other aspects of the community being a member of the Band of Hope, secretary of the school committee, and a member of the Aratapu Masonic Lodge.¹⁶⁰ Nield became chairman of Te Kōpuru -Aratapu Tug-of-War Sports Committee, overseeing a significant number of sports and recreational activities in the district and

¹⁵² Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 316, 326.

¹⁵³ "Personal," *Auckland Star*, Volume XLIII, Issue 34, 8 February 1912, p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Mary King, "Richard Cliff and Descendants" in *James & Mary Cliff Family Reunion: 121 Years*, ed. George Cliff and Lara (Vera) Cliff (Paparoa: Self-Published Pamphlet, 1983), p. 12.

¹⁵⁵ "Obituary," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume xxxiv, Issue 10490, 9 July 1897, p. 3 (Supplement).

¹⁵⁶ King, "Richard Cliff," p. 12.

¹⁵⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLIX, Issue 15182, 23 December 1912, p. 1.

¹⁵⁸ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXXI, Issue 5618, 14 September 1875, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIV, Issue 8078, 20 October 1887, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVI, Issue 9336, 12 April 1889, p. 6; *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVI, Issue 9354, 3 May 1889, p. 3; *Auckland Star*, Volume XLII, Issue 28, 2 February 1911, p. 6.

displaying his commitment to community sport, regardless of whether they were the community in which he originally settled in or not.¹⁶¹

Like their fellow settlers, the gentlemen of the Paparoa Cricket Club either took an active part in community bodies or were content to maintain their allotments. One member of the Club, Ralph Green Fenwick, appears to break this mould. Fenwick owned an allotment of 82 acres at Paparoa, a smaller section than most settlers in the area. This was due to Fenwick having arrived in the settlement alone and being entitled to a single 40-acre allotment.¹⁶² He was a member of the Paparoa Cricket Club from as early as 1866, when he had played in a game between Paparoa and Albertland.¹⁶³ The genial nature in which the settlers of Paparoa lived together was scuppered in 1868 when Fenwick became the first to file a lawsuit against another settler. Fenwick sued Thomas Wilson over unpaid wages, alleging that Wilson was his employer. Wilson repudiated this claim, stating both men had been employed by another settler who had sold his land and returned to England. However, the settler had paid Wilson in goods before leaving. Fenwick claimed he was entitled to some of these goods in lieu of the money he was owed, but his lawsuit was not successful.¹⁶⁴

Fenwick married Annie Cliff, daughter of fellow Paparoa settlers George and Annie Cliff, in 1867. They remained in Paparoa for over a decade, having four sons and a daughter in that time. Fenwick also travelled to Britain three times due to an illness, and in 1876 the family sold their land and travelled to Britain together. The sale indicates that they may not have intended to return. However, Annie and the children returned to Paparoa within a year, though they did so without Fenwick—a patient at the Cottingham Asylum at Morpeth.¹⁶⁵ Fenwick was in the asylum for two months before he returned to New Zealand and settled in Auckland, not in Paparoa with his family. Two months after arrival he was issued court summons regarding the support of his wife and children. This court case began a long list of legal troubles for him.¹⁶⁶

Fellow Paparoa cricket player George Calvert interacted with Fenwick during the latter's time in the settlement. Calvert was an auditor in the Ratepayers Association of Paparoa, and proposed measures to procure rates arrears from absentee owners.¹⁶⁷ In 1870 he

¹⁶¹ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXX, Issue 9138, 3 March 1893, p. 6.

¹⁶² *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2728, 14 April 1866, p. 5.

¹⁶³ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2709, 23 March 1866, p. 4.

¹⁶⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume V, Issue 1474, 8 August 1868, p. 4.

¹⁶⁵ *Auckland Star*, Volume XIX, Issue 176, 27 July 1888, p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ *Auckland Star*, Volume XIX, Issue 176, 27 July 1888, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ "Paparoa (Kaipara)," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3511, 16 October 1868, p. 3.

was elected to both the board of the association and the Paparoa Highway Board.¹⁶⁸ Despite these activities, there is little mention of Calvert and his time in the community. His name appears briefly in Brett's book as one of the first cricket players in the district, though it is not clear how strong his involvement with the Paparoa club was.¹⁶⁹

As roads and travel became easier, the clubs were able to travel further afield. Early in the settlement's development a trip from Port Albert to Paparoa would have taken an entire day of rowing, whereas by the turn of the century steamboats could make the trip in an afternoon. In the late 1880s the Albertland Cricket Club was travelling as far as Warkworth for their games. Easier and more regular travel meant that the ceremonies held in correlation with the games were reduced in size and were less noteworthy events. At a Warkworth versus Albertland cricket game in 1888, the only event during the visit was a dinner provided at the local Temperance Hall.¹⁷⁰ This was far smaller than the multiple-day festivities that accompanied games early in the settlement's history. Easier travel also meant the visiting groups could be larger. In 1891 the Albertland football team (it is not clear which code they adhered to) was able to travel as far as Aratapu, twice as far as Paparoa. The Albertland side arrived by steamboat with 82 people on board; this represented almost the entire club and their families. Festivities lasted into the night, and the Albertlanders did not depart until 1am. Their late departure shows overnight visits were no longer necessary as steamboats provided convenient and timely travel.¹⁷¹

A decade before the turn of the century a noticeable change occurred: different football codes gradually overtook cricket in popularity. Many theories have been posited as to why; one was that in rural communities, such as Albertland, it was easier and cheaper to maintain football grounds than cricket pitches for interclub competitions.¹⁷² This may have been the case in Albertland as football became noticeably more popular from 1890 onwards. In 1892, Te Kōpuru Football Club visited Port Albert for a match against the Albertland Football Club. The match attracted extra attention as the visitors brought with them a Minstrel group and Te Kōpuru Brass Band. Many of the settlers who had been born in the district, some over 20 years old at this time, had never seen or heard a brass band before and

¹⁶⁸ "Highway Districts. Paparoa, Kaipara," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4105, 17 October 1870, p. 3; "Advertisements," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4110, 24 October 1870, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 302.

¹⁷⁰ "Outdoor Sports," *Observer*, Volume 9, Issue 523, 29 December 1888, p. 13.

¹⁷¹ *Auckland Star*, Volume XXII, Issue 227, 24 September 1891, p. 5.

¹⁷² Ryan, "British Traditions", p. 32.

the older settlers not since they had emigrated from Britain—some of whom did not believe this to be a negative.¹⁷³ The match itself resulted in a decisive victory for the visitors, who remarked that the impartial applause given by the crowd made it the friendliest game they had ever played. After the game, during a celebratory dinner, the minstrels and brass band played a concert that was well received, though it was noted the band was sparing with their music when the dancing began, and most of the music came from a piano. Twenty years after Edward Browne warned about late night dancing, the Albertlanders found themselves dancing until past midnight with their guests.¹⁷⁴

These intercommunity football challenges were issued and accepted through newspapers and were usually not extended to settlements further south than Pūhoi.¹⁷⁵ An article from the end of the 1891 season lists the communities Aratapu had played: Waipū, Albertland, Te Kōpuru, Wairoa, Opanake, and Maropiu. All of these communities were centred around the Kaipara harbour or one of its tributary rivers.¹⁷⁶ Albertland's main rivals appeared to be Aratapu and Warkworth as numerous games appeared in newspapers from 1870 to 1900; most reports stated that the hosts of the game visited their rival's settlement soon afterwards for another match.¹⁷⁷ Albertland and Warkworth met each other on the sports field numerous times, with either team issuing the challenge. One such game in 1889 was met with disappointment when only seven of the Albertland team showed, leading to a scratch match where the Albertland team was filled with excess members of the Warkworth side. Whether Albertland's victory in this match was due to the skill of their own players or the aid from Warkworth is unclear.¹⁷⁸

The growth of the communities in turn induced growth of their sports clubs. At the turn of the century, the official cricket oval at Port Albert was used as the headquarters by the Port Albert, Albertland, Wharehine, and North Albertland clubs.¹⁷⁹ The Port Albert Club and the Albertland Club both represented South Albertland. However, the clubs had a mutual associate from England, a man known as Mr. Bridge, a non-Albertlander. He worked as a coach for both clubs and was considered such an asset that upon the eve of his return to

¹⁷³ "Country News," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 8966, 25 August 1892, p. 6.

¹⁷⁴ "Port Albert," *Wairoa Bell*, Volume IV, Issue 161, 2 September 1892, p. 6.

¹⁷⁵ "Country News," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 8593, 15 June 1891, p. 6.

¹⁷⁶ "Football Entertainment At Aratapu," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 8717, 6 November 1891, p. 6.

¹⁷⁷ "Australian Loans," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXII, Issue 179, 30 July 1891, p. 5.

¹⁷⁸ "Football," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVI, Issue 9467, 11 September 1889, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹ "Athletic Notes," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVII, Issue 11350, 19 April 1900, p. 6.

England they held a joint celebration in honour of his time in the district.¹⁸⁰ Joint events such as these show that while the settlement had grown to the point that numerous clubs were required to fulfil its needs, small informal games were still held for general leisure (Figure 51).



Figure 51: While intercommunity and interclub games became more formal competitions, the Albertlander communities still used sport for leisure, relaxation, and fun. Photograph, *A Cricket game at the Witherford's*, 26 Dec 1908, 2004-2-2007-1099, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The sports clubs evolved from haphazard groups, who were only capable of matches between other teams in the Albertland settlement, to fully fledged associations with elected officers.¹⁸¹ However, like all institutions in the settlement, sports clubs had financial struggles. Funding from larger institutions was difficult to find so fundraising events organised by the settlers were the only way that the clubs could raise money. In 1892 the Albertland Football Club held a concert and soiree to raise money. Piano and solo singer numbers were provided by several Albertlanders, and while the musical numbers were described as “excellent, with possibly one exception,”¹⁸² the amount raised was described as satisfactory.¹⁸³ With more funding, easier travel, and growing communication with the wider region, the Albertland clubs began to join the regional governing bodies for their sports. Bodies such as the Auckland Football Union brought with its membership an organised

¹⁸⁰ “News From Country Districts,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVII, Issue 11346, 14 April 1900, p. 7.

¹⁸¹ “Football,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLI, Issue 12696, 26 October 1904, p. 7.

¹⁸² “Country News,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 9036, 15 November 1892, p. 6.

¹⁸³ “Country News,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 9036, 15 November 1892, p. 6.

season roster, tournaments, and matches. This was especially beneficial for situations where multiple games might be played on a visit between the clubs.¹⁸⁴

Which type of football the Albertlanders played is unclear during the early years of the settlement. However, an article from 1892 describing a match between Te Kōpuru and Albertland Football Clubs states that the referee gave the result as “a win for Kopuru by seven to *nil* (one goal and a try).”¹⁸⁵ This shows that at least from this time the Albertland Football Club mentioned was a rugby club. The hold rugby had on the colony was noted early. An article eight years later, posted under an article about a match between Albertland and Matakahe, documented that “the strong hold of the Rugby game throughout New Zealand has prevented Association football taking rank among our popular pastimes.”¹⁸⁶ As the rugby matches became widely publicised interest grew in the teams and some of the members became well known. A report of the 1907 Pouto versus Albertland game noted that though Albertland won the match it would have been an easier victory if not for “the absence of Browne, Heywood, and W. Booth.”¹⁸⁷

The formation of the Otamatea Rugby Union in 1908 brought an official atmosphere to the games between the townships around the Kaipara (Figure 52).¹⁸⁸ The new Rugby Union’s district did not include places such as Te Kōpuru or Aratapu, but did initially include Waipū, Maungātūroto, Batley, and Paparoa. A later list of the townships involved also added Oneroa.¹⁸⁹ Rather than just friendly matches through the season, there was now a championship title to compete for. In 1908 Port Albert sat at the top of the district leader board, with four wins from six games; the next teams listed on the leaderboard were Waipū, Maungātūroto, and Batley.¹⁹⁰ Port Albert lost the final of the inaugural Otamatea Rugby Union Championship to Waipū.¹⁹¹ After this year the union organisation gradually decreased the area the Port Albert team covered. However, the Otamatea Rugby Union was granted affiliation with the larger Auckland Rugby Union, which allowed Albertlanders to still have contact with a wide range of teams.¹⁹² Inter-union teams also played each other, and Port Albert team members were included in their rosters, such as Booth who was injured in a

¹⁸⁴ “Football,” *Wairoa Bell*, Volume IV, Issue 152, 1 July 1892, p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ “Country News,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 8970, 30 August 1892, p. 6.

¹⁸⁶ “Football,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVII, Issue 11430, 21 July 1900, p. 7.

¹⁸⁷ “Football,” *Rodney And Otamatea Times, Waitemata And Kaipara Gazette*, 14 August 1907, p. 2.

¹⁸⁸ “Football,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLV, Issue 13785, 25 June 1908, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹ “Football,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLVII, Issue 14349, 20 April 1910, p. 6.

¹⁹⁰ “Dinner To The Teams,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXIX, Issue 172, 20 July 1908, p. 6.

¹⁹¹ “Football,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXIX, Issue 210, 2 September 1908, p. 7.

¹⁹² “Football,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLIX, Issue 15012, 6 June 1912, p. 9.

game between the Otamatea and Whangarei Unions.¹⁹³ In 1914 they entered the Harding Shield competition, a regional Auckland competition which included clubs from as far north as Whangarei.¹⁹⁴



Figure 52: A rugby game at Whakapirau, near Wellsford, after the establishment of the Otamatea Rugby Union. Dedicated game grounds were becoming more common, rather than using available paddocks, although their care and upkeep was still the responsibility of the separate clubs. Photograph, *Rugby at Whakapirau*, 2004.2.97.921, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The governing body of the Otamatea Rugby Union included Albertlanders: a member of the Nicholson family served as president, and P. Becroft served as a member of the board.¹⁹⁵ The Nicholson family had been involved in the district's rugby games for decades, some acting as referees for early games between Mangawhai and Albertland. However, it is not always clear in newspaper articles which members of the family were present as often only a surname is provided.¹⁹⁶ Even as the organisation grew to encompass townships from surrounding non-Albertlander districts, the settlers and their descendants still maintained some level of control over its operation through membership and administration of their own recreation grounds (Figure 53). However, this was always in cooperation with their counterparts in other communities.

¹⁹³ "A Footballer Injured," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLV, issue 13854, 14 September 1908, p. 5.

¹⁹⁴ "Local And General," *Northern Advocate*, 16 June 1914, p. 6.

¹⁹⁵ "Football," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLVII, Issue 14349, 20 April 1910, p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ "Football," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXX, Issue 9261, 25 July 1893, p. 6.



Figure 53: The new recreation ground as seen from Mount Brame, c. 1911. The recreation ground was another natural step in the development of sporting bodies in the district. Having a large, well-managed recreation space was an improvement over smaller grounds and paddocks. Photograph, *Football match on the new Recreation Ground 1911*, 2004.2.2007.201, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Conclusion

The Albertlanders faced many challenges to their cohesion, yet they always attempted to find solutions that allowed them to maintain their identity as both smaller communities and a larger district. The highway boards brought to the forefront many of the issues the settlement faced. There was contention around the building of roads, and how funding was allocated to ensure fairness across the wider settlement. Leadership on the boards was held by those who already had such positions in other aspects of the community, and this further fuelled conflicts between the boards as old rivalries flared. However, joint ventures show a desire by the boards to keep the wider Albertland district and its constituent settlements connected regardless of disagreements, as well as ensure that Albertland settlers maintained control of these ventures despite outside interference.

There was a dichotomy in how the Albertlanders responded to crime in their district, based on internal versus external threats. The Woodcock family were Albertlanders, insiders, who committed illegal acts against their own community. The response from the community was one of restoring order—arrests were made and prison sentences given. Here, the responses followed an established set of procedures. When crimes were committed by

outsiders, a less orderly and more aggressive approach was taken. The men of Port Albert were willing to form a posse to hunt Frederick Plummer and Robert Martin and remove them from the community. However, when crimes were committed by a transient population, such as gum-diggers, the community did not have the resources to retrieve stolen property nor apprehend the culprits after they left the district.

The popularity and growth of sport and recreational organisations in Albertland showed the willingness of the settlers to meet outside of the civic and religious spheres. It also displayed intercommunity spirit, as the settlers began to interact not just with their fellow Albertlanders but also counterparts in surrounding districts. The growth of the northern districts and the easing of travel between settlements demonstrated that the more the North succeeded as a region, the more the Albertlanders became part of the lives of those around them. Nevertheless, any threat to their cohesion that interconnectedness with non-Albertlander groups posed was mitigated due to Albertland settlers maintaining control by taking positions of authority within the larger sports organisations.

Though civil government, crime, and sport are not spheres that overlap to any large degree, they all show the changes and development of Albertland as a settlement and as a district. The Albertlanders attempted to stay united in their initial years but ultimately separated into smaller communities, as evidenced by civil government and sport. Yet they were still able to maintain connections and work together when they faced challenges, as evidenced in their responses to crime. When faced with growing pressure from outside forces, they worked in tandem—as a group of separate communities—to maintain some control of their district's civil and sporting bodies.

Chapter Eight: The Albertlanders of Auckland

Anticipation at the arrival of the Albertland settlers in 1862 was keenly felt by the people of the colony, especially so by those in Auckland who knew these new arrivals would become part of their wider community. Letters to the editor show nervousness, stating “that it would be both gratifying and graceful publicly to welcome them of their arrival here ‘as strangers in a strange land.’”¹ The *Matilda Wattenbach* was welcomed by a large crowd and the band of the Auckland Rifle Volunteers. Superintendent of the Auckland Province Robert Graham, oversaw the proceedings. He announced that the government of the province had taken great interest in the Albertland movement and were doing their best to ensure the settlers felt that little was needed for the settlement to prosper. He also countered insinuations that the land granted to the settlers was substandard, promising it was the finest in the province.²

However, through the pomp and circumstance there were warnings to the Albertlanders. The quick growth of Auckland was attested to hard work and dedication; the Albertlanders were told to remember “that to make their settlement prosper, would require a great amount of patience and perseverance.”³ A settler from a district near Albertland spoke about how hard work would allow them to conquer any challenge, but ominously warned that he had known men who had gone into the bush with over £100 and left within a year with no money and nothing on their land to show for their labour.⁴ Warnings such as these may have encouraged many of the Albertlanders to remain in Auckland, rather than make their way to the settlement. The stories that returned from those who did make their way north were of the hardships they had endured merely trying to make their way to their allotments, let alone the hardships they had faced trying to clear the bush and eke out a living.

Methodological Challenges

Methodological challenges must be addressed when trying to understand the successes and failures of the Albertlanders who remained in Auckland or settled elsewhere. The size of the

¹ “Albertland,” *New Zealander*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1709, 30 July 1862, p. 6.

² “Welcome To the Immigrants Per Matilda Wattenbach,” *New Zealander*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1723, 13 September 1862, p. 2.

³ “Welcome To the Non-conformists,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVIII, ISSUE 1604, 11 SEPTEMBER 1862, p. 4.

⁴ “Welcome To the Immigrants Per Matilda Wattenbach,” *New Zealander*, Volume XVIII, Issue 1723, 13 September 1862, p. 2.

group is not easily defined; Brett pointed out that “only a portion of the 3000 or so settlers that came out as Albertlanders ever settled on the shores of the Kaipara.”⁵ The shipping lists from the Albertland & Districts Museum provide the names of 2,548 settlers. It is difficult to confirm how many settlers were at Albertland, as some stayed there only a few weeks before returning to Auckland. The group who travelled under the patronage of the Rev. Edwin Brookes Snr can be discounted from this number; it is clear, with his paying for their passage in exchange for their land orders, that they had no intention of settling at Albertland. This group numbers 83 settlers from Nottingham, all named within the Henry Barton register.⁶ The New Zealand census records from 1867 and 1871 provide little insight as they give the population of the Rodney electoral district, which included both Albertland and beyond. These records name 2,504 people, far beyond the number of settlers thought to have gone to the Albertland settlement.⁷

J. L. Borrows gives an indication of how many settled in the district. He states that “of those who came with the intention of being part of the Non-conformist Settlement Scheme, only about half actually went to the Albertland area, and of these less than half remained to pioneer the district.”⁸ Discounting Brookes’ settlers, this means approximately 600 went to Albertland, leaving approximately 1,800 to 1,900 who settled elsewhere. In the database constructed for this research, containing the names of 2,548 settlers, 238 settlers are confirmed—through numerous sources including Brett, family histories, newspapers, and cemetery records—to have settled permanently in Albertland.

Three hundred and fifty-three settlers left Albertland and settled permanently in Auckland, a number confirmed predominantly through cemetery records and obituaries supplemented with family histories. There are limitations to the database: not every Albertlander can be positively identified, causing gaps in the data. This means the conclusions, while providing insight into the lives of the Albertlanders who settled elsewhere, should be treated with some caution. Represented amongst the 353 Auckland Albertlanders are all the confirmed Irish families. Only 32 single men chose to stay in Auckland, with all

⁵ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 10.

⁶ The Henry Barton Register of Intending Albertland Settlers, General Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum.

⁷ “Statistics of New Zealand for 1867,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 19.06.2024. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1867-statistics-nz/1867-statistics-nz.html; “Results of a Census of New Zealand: Taken for the Night of the 27th February, 1871,” *Statistics New Zealand: Digitised Collection*, accessed 19.06.2024. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1871-census/1871-results-census.html

⁸ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 63.

others appearing to be family groups. Therefore, conclusions gained from the database, and subsequent written material, represent around a quarter of the Albertlanders who settled elsewhere. The group does provide insight into mobility; if they cannot be identified in Albertland or Auckland there is a high probability that they moved elsewhere.

However, another challenge arises when discussing the Albertlanders of Auckland visibility. This is a common issue in research concerning settler groups, that is, the most visible settlers were people of high social status or business elite. Thus, of this there is more material in newspapers and other media regarding their activities in comparison to settlers who lived relatively normal, though still successful, lives. The lives of the visible Albertland settlers, though they may be exceptional cases, can still offer insights into the connections settlers who abandoned the scheme may have felt to both Albertland and their fellow Albertlanders.

Defining an Auckland Albertlander

The Albertlanders who remained in Auckland pursued a diverse array of trades and established businesses in various fields. What is more, they were all moderately successful in their ventures. In the era of assisted migration, where provincial governments competed for suitable colonists, having a large contingent settle and remain in one place, even if it is not the place initially intended, could be construed as a success. Albertlanders who remained in Auckland were diverse: some lone settlers, some large family groups; some formed their own businesses, others worked as employees. Some continued the same career they had before emigration while others found new vocations. Although some led what could be considered normal lives, others rose to prominence in Auckland, the city and province, and even gained notoriety at the national level in New Zealand. The same can be said for Albertlanders who travelled and settled elsewhere in the colony. They followed a mixture of vocations, and all became moderately successful. Besides the warnings they received from those who did make the arduous journey and except for those who came out to New Zealand under the patronage of the Rev. Edwin Brookes Snr, there is no discernible reason why these settlers chose not to make their way to Albertland.

Despite the efforts of the scheme's organisers, those who stayed in Auckland refused to leave. However, as the decades passed these defectors still used the title of "Albertlander"

and took part in commemorative and anniversary events for the settlement. Being a passenger on the Albertland ships did not guarantee a person the title of Albertlander, as many who travelled under the sponsorship of Rev. Brookes had no intention of ever being Albertlanders. To choose the title did not require following a particular career path or maintaining a connection to specific groups or organisations, as the diversity of the settlers attests. The Albertlanders of Auckland and beyond who became successful in their chosen fields rose to prominent positions in the story of Albertland, regardless of whether they ever lived in the settlement. The decision to maintain a link to the settlement scheme demonstrates that to have been an Albertlander was a more nuanced matter than merely living in a specific location.

Success in the City

Difficulties experienced by the Albertlanders at the settlement stemmed from the discovery that the skills they possessed would not help in establishing a homestead and that their professions would not be required in the settlement until years later. The Albertlanders who chose to settle in Auckland were a group that may have been aware of this. It is clear from their professions before emigration, and their lives after arrival in the colony, that they were not suited to endure a rural lifestyle and represented an urban class of settler. Rather than risk uncertainty they continued their trades in Auckland, staying with what they knew rather than retraining. A solid foundation of knowledge contributed to a pattern of success amongst the Albertlanders of Auckland which can be measured in several ways: maintaining links throughout a new community; rising through community hierarchies to positions of prominence; and establishing roots that endured beyond the first generation of a family.

Led by patriarch Alfred Gregory, the Bartlett family chose to remain in Auckland rather than go to Albertland (Figure 54). Alfred Gregory was a chronometer and watch maker from London and arrived in Auckland with his wife, two sons, and four daughters.⁹ It was a mixed family: four of the children were born from his first wife, Esther, who died in the 1850s; and two from his second wife Sarah, who was Esther's sister. The family had no experience in agriculture. Any attempt the family could have made to go to the settlement and support themselves through agriculture, or establish a chronometer and watch business, would have been met with hardship and likely failure. Bartlett opened a shop in Auckland

⁹ "Obituary," *Auckland Star*, Volume XL, Issue 45, 22 February 1909, p. 3.

and through this established an intergenerational dynasty, the business being passed down through generations.



Figure 54: Alfred Gregory Bartlett, Auckland business owner and chronometer maker, in old age c. 1905. Photograph, Alfred Gregory Bartlett, “Alfred Gregory Bartlett,” accessed 21.07.2024. <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q98939075>

Bartlett’s business was not simply in the manufacture and repair of watches; he bought and sold items too, watches being hard to come by in the colony. The products he bought were not always high quality. A court case in 1864 shows he was sold 12 watches that did not function properly; when he tried to return them, the seller refused saying the sale was final. The judge disagreed as no receipt of sale had been formalised and the watches had not been inspected before the final sale.¹⁰ The outcome was a non-suit, and the watches were returned to the seller at no loss to Bartlett. That this case happened so soon after arrival shows that the decision not to journey to Albertland was made quickly: Bartlett wasted no time establishing his business and had already become a known proprietor of these products in Auckland (Figure 55).¹¹

¹⁰ “Mongonui,” *New Zealander*, Volume XX, Issue 2080, 2 April 1864, p. 5.

¹¹ “Mongonui,” *New Zealander*, Volume XX, Issue 2080, 2 April 1864, p. 5.



Figure 55: Queen Street in Auckland, c. 1880. Alfred Gregory Bartlett's shopfront, including clock, can be seen in the bottom righthand corner. Photograph, *Queen Street c. 1880*, "A.G. Bartlett," accessed 21.07.2024. <https://www.wikitree.com/photo/jpg/Bartlett-6213-4>

The Bartlett family were altruistic towards their community, as was reminisced in 1927. A clock had been imported for Auckland but owing to shipping errors and the Government refusing to accept the delivery the Bartlett family took a loss of almost £100 to ensure its arrival and installation. They personally saw to its maintenance and upkeep for decades until its disassembly. It was also noted they maintained a "time ball" on top of their home, dropped down its staff at noon each day, which was used by ships in the Auckland harbour.¹² It was through their business that the Bartlett family maintained a connection to the Albertland settlement. Martha Brookes recalled that Alfred Bartlett donated a clock to the first school at Wharehine when it opened.¹³

Two of Alfred Gregory's sons, who were children when they arrived in New Zealand, joined their father's business and their firm, A. & G. Bartlett, grew to include business in both New Zealand and Australia. Alfred Jnr became well known for his inventions. In 1893 he exhibited a new device for timing athletic races. He had finished building the device years earlier but waited until patents had been secured before unveiling it. The demonstration was met with enthusiasm; the newspapers stated "we heartily congratulate Bartlett upon his success, which will enhance the reputation already enjoyed by his firm as among the most

¹² "The Old Town Clock," *Auckland Star*, Volume LVIII, Issue 206, 1 September 1927, p. 19.

¹³ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 167.

skilful makers and regulators of chronometers in Australasia.”¹⁴ A month later it was reported that Alfred Jnr had travelled to Sydney to demonstrate his machine, a copy of the machine; was exhibited at the Rosehill Race Company and was described as ingenious.¹⁵

The Bartlett family were active members of their community. While those in Albertland established various associations to maintain cohesion, those in Auckland tried to integrate themselves into an already present community. Alfred Jnr exemplified this: by the time of his death in 1932 he was well-known in business, military, and masonic circles. His obituary gives a list of achievements including being the President of the Watchmakers and Jewellers’ Association, achieving the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Third Auckland Infantry Regiment after 25 years of service, being Deputy Mayor of the Birkenhead Borough Council, and most notably the Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New Zealand Freemasons.¹⁶ Alfred Jnr’s tenure in Freemasonry was a marked success. He rose through the ranks of the organisation, gaining the mutual respect of his fellows. This extended into the international world of Freemasonry as the Grand Lodge of West Virginia, USA, made him their ambassador to the New Zealand Grand Lodge.¹⁷ This esteem was further reflected when both the Ara Lodge No. 1 and Provincial Grand Master requested the presence of Bartlett’s fellow masons at his funeral.¹⁸ The rise of Alfred Jnr in this organisation demonstrates that the Albertlanders of Auckland were able to integrate themselves into already present hierarchies and rise to prominence without being viewed as outsiders by that community.

The Bartlett family were politically active. Alfred Jnr was an avid supporter of George Fowlds, working as a secretary in his 1899 election campaign.¹⁹ Fowlds was successful and served as the MP for the City of Auckland electorate for the next three years. Fowlds was a liberal and supported the implementation of the Shops and Offices Act of 1904. Alfred Jnr supported the act stating “We close at six o’clock each night...and at noon on Saturdays. Our firm has done so for some years, and also most of the other jewellery establishments in Queen-street. The Act only makes those who would not close before when we did have a few less hours’ run of the Queen-street trade.”²⁰ Alfred Jnr was nominated for

¹⁴ “Field Sports & Aquatics,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XXIV, Issue 188, 10 August 1893, p. 7.

¹⁵ “Athletic Sports,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXX, Issue 9307, 16 September 1893, p. 6.

¹⁶ “Obituary,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LXIII, Issue 162, 11 July 1932, p. 2.

¹⁷ “Grand Lodge of New Zealand,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVIII, Issue 11637, 26 April 1901, p. 5.

¹⁸ “Advertisements,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXIX, Issue 21232, 12 July 1932, p. 16.

¹⁹ “Electoral News,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVI, Issue 11109, 7 July 1899, p. 3.

²⁰ “Shops And Offices,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXV, Issue 272, 14 November 1904, p. 5.

the Birkenhead Mayoralty in 1915 but was unsuccessful in his campaign.²¹ He ran again in 1919 but was defeated by the incumbent with a margin of over two hundred votes.²²

A role in politics can make a person more visible in public forums such as newspapers. However, this visibility means that their private lives could be opened to public scrutiny and reveal much about the internal dynamics of a family. Alfred Bartlett Jnr's older sister Marianna married William John Offer in 1872.²³ Offer was a well-known businessman in Auckland and a city councillor for Auckland after the 1880 elections.²⁴ He owned a bootmaker shop on Queen Street close to the Bartlett's business. When in 1883 he was in court claiming for damage done to his shop window by three boys kicking a coconut, the case noted his temper.²⁵ A year later his position as city councillor brought public attention to his divorce case. Marianna petitioned for a dissolution of marriage on the grounds of cruelty. Offer had resigned his seat on the city council and absconded to Europe without his family before returning and once again being elected to the council in a different ward. During this time, he had engaged in two affairs, that his wife was aware of, had allegedly intimidated both her and their children into submission by torturing animals in the house, and had transmitted a disease to Marianna.²⁶

Three months later Marianna appeared in court to present her petition, the entire transcript of which was published in the *Auckland Star*. She stated that her marriage had been unhappy from the start, that Offer had abused the children, kicked her into the fireplace, and threatened to sell their effects and leave her with nothing.²⁷ Marianna further stated that he had moved another woman into their home, whom he introduced as a cousin, and that they had both gone to Sydney by this time. Two women accused of having affairs with him also testified, one denied the allegation and the other openly admitted to it. Numerous apprentices in Offer's business testified in support of Marianna along with other businesspeople of Queen

²¹ "Suburban Boroughs," *Auckland Star*, Volume XLVI, Issue 92, 19 April 1915, p. 7.

²² "Local Bodies," *Auckland Star*, Volume L, Issue 103, 1 May 1919, p. 7.

²³ 1872 New Zealand Marriage Record [Database Online]. Surname: Bartlett; Given Name: Marianna; Spouse's Name: William John Offer; Registration Number: 1872/4128. Accessed 15.05.2024.
<https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dMarriageSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

²⁴ "Advertisements," *Auckland Star*, Volume XI, Issue 3157, 1 September 1880, p. 3.

²⁵ "Law And Police," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XX, Issue 6816, 21 September 1883, p. 3.

²⁶ "Auckland," *Thames Star*, Volume XV, Issue 4742, 19 March 1884, p. 2.

²⁷ "Supreme Court," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4418, 11 July 1884, p. 2.

Street, one of whom, a confectioner named Edward Waters, had married her sister Eliza.²⁸ After the testimonies concluded the judge stated they were not convinced that Offer's actions had constituted cruelty towards his wife and that only one affair had been substantiated. Three days later they gave their verdict that the evidence narrowly provided grounds for divorce and the motion was granted.²⁹ This case became so well-known that the *Auckland Star* gave it its own column titled simply the "Offer Divorce Case."³⁰ The case demonstrates that when a family climbs social hierarchies and becomes well-known in their community, their personal lives can be brought into the public sphere for the sake of spectacle.

The Cashmore family were another business-orientated family who established themselves in Auckland. Robert and Ann Cashmore were a sawyer and dressmaker from Warwickshire who came to the colony with their three sons and only daughter. Their technical skills, especially Robert's experience as a sawyer, would have been extremely useful at the Albertland settlement, meaning that a lack of experience in labour-intensive work was not the reason they chose to abandon the scheme. Robert remained a sawyer after arrival and began work in the extensive and growing sawmilling industry in and around Auckland; all three of his sons eventually joined him in this profession. Robert had established his own business by 1870, though he had some legal issues that were reported. In 1872 he was accused of felling timber on land he did not own or have permission to use, and he also appeared in court regarding a civil suit for unpaid accounts.³¹ His defence counsel in this latter case was Theophilus Cooper, another Albertlander who did not go to the settlement.³²

²⁸ 1865 New Zealand Marriage Record [Database Online]. Surname: Waters; Given Name: Edward; Spouse's Name: Eliza Bartlett; Registration Number: 1865/4595. Accessed 15.05.2024. <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dMarriageSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

²⁹ "Offer Divorce Case," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXVI, Issue 1420, 14 July 1884, p. 3.

³⁰ "Offer Divorce Case," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXVI, Issue 1420, 14 July 1884, p. 3.

³¹ "District Court," *Hawke's Bay Times*, Volume 19, Issue 1360, 27 June 1872, p. 2.

³² "District Court. —This Day," *Auckland Star*, Volume XI, Issue 3107, 28 June 1880, p. 3.



Figure 56: Robert Cashmore, Sawmiller and trader, whose sons followed in his footsteps and go into business together. Photograph, Robert Cashmore, “Cashmore, Robert,” accessed 21.07.2024. <https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/details/K2HK-J5R>

Like the Bartlett family, the Cashmore family established a business that continued through multiple generations. However, their business was plagued by setbacks and the second generation did not have the benefit of mentorship from their father for long. By 1876 Robert Cashmore owned his own sawmill and had several employees working for him (Figure 56). In that year one of the employees, Michel Buchet, was killed when he fell into a creek as logs were being floated towards the sawmill. An enquiry cleared Cashmore’s business of any wrongdoing, and it was ruled an accident.³³ This same year Cashmore’s cutter, the *Clematis*, capsized near Timaru and all aboard were lost. The resulting enquiry could not determine the cause of the accident; the vessel had put in for repairs to its mainsail partway through the journey, but no other faults were found. It represented a considerable financial loss to Cashmore, as the vessel had been purchased for £1900 yet was only insured

³³ “The Late Fatal Accident at The Sandspit. —Inquest,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XIII, Issue 4441, 7 February 1876, p. 3.

for £1,200.³⁴ Robert Cashmore did not live long after this tragedy, dying in 1880 aged only 49.³⁵

The three Cashmore sons, Benjamin, Elon, and William went into business together as sawmillers, establishing the firm of Cashmore Bros. Ltd.³⁶ Little is known of Benjamin Cashmore, excepting various fines he regularly received for issues such as failing to register his cart and allowing his chimney to catch fire.³⁷ The brothers remained in business together until 1919 when their mill at Cox Creek, Auckland was destroyed by fire.³⁸ William Cashmore retired to a farm in Clevedon and took no part in public life after this, although he was fondly remembered by his neighbours after his death.³⁹ Elon Cashmore passed the sawmilling trade to his four sons, establishing it as a profession across three generations, and shortly after his retirement they began their own business, also named Cashmore Brothers Ltd, with £20,000 in financial capital.⁴⁰ The Cashmore family established a successful multigenerational business, like the Bartlett family, but did not achieve the same level of prominence in the city. This meant that any disputes within the family did not find their way into newspapers and the public eye.

The two families discussed thus far both had professions that were easily pursued in Auckland, one could have proved useful in Albertland as well. However, some Albertlanders retrained upon arrival and did not work in private business. James Carlaw Snr, for example, was a rope and wire maker in Britain but immediately retrained in Auckland as an engineer and turncock. He accepted a position in the water stations around Auckland, earning £4 a week with accommodation.⁴¹ This was a profession his son, James Carlaw Jnr also took up.

The Carlaw family ingrained themselves into many aspects of Auckland's community. Fraternal societies were important to the family. James Snr was a prominent Freemason in Auckland, a member of numerous lodges, and attained the rank of Sword Bearer, a ceremonial position, in the district Grand Lodge. He was granted this position by the Grand Master of English Freemasonry, the Prince of Wales, in honour of Queen

³⁴ "The Clematis," *Press*, Volume XXVI, Issue 3440, 14 September 1876, p. 3.

³⁵ "Deaths," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVII, Issue 5897, 11 October 1880, p. 6.

³⁶ "Obituary," *Auckland Star*, Volume LXIII, Issue 156, 4 July 1932, p. 2.

³⁷ "Police Court—This Day," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXIII, Issue 154, 1 July 1902, p. 2; "Police Court News," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLIX, Issue 15044, 13 July 1912, p. 5.

³⁸ "Pioneer Timber Miller," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXXIV, Issue 22864, 20 October 1937, p. 17.

³⁹ "Obituary," *Auckland Star*, Volume LXXII, Issue 260, 3 November 1941, p. 3.

⁴⁰ "Company Affairs," *Auckland Star*, Volume LX, Issue 233, 2 October 1929, p. 4.

⁴¹ "City Council," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXI, Issue 7205, 19 December 1884, p. 5.

Victoria's golden jubilee.⁴² Further explanation for the granting of this honour was that "social position was not so much taken into consideration as actual merit and past services to the craft."⁴³ At the time of his death, James Snr's Freemason title was Past District Grand Deputy, which shows the position of considerable influence he attained in the organisation.⁴⁴ His funeral was a major gathering of Freemasons and saw an open display of the organisation's symbols. More than three lodges were present, and representatives of different branches of Freemasonry were also in attendance.⁴⁵ The District Grand Lodge invited all Freemasons in the district to attend; Lodge Eden requested the attendance of all members, adding that they should attend in full regalia.⁴⁶ James Snr also found positions of influence in regular Auckland society. He was a prominent member of the Congregationalist church and presided over their Mutual Improvement Society.⁴⁷

Like his father, James Carlaw Jnr took an active role in fraternal societies. However, he was not a Freemason but a member of the Ancient Order of Foresters. The Foresters Hall was on Karangahape Road, near the District Grand Lodge of the Freemasons. Compared to their Masonic counterparts, the order was a newer arrival in New Zealand—the Auckland branch having only opened in 1863, a year after Carlaw's arrival. By the turn of the century Carlaw Jnr had risen to the position of District Chief Ranger.⁴⁸ A concert at the Foresters Hall in 1899 showed that the Foresters and their sister organisations, the Oddfellows and the Druids, were willing to congregate and celebrate large occasions and worthy causes together. Notably absent from such gatherings were the Freemasons, who preferred to remain separate from other societies.⁴⁹

William Weatherhead Carlaw followed a similar path to his younger brother James and their father, albeit with more focus on the religious aspect of life. He also joined a fraternal organisation, the Good Templars, which promoted prohibition and anti-alcohol legislation.⁵⁰ He does not appear to have attained leadership positions like his brother and

⁴² "Provincial Grand Lodge of Mark-Master Masons, E.C.," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXV, Issue 9131, 13 August 1888, p. 6.

⁴³ "Provincial Grand Lodge of Mark-Master Masons, E.C.," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXV, Issue 9131, 13 August 1888, p. 6.

⁴⁴ "Advertisements," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 8540, 14 April 1891, p. 8.

⁴⁵ "Untitled," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 8542, 16 April 1891, p. 4.

⁴⁶ "Advertisements," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 8540, 14 April 1891, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Auckland Star*, Volume XXI, Issue 309, 19 December 1890, p. 2.

⁴⁸ "Entertainments And Meetings," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVI, Issue 11211, 4 November 1899, p. 5.

⁴⁹ "Entertainments And Meetings," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVI, Issue 11211, 4 November 1899, p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Auckland Star*, Volume IX, Issue 2673, 11 November 1878, p. 2.

father but did actively participate in the organisation as secretary for their brass band.⁵¹ His interest in music extended into other aspects of his life. He played the organ for the Alexandra Street Methodist Sunday School and taught a children's choir at the Chancery Street Sunday school. Chancery Street was described as "one of the poorest and possibly the most wretched of Auckland localities."⁵² In his professional life William Carlaw worked for the Auckland Council, although it is unclear in what capacity. As of 1904 he was being paid £150 annually as a member of "the official staff."⁵³ Whatever his position, he was prominent enough to be on the extensive guest list of the 1904 mayoral garden party, where the Governor was the guest of honour.⁵⁴ That three men of the Carlaw family were members of three different fraternal societies shows how comfortable they were in Auckland's public sphere.

James Carlaw Jnr was present in Auckland's newspapers for reasons other than his fraternal society activities, though they were not always positive. In 1889 his wife, Mary Ann Froude, petitioned and was granted a protection order against him. No explanation is given for the order.⁵⁵ However, the marriage seems to have continued as there is no record of Carlaw remarrying, and a personal note in the *New Zealand Times* dated 1914 stated that he and his wife were travelling together to Wellington.⁵⁶ Carlaw Jnr's role as turncock and water engineer in Auckland meant that he regularly attended council meetings. In the later years of his career his advice at these meetings, such as using Lake Taupō as the chief water supply for Auckland, were met with ridicule.⁵⁷ Carlaw served over 40 years in the city's water services, 16 of them as chief engineer.⁵⁸

Carlaw Jnr's greatest contribution to city life was as a sportsman and administrator. He served as treasurer and vice-president of the Auckland Bowls Club, clearing the club of debt and adding more than one property to its portfolio.⁵⁹ Despite being a well-established city, Auckland was still seeing the establishment of new groups. The introduction of Rugby League to the country in 1907 brought with it new clubs. Though a lifelong bowls player

⁵¹ *Auckland Star*, Volume V, Issue 1391, 25 July 1874, p. 2.

⁵² "Untitled," *Auckland Star*, Volume VI, Issue 1635, 15 May 1875, p. 2.

⁵³ "Untitled," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXV, Issue 31, 5 February 1904, p. 4.

⁵⁴ "Mayor's Garden Party," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXV, Issue 301, 17 December 1904, p. 3.

⁵⁵ "Law And Police," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVI, Issue 9383, 5 June 1889, p. 3.

⁵⁶ "Personalialia," *New Zealand Times*, Volume XXXIX, Issue 8780, 9 July 1914, p. 3.

⁵⁷ "Progressive Auckland," *Auckland Star*, Volume LII, Issue 107, 6 May 1921, p. 4.

⁵⁸ "Presentations," *Auckland Star*, Volume LVI, Issue 111, 13 May 1925, p. 11.

⁵⁹ "Bowling Spasms," *Observer*, Volume XXX, Issue 10, 20 November 1909, p. 22; "Bowling Spasms," *Observer*, Volume XXXI, Issue 9, 12 November 1910, p. 22.

Carlaw Jnr joined the Ponsonby United Rugby League Club in 1908. This was at a time when New Zealand Rugby Union was hastily trying to stamp out any preference for the new code, including giving lifetime bans for any players who switched codes. Rugby League developed a reputation as a working-class game, becoming the preferred code in industrial areas and amongst many Māori, as well as other marginalised groups such as Irish Catholics.⁶⁰ In 1914 Carlaw Jnr was elected president of New Zealand Rugby League and was described as “a popular personality and a strengthening influence.”⁶¹ Carlaw Jnr negotiated the purchase of the city’s first dedicated test ground for rugby league. This ground became known as Carlaw Park and upon his death it became the centre of many memorials for the man known as “the grand old man of the game.”⁶²

Other members of the Carlaw family did not have as large a public profile as James Jnr, but they still held positions of status in their communities. The youngest child, Jane, married William Spry in 1881 and moved to Paeroa.⁶³ She owned her own business, selling stationary, and was one of the town’s oldest surviving residents at her death.⁶⁴ Thomas Munro Carlaw remained in Auckland and owned a sail-making business as well as a ship named the *Silver Cloud*.⁶⁵ The Carlaw family represent a significant force in Auckland’s fraternal societies, sport societies, and businesses. They embraced multiple different aspects of their communities, though not always in the same way.

It is unsurprising that so many Albertlanders chose to remain in Auckland where they found stable employment opportunities. These Albertlanders represent a different experience to those that started businesses or found prominent positions in local government. Edward Byron was a stonemason from Nottinghamshire and came to New Zealand with his wife and two sons. Work as a stonemason was plentiful in Auckland, so the family remained in the city. Their time together was short lived, however, as Edward was killed in a work accident in 1869.⁶⁶ An inquest into his death revealed that he died when a box of bricks fell from the top of a building worksite. The inquest ruled the death accidental, but it left his family

⁶⁰ Ryan Bodman, *Rugby League in New Zealand: A People’s History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2023), p. 2.

⁶¹ “Football,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XLV, Issue 105, 4 May 1914, p. 8.

⁶² “League Football,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LIX, Issue 143, 19 June 1928, p. 15.

⁶³ “Marriage,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XIX, Issue 6279, 2 January 1882, p. 4.

⁶⁴ “Obituary,” *Ohinemuri Gazette*, Volume XXIX, Issue 3938, 1 July 1918, p. 2.

⁶⁵ “Silver Cloud (Rigged Schooner): 1874,” 1877-1888, MTG Hawkes Bay 51151, Documentary Artefacts, MTG Hawkes Bay, Napier, New Zealand.

⁶⁶ “Deaths,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3780, 30 August 1869, p. 7.

without a stable income.⁶⁷ His widow, Elizabeth Byron, remarried within a year and remained married until her death in 1899.⁶⁸ Edward's sons, Harry and Thomas, led successful careers in the civil service. Harry maintained a strong connection to the Methodist church in Auckland, bequeathing £500 of his £7,000 estate to the Franklin Road Methodist Church in 1942.⁶⁹

The religious nature of the Albertland scheme attracted many ministers of religion. However, due to the small size of the congregations at Albertland, they had to jostle amongst themselves for prominence or forgo the settlement entirely and search for congregations elsewhere. A minister who chose the latter path was Robert Sommerville (Figure 57). Hailing from Dundee, Scotland, Sommerville travelled alone aboard the *Annie Wilson*. The son of a Presbyterian minister, he had worked as an accountant before departure. He brought a testimonial with him that stated he had worked as a Sunday school teacher at the Tay Square United Presbyterian Church, Dundee, before becoming a member of the church committee at the age of 21.⁷⁰ Sommerville sent this testimonial to numerous businesses across New Zealand, including as far south as Otago, before he departed Britain, which indicates that he may not have intended to remain with the settlers and was seeking employment elsewhere.

After arriving in New Zealand Sommerville found employment in various managerial positions. He was secretary of the Northern Land Association and secretary and treasurer of the Auckland Salt Water Bath Company.⁷¹ His skills brought him to the attention of numerous businesses and shareholders in Auckland. Interested in the allure of gold in Thames, Sommerville spent much of the 1860s and 1870s living in Auckland but managing gold mining companies in Thames. He was manager of the Whau Gold-Mining Company, Mount Eden Gold Mining Company, Thames Investment Company, Tweedside Gold Mining Company, Thames Gold Mining Company, and Bismarck & French Republic Gold Mining

⁶⁷ "Coroner's Inquest," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3761, 7 August 1869, p. 6.

⁶⁸ "Deaths," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXX, Issue 40, 17 February 1899, p. 8.

⁶⁹ "Bequests To Churches," *Auckland Star*, Volume LXXIII, Issue 169, 20 July 1942, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Nancy Buckman, *Rev. Robert Sommerville, 1890-1924; His Life, Work, And Family* (Auckland: N. Buckman, 1999), p. 1.

⁷¹ "Advertisements," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXI, Issue 2527, 24 August 1865, p. 1.

"Auckland Saltwater Bath Company," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2932, 18 December 1866, p. 5.

Company. He held many of these positions simultaneously and owned at least £750 worth of shares throughout these companies.⁷²

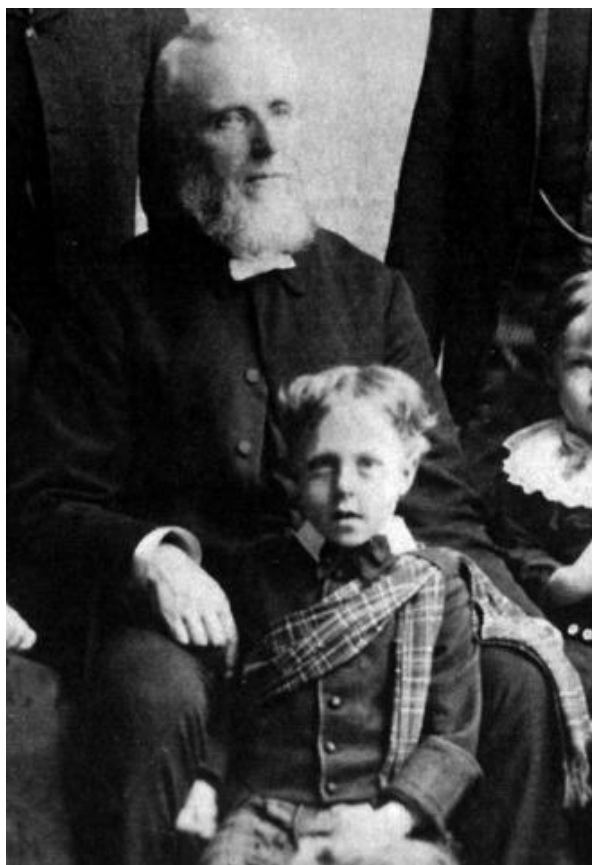


Figure 57: Rev. Robert Sommerville, Minister and investor in multiple gold mining companies. Pictured here with an unidentified child, possibly one of his grandchildren. Photograph, Robert Sommerville, "Sommerville, Robert," accessed 21.07.2024. <https://www.geni.com/people/Rev-Robert-Sommerville/6000000032516044982>

In 1865 Sommerville petitioned the Auckland Presbytery for admission to their training college. He was accepted in October of that year after he gave a presentation on 1 Samuel ii.30 to the Presbytery Committee.⁷³ However, uncertainty over his various commitments caused him to reject nomination as an elder at the North Shore Presbyterian Chapel in 1871.⁷⁴ It was a decade before Sommerville was ordained as a minister and given his own congregation. His first congregation was at Whau, in Northland, and present at his ordination were ministers of various denominations including Rev. Gittos of the Kaipara.⁷⁵

⁷² "Advertisements," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3507, 12 October 1868, p. 1; "Advertisements," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1760, 13 July 1869, p. 2; "Advertisements," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VII, Issue 1868, 11 January 1870, p. 3; "Advertisements," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume IX, Issue 2713, 8 October 1872, p. 3; "Meeting Of Shareholders," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXX, Issue 5364, 31 October 1874, p. 1 (Supplement).

⁷³ Buckman, *Rev. Robert Somerville*, p. 2.

⁷⁴ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVII, Issue 4439, 16 November 1871, p. 2.

⁷⁵ "Ordination of the Rev. Robert Sommerville," *Auckland Star*, Volume VII, Issue 1867, 10 February 1876, p. 3.

By the end of the 1870s Sommerville was devoted to his work in the presbytery, acting as their moderator at meetings. Though he remained at Whau as the resident minister, he regularly spoke at events in Auckland. He also wrote a dissertation titled “The Tastes and Pleasures of the People,” where he bemoaned that £28,000 had recently been gambled at an Auckland race event.⁷⁶

Sommerville’s views on denominationalism were made clear in an 1888 letter to the editor of the *Auckland Star*. He stated that questioning Presbyterians for establishing new chapels in districts where they had been using Wesleyan chapels was unfair and that “I [Sommerville] reverse his question and ask ‘Why cannot the Wesleyan laity attend the Presbyterian Church?’ ... ‘Because they won’t.’ And so zealous are the Wesleyans for the cause of their own people that in districts where there are only one or two families belonging to them they establish services.”⁷⁷ It appears that Sommerville is arguing in favour of strict denominationalism. However, on closer inspection, he seems to desire greater unity between the two denominations by finding ways to collaborate in districts where one or the other might represent a larger percentage of the population. However, he clearly places the blame for this not occurring on the Wesleyan leadership.⁷⁸

Sommerville’s tenure in the Presbyterian Church was long and successful, with recognition given in the later years of his life. In 1915 he was honoured by the Presbytery for 35 years of service as their clerk. They stated his “sound advice, based upon an extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical procedure and church law, had often been of material assistance to the presbytery in arriving at right decisions.”⁷⁹ He gained the epithet the “Grand Old Man of Auckland Presbyterianism”—it was thought unwise to question him on minutes taken at any meeting, given his authority in the administration of the Presbytery was seen as absolute.⁸⁰ Sommerville never resigned his post, holding it until his death in 1924. His obituary stated the reason for his departure from the Presbytery after training was ill-health, and this was why he had pursued commercial employment for a time. His return to ministerial work shows his true ambition had been to follow religious pursuits and through this he became a respected figure in the Auckland Presbytery.

⁷⁶ “Auckland,” *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 6967, 14 June 1884, p. 1 (SUPPLEMENT).

⁷⁷ “Church Disunion,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XIX, Issue 276, 22 November 1888, p. 2.

⁷⁸ “Church Disunion,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XIX, Issue 276, 22 November 1888, p. 2.

⁷⁹ “Clerk To Presbytery,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LII, Issue 15864, 10 March 1915, p. 5.

⁸⁰ “Pars About People,” *Observer*, Volume XLI, Issue 8, 23 October 1920, p. 6.

There were other Albertlanders who shared Sommerville's dedication to religious bodies but demonstrated it in different ways. The Blomfield family were committed to their church and occupy an interesting place amongst the Albertlanders. They decided not to venture to the settlement as they found themselves without anyone able, or willing, to work the land. The family's patriarch, William Blomfield, had died in 1857, and his eldest son William Jnr had predeceased him by a year.⁸¹ William Snr's widow, Emily, brought the entire family, six children, a daughter-in-law, and two grandchildren, to New Zealand on board the *Gertrude*; they all found work in Auckland almost immediately on arrival (Figure 58). Emily began working as a midwife to support her children.⁸² She died in 1911 at the age of 96. Her obituary described her as one of New Zealand's early colonists but only mentioned that she arrived "with the Albertland settlers,"⁸³ not that she was one herself.⁸⁴



Figure 58: Emily Elizabeth Blomfield, the matriarch who uprooted her family and brought them to New Zealand as part of the Albertland Scheme. However, she abandoned the scheme and kept the family in Auckland. Photograph, Emily Elizabeth Blomfield, "Blomfield, Emily," accessed 18. 09. 2021. <https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-433094471-1-501508/elizabeth-emily-blomfield-born-hickman-in-myheritage-family-trees?s=559234691>

⁸¹ Williams, *Blomfield Family Tree*, p. 1.

⁸² Williams, *Blomfield Family Tree*, p. 1.

⁸³ "Social And Personal," *Dominion*, Volume 4, Issue 1115, 1 May 1911, p. 9.

⁸⁴ "Social And Personal," *Dominion*, Volume 4, Issue 1115, 1 May 1911, p. 9.

Emily's older children quickly diverged from labouring work into specialised vocations. Charles Blomfield began his career in Auckland as a house painter. He eventually opened his own business as an interior decorator and advertisement designer, but his passion for art led him to experiment with easel painting. In 1867, Charles and William Blomfield followed their older brother Samuel to the Thames goldfields. Their reason for leaving Auckland appears to have been the economic depression occurring at the time and they hoped the goldfields would prove fruitful. Samuel found plentiful work as a builder for the growing township at Thames, but his younger brothers were not so fortunate with their mining.⁸⁵ Charles returned to Auckland and married Ellen Wild. He also became an active member of the Auckland Baptist church.⁸⁶ Charles was an accomplished musician and choirmaster, and his abilities were so respected that in 1877 he was invited to give a lecture at the Mount Eden Baptist School on the "Science of Music" with a large choir assisting him illustrate his points.⁸⁷

Charles' true passion was for his painting (Figure 59). In Thames he had begun to paint with oil, usually of the town and surrounding country, and he incorporated these paintings into his business in Auckland. From the mid-1870s the popularity of his New Zealand landscape paintings steadily increased. His murals adorned the walls of the Wellesley Street Baptist Church as well as many other church buildings in Auckland.⁸⁸ In 1881 the *New Zealand Herald* described Blomfield as "that promising artist"⁸⁹ and that his scenes had "been faithfully portrayed on canvas."⁹⁰ Charles' excursions into the bush to find subjects for his paintings were not always welcome. He was denied access to Kawhia harbour as the Kingitanga were suspicious of his motives for wanting to visit, not believing that his sketches were only for painting.⁹¹ He expanded his teaching in 1882 to include art, offering lessons in landscape painting with oils.⁹²

⁸⁵ Ian F. Grant, "Blomfield, William," Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 11 October 2021, accessed 24.02.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4b41/blomfield-william>.

⁸⁶ 1874 New Zealand Marriage Record [Database Online]. Surname: Blomfield; Given Name: Charles; Spouse's Name: Ellen Wild; Registration Number: 1874/5926. Accessed 17.05.2024. <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dMarriageSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

⁸⁷ "Turkey And the Christians," *Auckland Star*, Volume VIII, Issue 2301, 31 July 1877, p. 2.

⁸⁸ *Auckland Star*, Volume X, Issue 3055, 4 February 1880, p. 2.

⁸⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVIII, Issue 6123, 2 July 1881, p. 4.

⁹⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVIII, Issue 6123, 2 July 1881, p. 4.

⁹¹ "Miscellaneous," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVIII, Issue 6208, 10 October 1881, p. 3.

⁹² *Auckland Star*, Volume XIII, Issue 3663, 8 May 1882, p. 2.

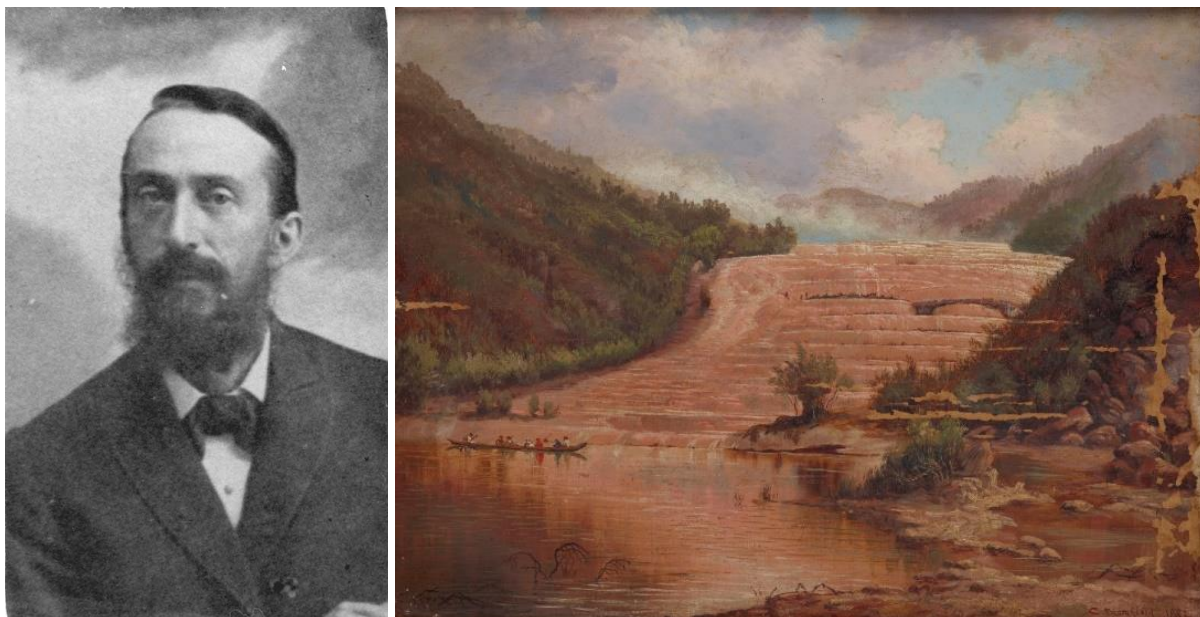


Figure 59: Charles Blomfield, the decorator who went on to become New Zealand's most recognised landscape painters. Photograph, *Charles Blomfield*, "Blomfield, Charles: Biography," accessed 21.07.2024. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b28/blomfield-charles>; One of Blomfield's paintings of the Pink Terrace, *Painting, Pink Terraces, 1882*, by Charles Blomfield, Oil on Canvas, "Te Papa Collection," 1960-0003-1, accessed 21.07.2024. <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/38494>

As Charles Blomfield became more well-known, he began exhibiting pieces further abroad, including art galleries in Australia and Britain. However, with popularity came value and with added value came risk. A cache of his paintings was stolen in transit to London in 1884. They were to be exhibited at the International Exhibition that year and were considered an enormous loss for Blomfield financially, and for New Zealand culturally.⁹³ The depictions of the Pink and White Terraces that Blomfield had become famous for were highly sought after, especially after the destruction of the terraces in 1886 during the eruption of Tarawera.⁹⁴ Charles had a desire to protect the landscapes he observed. He advocated for the protection of native species and the removal of foreign species from public places stating that the foreign species "jar on the tastes of the traveller, and compleeely [sic] destroys New Zealand's national characteristics."⁹⁵ Paintings by Blomfield remained popular through to the turn of the century when his style gradually went out of favour. In the latter years of his life he complained of mistreatment by the art societies in Auckland, who he said either did not display his works correctly as intentional sabotage or refused to exhibit altogether.⁹⁶

⁹³ *The Bay of Plenty Times and Thames Valley Warden*, Volume XIII, Issue 1696, 10 June 1884, p. 2.

⁹⁴ "Our London Letter," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIII, Issue 7747, 20 September 1886, p. 6.

⁹⁵ "Local And General," *Te Aroha News*, Volume XXVII, Issue 14584, 1 October 1910, p. 2.

⁹⁶ "The Art Society," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXII, Issue 19127, 19 September 1925, p. 9.



Figure 60: The Pulpit of the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle. Visible above the door are the words ‘Praise Ye Oh Lord,’ painted by Charles Blomfield with the aid of his brother Samuel. The work is now lost behind the pipe organ installed in 1913. Photograph, *The Baptist Tabernacle Pulpit*, “Baptist Tabernacle,” Karangahape Road, accessed 21.07.2024 <https://www.karangahaperoad.com/baptist-tabernacle>

Blomfield aided in the building of the Baptist Tabernacle in 1885, painting numerous works directly onto the walls and a Bible verse in large script behind the pulpit (Figure 60). The Tabernacle offers one of the only signs that Blomfield remained in contact with another Albertlander. Theophilus Cooper Jnr, the lawyer who defended Robert Cashmore, was another member of the Baptist church and attended services at the Tabernacle. Both men were members of the local Band of Hope, a temperance society, and were active in its youth programmes. Despite this connection it is unclear how much interaction the two men had during their time as part of the church.⁹⁷ Upon his death, Blomfield was remembered as a veteran artist and upholder of traditional landscape painting—as well as for his service to the Baptist community. The Albertland scheme was not mentioned in his obituary, though the ship he travelled on, the *Gertrude*, was mentioned.⁹⁸

These families represent a cross section of the Albertlanders who chose to remain in Auckland. While they have different dynamics and chose different vocations, they were all relatively successful in their endeavours. For many, success came in finding an appropriate place to settle. These Albertlanders were not suited for a rural setting, they did not have the

⁹⁷ *Auckland Star*, Volume XVIII, Issue 209, 7 September 1887, p. 4.

⁹⁸ “Veteran Artist Dead,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXIII, Issue 19277, 16 March 1926, p. 10.

necessary skills or manpower to clear the land and establish a farm. However, in an urban setting like Auckland they were able to ingratiate themselves into various aspects of the community including churches, fraternal societies, public and private businesses, and sports associations. Their intergenerational businesses show that the foundations they built were not solely for the first generation but were also for the benefit of future generations.

Beyond the Boundaries: Those Who Settled Elsewhere

Despite the inviting prospects in Auckland many Albertlanders who abandoned the scheme chose to settle elsewhere. Many happened to settle in rural communities and had skills and knowledge that could prove useful in fledgling settlements. The question then arises, why choose to settle elsewhere rather than at the Albertland settlement? Similarly, why would the Albertlanders who settled in Auckland choose to move to other urban areas? Clearly there were opportunities worth the effort of relocating yet again, and for some these opportunities involved retraining. The motivations of this group of Albertlanders for taking part in the scheme may have differed greatly from their compatriots who settled in Albertland or remained in Auckland. Two Albertland families, the Alexander and Tanfeild families, illustrate the diversity of this group.

The Alexander family of Midlothian, Scotland chose to settle beyond Auckland, establishing a farm at Clevedon (Figure 61). Upon arrival, Andrew Alexander continued his trade; he had been a blacksmith in Scotland and initially went to Drury to make horseshoes for the Waikato War.⁹⁹ Clevedon was a sparsely populated farming community, but the family chose to settle there at the behest of a settler named James Bell. Bell wanted the family to settle there as they did not have a blacksmith, and he lent them £100 to purchase land and build a smithy on the condition that Alexander continue his trade.¹⁰⁰ Despite moving to a rural area and facing hardships the Alexander family's experience was different to those at Albertland; their section was already cleared and they were able to work the land immediately.

⁹⁹ Jessie Munro, *Voices of Belonging: A History of Clevedon-Te Wairoa Vol. 1* (Auckland: Steele Roberts Aotearoa Ltd, 2016), p. 194.

¹⁰⁰ Jessie Munro, "Early Clevedon Families: The Bells," *Clevedon Roundup*, Issue no. 394, p. 6.



Figure 61: The Alexander family outside their home in Clevedon, built c. 1886. Andrew Alexander stands to the far left in his blacksmiths apron, his wife Margeret is seated to the right, and their daughters Ann and Euphemia stand in the centre. Photograph, Alexander family outside 54 Papakura-Clevedon Road date unknown, Clevedon Heritage Report, accessed 21.07.2024. <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/council/documents/districtplanmanukau/changes/7Heritage.pdf>

Andrew Alexander did not forget the allotment of land he was owed by the government for taking part in the 40-acre scheme as an Albertlander. As late as 1911, almost 50 years after the family arrived, Alexander believed that while he never took up an allotment in Albertland he was still entitled to the land as he had remained in the province for five years. He was given a scrip for his land in 1863 and applied for the official grant in 1865. He also purchased land in the Maretu block, paying an additional £3 10s.¹⁰¹ The land he was entitled to was disposed of in the decades following the Albertlanders arrival, so he petitioned the government to be compensated for the loss. He petitioned for the value of the land on the scrip and forfeited claim to its appreciated value, a total of £53 10s.¹⁰² The claim had to be carefully considered, even the Prime Minister was involved, but ultimately the Lands Committee recommended he be compensated for the loss.¹⁰³ Andrew Alexander died in 1914 at the age of 82, after 50 years of residence in Clevedon.¹⁰⁴ Alexander took part in the scheme with no great interest in settling in Albertland. It seems that his main motivation was using

¹⁰¹ "When Land Was Cheap," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLVIII, Issue 14749, 3 August 1911, p. 7.

¹⁰² "Political Notes," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLVIII, Issue 147685, 2 September 1911, p. 8.

¹⁰³ "Political Notes," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLVIII, Issue 147685, 2 September 1911, p. 8;

"Parliamentary Gossip," *Auckland Star*, Volume XLII, Issue 209, 2 September 1911, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ "Deaths," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LI, Issue 15555, 12 March 1914, p. 1.

the value of the allotment to enable his settlement elsewhere if he chose. However, it cannot be said for certain whether he would never have gone to Albertland.

The settlers who remained in one location for an extended period found it easier to ingratiate themselves into their communities. However, there are examples of settlers finding positions of influence in their communities quickly. Samuel Tanfield fulfilled both elements. He initially settled in Auckland but moved south to Hamilton becoming a well-known member of the community. Less than a decade later he returned to Auckland. Tanfield, a lace and hosiery merchant from Yorkshire, emigrated alone aboard the *William Miles*. In 1864 he married Mary Holmes, and there is also mention of him at a soiree in the Freemans Bay Methodist Chapel in 1866.¹⁰⁵ Within three years the couple had two daughters, Annie and Ellen. In 1867 Tanfield acquired his crown grant, having resided on the same section for a period of five years.¹⁰⁶ However, this section was most likely in Freemans Bay, not Albertland, as he was present at another Methodist Chapel meeting in Freemans Bay in 1868.¹⁰⁷

The family left Freemans Bay for Hamilton in late 1868. The Reverend of the Freemans Bay Methodist Chapel gave a farewell address and stated “Mr. Tanfield had been a very active member in their congregation, and his departure for the bush would be a source of deep regret to them all.”¹⁰⁸ Tanfield had accepted the position of postmaster in Hamilton, although he began his tenure in the winter months and there were complaints that the mail was being delivered later and later as he struggled to make his way through the rain.¹⁰⁹ The role of postmaster was seen as essential to the success of businesses in the district; having the trust of the community, Tanfield was further entrusted with other civil duties such as auditor for the Hamilton Road Board.¹¹⁰

In Hamilton, Tanfield joined similar groups to those he associated with in Auckland. He became a recognised personality in the Hamilton Wesleyan Chapel, and he was noted as

¹⁰⁵ 1864 New Zealand Marriage Record [Database Online]. Surname: Tanfield; Given Name: Samuel; Spouse's Name: Mary Holmes; Registration Number: 1864/4671, accessed 19.06.2024. <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dMarriageSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>; “All May Prepare Flax,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXII, Issue 2719, 4 April 1866, p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIII, Issue 3007, 15 March 1867, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ “Sheridan Street Primitive Methodist Chapel,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3293, 5 February 1868, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3358, 21 April 1868, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ “Hamilton,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume V, Issue 1449, 10 July 1868, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ “Highway Districts,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4098, 8 October 1870, p. 2.

the chairman for many meetings. He took over leadership of the Wesleyan Sunday School, dismayed at its lack of funding from the congregation. He was elected to the Hamilton School Board but resigned immediately as he had not asked not to be nominated.¹¹¹ However, he maintained the tutelage of the Wesleyan Church and Sunday School choirs.¹¹² Tanfield spoke at the chapel on several occasions, usually regarding prohibition. He supported the UKA, arguing that their prohibition stance should become law in New Zealand.¹¹³ He was a founding member of the Hamilton “Anti-Shouting” Society in 1870. This society aimed to ban “the prevailing custom of ‘shouting,’ or treating at public-houses,”¹¹⁴ but the society was not successful in its mission.

Tanfield’s professional career changed drastically when he returned to Auckland from Hamilton, with a brief year-long stay in Ngāruwāhia. While in Ngāruwāhia he worked as the local telegraphist; in this role, he made possible New Zealand’s first intertown chess tournament via telegraph.¹¹⁵ In Auckland Tanfield went into business as a proprietor of “general merchandise, including crockery and glassware.”¹¹⁶ He partnered with T. F. Boylan, who had already established a crockery business, and the name “Tanfield, Boylan, & Co.” became synonymous with quality in the minds of Aucklanders (Figure 62). A display of their wares at the 1882 Auckland Art Exhibition was described as “the most magnificent collection ever witnessed in Auckland.”¹¹⁷ The business supplied to private households and public institutions such as the Auckland Hospital; though they were one of many glassware suppliers on Queen Street, they became the most notable.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ “Hamilton,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VIII, Issue 2152, 17 December 1870, p. 3; *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4497, 24 January 1872, p. 4.

¹¹² “Hamilton: Anniversary of The Wesleyan Church,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4529, 1 March 1872, p. 3.

¹¹³ “Meetings And Amusements,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3803, 27 October 1869, p. 7.

¹¹⁴ “Hamilton Anti-Shouting Society. (From An Anti-Shouting Correspondent) June 14,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4002, 20 June 1870, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ “Chess Match,” *Waikato Times*, Volume I, Issue 75, 22 October 1872, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Rowland Potter, “Tanfield, Potter; A Brief History of the Well-Known Auckland Business,” in *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal* (1997) No. 70, p. 16.

¹¹⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XIX, Issue 6382, 2 May 1882, p. 4.

¹¹⁸ Potter, “Tanfield, Potter,” p. 16.



Figure 62: The Retail show room of Tanfield, Potter & Co., c. 1895, shortly before Tanfield sold his share of the business and retire. Image, *Tanfield, Potter & Co.*, “Advertisements,” *Observer*, Christmas Number, 9 December 1895, p. 40.

Boylan’s share in the business was bought out by an employee, E. H. Potter, in 1890, and the firm became ‘Tanfield, Potter.’ Tanfield sold his share of the business five years later, retiring to Devonport where he died in 1900. His obituary was shorter than expected, especially as his connections to church and temperance communities were frequently mentioned in newspapers—it simply named him a “well-known citizen.”¹¹⁹

War and Militia: Military Service

Many Albertlanders who did not venture to the settlement did so because they were pressganged into militias for service in the Waikato War. One such settler, Edmund Archer, was awarded the New Zealand War Medal; upon his death in 1917, his service was noted in the *Evening Post*.¹²⁰ However, it may not have been the militia service that caused Archer to abandon the Albertland scheme. His death registration gives his occupation as a

¹¹⁹ “Friday, September 28, 1900,” *Waikato Argus*, Volume IX, Issue 766, 28 September 1900, p. 2.

¹²⁰ *Evening Post*, Volume XCIV, Issue 56, 4 September 1917, p. 7.

bookbinder.¹²¹ An obituary corroborates this: “he abandoned his intention of going to the country, and stayed in the city in order to assist the military authorities...he followed the occupation of a bookbinder.”¹²² Such a profession was unneeded in the early days of the settlement, and this may be why he chose to remain in Auckland.

Other veterans amongst the Albertlanders were brothers Robert and James Armiger, who maintained some ties with Albertland (Figure 63). It is not clear where Robert served after arriving in New Zealand, an article celebrating his 90th birthday simply states that he was a veteran of the New Zealand Wars.¹²³ Robert was a sawyer in Britain, and upon the end of his service, he worked for the Kauri Timber Company of Auckland. Unlike his brother who moved further south, Robert spent time near the Albertland settlement at Te Kōpuru and married another Albertlander, Sarah Spickernell, who he met on board the *William Miles*. She was another settler who chose to remain in Auckland, rather than venture to the settlement.¹²⁴

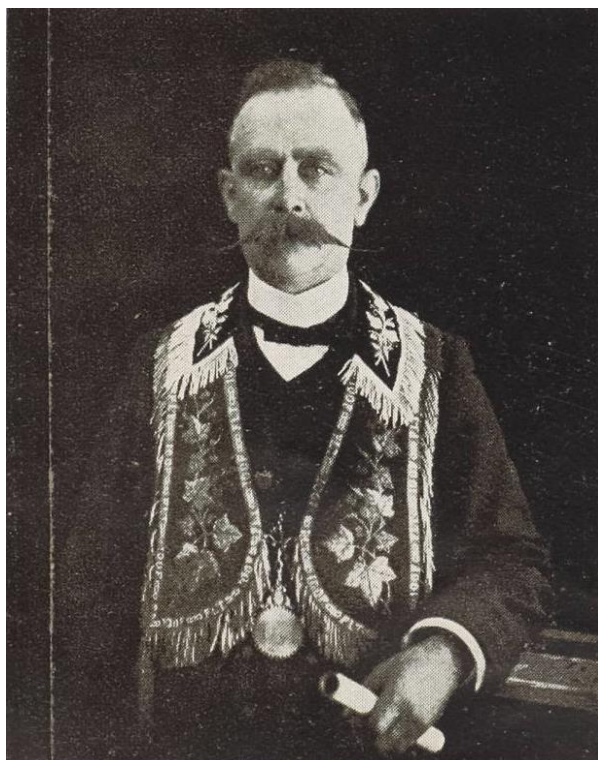


Figure 63: Robert Armiger, photographed in his capacity as Grandmaster of the Independent Order of Oddfellows of New Zealand for a Grand Lodge Meeting c.1909. Photograph, *Robert Armiger*, *The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies Journal*, Volume XLII, Issue 17, 28 April 1909, p.30. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/new-zealand-graphic/1909/04/28/30>

¹²¹ Copy of Death Registration for Edmund Archer, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

¹²² “Death Of Old Colonist,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LIV, Issue 16633, 1 September 1917, p. 8.

¹²³ “Ninety Years of Age,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXIII, Issue 19444, 28 September 1926, p. 12.

¹²⁴ “Golden Wedding,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LII, Issue 15910, 6 May 1915, p. 1.

Sarah Spickernell travelled as a single woman and may have never intended to travel north, where she would have been left to clear her land and make a living alone.¹²⁵ The couple ventured to Thames during the goldrush before returning to Auckland.¹²⁶ The Albertlanders who made their way to the settlement found it necessary to establish societies and groups to build a cohesive community. Robert Armiger found Auckland already had many such groups. However, he still worked actively to gain a foothold in Auckland for the Independent Order of Oddfellows, establishing more than one lodge in Auckland and the surrounding districts, as well as serving as the order's Grandmaster for a time.¹²⁷

James Armiger served with the Auckland Volunteers in the Waikato War and in 1910, during the visit of Lord Kitchener to New Zealand, he took part in the veteran's parade.¹²⁸ James' activities after his service are unclear. However, an article about his life published in the *Timaru Herald* sheds light on his movements. He moved from Auckland to Timaru and worked in construction, helping build the first Bank of New Zealand in the township along with the first brick house. He returned to Britain for a time on one of the later Albertlander ships, the *Annie Wilson*.¹²⁹ Once back in New Zealand he settled in Christchurch and began a dye and cloth business producing flags.¹³⁰ He invented a new durable material for flags which he named "buntintine," and his offer of a large flag in this material to the city for use in Jubilee celebrations in 1900 was accepted.¹³¹ Unlike other veterans, James Armiger's obituary does not mention his militia service at all. This is a contrast to his brother Robert, who received an obituary accompanied by a portrait. The comment below the portrait stated that Robert was "a veteran of the Maori War and a prominent Oddfellow."¹³²

All that Glitters: Allure of the Thames Goldfields

The Albertlander ships arrived in New Zealand only a few years before the gold rushes of the late 1860s. The allure of gold proved too tempting for some Albertlanders to resist; a group

¹²⁵ "Ships and Migrants Database," Albertland & Districts Museum, accessed 08.07.2024. <https://albertlandmuseum.co.nz/ships-migrants-search/>

¹²⁶ "Obituary," *Auckland Star*, Volume LV, Issue 262, 4 November 1924, p. 7.

¹²⁷ "Friendly Societies," *Timaru Herald*, Volume XIIC, Issue 13858, 20 March 1909, p. 3.

¹²⁸ "Lord Kitchener," *Star (Christchurch)*, Issue 9781, 23 February 1910, p. 4.

¹²⁹ "Town & Country," *Timaru Herald*, Volume XCVIII, Issue 15179, 24 October 1913, p. 6.

¹³⁰ "Advertisements," *Press*, Volume LVII, Issue 10812, 13 November 1900, p. 4.

¹³¹ "Jubilee Exhibition," *Lyttelton Times*, Volume CIV, Issue 12322, 12 October 1900, p. 6.

¹³² "Old Colonist Dies," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXV, Issue 20063, 28 September 1928, p. 10.

made their way to Thames in search of gold and the financial opportunities that a gold rush could provide. However, their outcomes were mixed and not all left satisfied.

Though some settlers proved moderately successful in their digs and investments, others met with tragic results. John Baxter arrived in Auckland with his wife and two sons. They made their way to Thames where Baxter was employed by the Golden Crown Mining Company as their Head Engineer. He remained in this role until a fatal accident, which was described as “the first accident that has happened in connection with the Golden Crown Company’s works, and which has surpassed, in the horror of its details, not only any occurrence on the goldfield, but even in the province.”¹³³ Baxter worked alone on a 12-hour shift caring for the mines pumping machinery. On 31 October 1869 he was seen going to work at 6pm but by 8:30pm was found to have been caught in the machine and crushed to death. An inquiry into his death was immediately held, the cause of death thought to be that he was struck in the head accidentally by part of the machine and subsequently fell into its gears.

The announcement of his death stated that the event was made even more melancholy in the knowledge that he had recently completed a cottage for his family, which included six children.¹³⁴ Building a cottage seems to signify that Baxter had intended to settle permanently in Thames, rather than stay temporarily like so many on the goldfields. The announcement of his death also called for subscription lists to raise money for his widow and children. Subsequent newspaper articles announced significant sums raised for Agnes Baxter: the Golden Crown Mining Company gave £200, the company’s miners donated £55 10s, and the workmen of the Long Drive goldfield gave £10 2s 6d.¹³⁵

Despite the untimely death of their father, Baxter’s sons rose to prominent positions in Thames and Auckland (Figure 64). The family initially remained in Thames and the eldest son, Robert Baxter, joined the Thames branch of the National Bank of New Zealand in 1876. He was later transferred to the Auckland branch where he took the role of manager. He remained with the bank for 50 years, retiring in 1926. While in Auckland he was an active

¹³³ “Fatal Accident at The Golden Crown Machine,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1809, 1 November 1869, p. 4.

¹³⁴ “Fatal Accident at The Golden Crown Machine,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 1809, 1 November 1869, p. 4.

¹³⁵ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3841, 13 December 1869, p. 3; *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3819, 15 November 1869, p. 3.

member of the Takapuna Jockey Club and West End Rowing Club.¹³⁶ The younger son, Thomas Nimmo Baxter, worked as a telegraphist for over two decades. His work saw him posted to different parts of the country, from Thames to as far south as Blenheim.¹³⁷ However, he changed profession in the 1890s when he began studying law. He passed his examinations and was made a barrister and solicitor in the Supreme Court in 1895.¹³⁸ His new career saw him establish his own law firm, Baxter and Shrewsbury, and he served as President of the Auckland Law Society.¹³⁹ His death was a notable event in Auckland. Its announcement in the *New Zealand Herald* was accompanied by a portrait and the comment “Mr. Thomas N. Baxter, of Remuera, well-known in Auckland legal circles, whose death has occurred.”¹⁴⁰

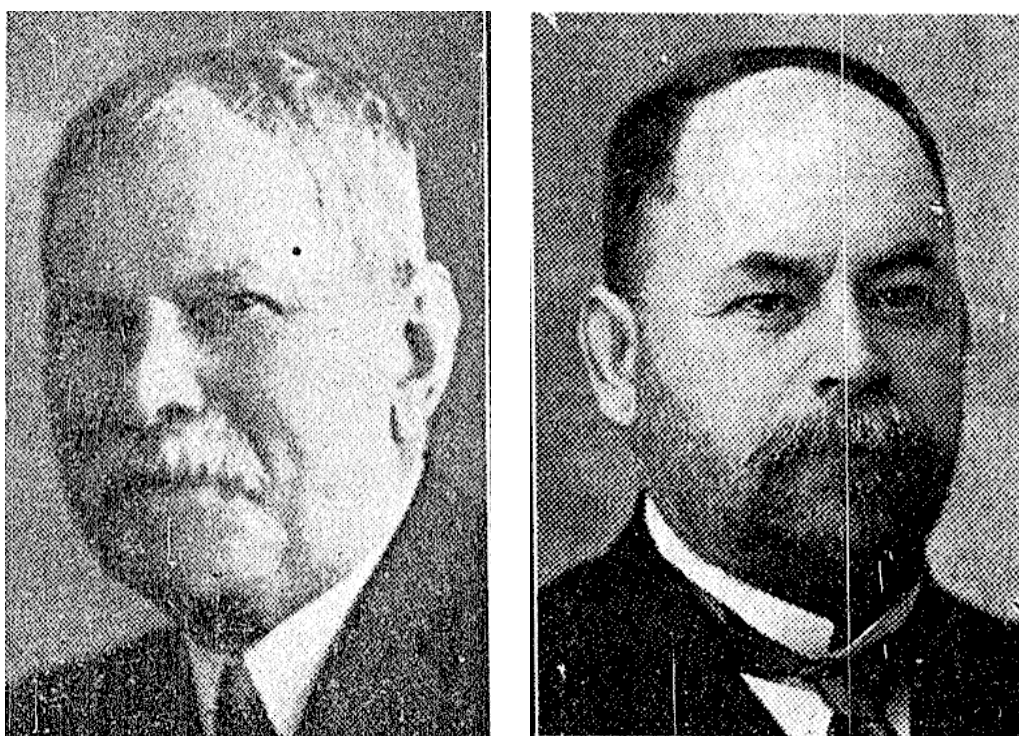


Figure 64: Brothers Robert and Thomas Baxter. Despite the early loss of their father in a freak machine accident, the brothers rose to prominent positions in their communities. Both were well-known enough that they had portraits inserted with their obituaries in 1928 and 1933. Photograph, *Robert Baxter*, *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXV, Issue 20017, 6 August 1928; Photograph, *Thomas Baxter*, *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXX, Issue 21684, 27 December 1933, p. 6.

Not all the Albertlanders who travelled to Thames went with the intention of mining for gold. Many established businesses intended to cater to the local community that had expanded after the discovery of gold. George and Martha Meachem moved their family to

¹³⁶ “Obituary,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LIX, Issue 184, 6 August 1928, p. 3.

¹³⁷ “Obituary,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LXIV, Issue 304, 26 December 1933, p. 3.

¹³⁸ “Personal Items,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXII, Issue 9867, 9 July 1895, p. 6.

¹³⁹ “Advertisements,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LIII, Issue 16219, 3 May 1916, p. 12.

¹⁴⁰ “Well-Known Aucklander,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXX, Issue 21684, 27 December 1933, p. 6.

Thames during the gold rush, establishing themselves as undertakers. However, gold was still an inevitable part of their lives; George was a founding shareholder of the Vesuvius Gold Mining Company with £600 worth of shares.¹⁴¹ Despite their work as undertakers being lucrative, George twice appeared in articles claiming the unfair practices of other undertakers had harmed his patronage. In 1876 he and other Thames undertakers, wrote a joint letter claiming that a new undertaker had falsely claimed to have the lowest prices in the township, and two years after that he wrote a letter to the local newspaper demanding to know why the local friendly societies had not chosen him as their purveyor of funeral services.¹⁴²

The Meacham family were members of the Thames Wesleyan Church; their son George Jnr was an active participant in the church, being elected the secretary for the church school in 1877.¹⁴³ Like his father, George had an interest in mining and bought shares in mining companies, spending £68 on shares in two different companies in 1880.¹⁴⁴ The family eventually returned to Auckland where George Snr died in 1889.¹⁴⁵ George Jnr appears to have continued his father's undertaker business, as a George Meachem of Auckland is advertised in the *Observer* three years after George Snr died.¹⁴⁶ George Jnr and his younger brother Samuel had some similarities, although not much is known about Samuel. Both were members of fraternal societies: George was a Freemason while in Thames; and Samuel, after moving to Hamilton, was a Good Templar.¹⁴⁷ Samuel was a musician and conducted the Thames Wesleyan Church and Sunday School choirs. After moving to Hamilton, he became leader of the Hamilton Wesleyan Church Choir and partook in concerts as a string player.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ "Advertisements," *Thames Advertiser*, Volume VIII, Issue 2144, 10 September 1875, p. 2.

¹⁴² "Advertisements," *Thames Advertiser*, Volume IX, Issue 2351, 23 June 1876, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, Volume XI, Issue 2866, 25 February 1878, p. 2.

¹⁴³ "Wesleyan Soiree," *Thames Advertiser*, Volume X, Issue 2748, 10 October 1877, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ "Advertisements," *Thames Advertiser*, Volume XIII, Issue 3545, 23 February 1880, p. 2; "Advertisements," *Auckland Star*, Volume XI, Issue 3147, 18 August 1880, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ "Death," *Thames Star*, Volume XXI, Issue 6443, 5 December 1889, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ "Advertisements," *Observer*, Volume XI, Issue 703, 18 June 1892, p. 16.

¹⁴⁷ "Te Aroha," *Thames Star*, Volume XI, Issue 3708, 12 November 1880, p. 2; "Female Rechabite Anniversary Soiree," *Thames Advertiser*, Volume XI, Issue 2988, 31 July 1878, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ "Tuesday, August 13, 1881," *Waikato Times*, Volume XVII, Issue 1426, 23 August 1881, p. 2. "Hamilton Orchestral Society," *Waikato Argus*, Volume XXXI, Issue 4761, 21 July 1911, p. 3.

Monopolies: Henry Brett and New Zealand Media

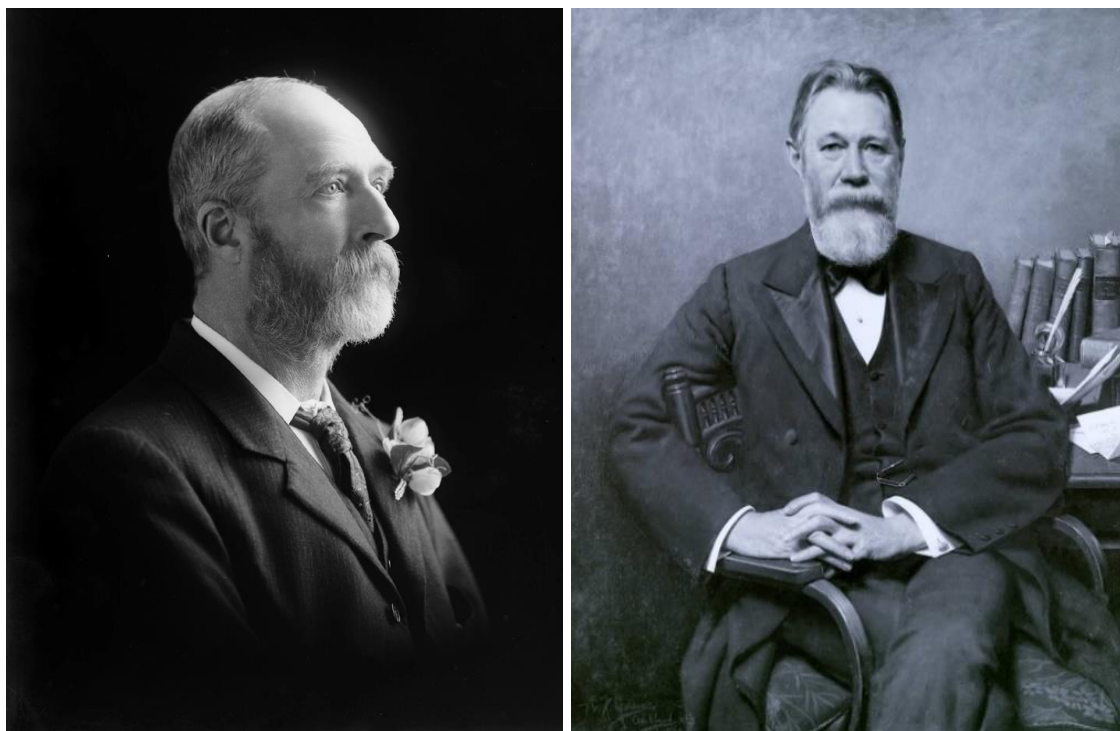


Figure 65: Sir Henry Brett c. 1910, photographed by well-known Auckland photographer Hermann John Schmidt. Photograph, Henry Brett, Auckland Libraries Heritage Images Collection, Auckland Libraries, Auckland; Image, Thomson Wilson Leys by C. F. Goldie c.1905, 1285-10016, Auckland Libraries Heritage Images Collection, Auckland Libraries, Auckland.

Henry Brett and Thomson Wilson Leys represent a wholly different kind of businessman when compared to their fellow Albertlanders (Figure 65). They established themselves as journalists, and by the end of their careers were two of New Zealand's most well-known newspaper and media magnates. Brett had been introduced to newspapers and publishing before his departure from Britain. When he arrived in New Zealand, he did not even make it off the ship before he found himself employed—the owner of the *Daily Southern Cross* came aboard the *Hanover* and hired him as a reporter. Brett encapsulates the idea that many of the Albertlanders were not suited to life in the settlement but instead had skills and experiences that were easily used in Auckland. That the owner of the *Daily Southern Cross* sought a reporter amongst the Albertlanders shows that Auckland had a need for new settlers who could fill gaps in experience and trade. Brett built a formidable reputation as a reporter; he rowed himself out to ships to be the first to receive international news. He remained with the paper for three years before moving to the *New Zealand Herald*.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ Brett, “‘Brett, Henry’ Dictionary.”

By 1870 Brett had enough money to buy a share of the *Evening Star*, purchasing his share and remaining with the *Herald* until December the following year, beginning 50 years of newspaper ownership.¹⁵⁰ Brett did not have large political aspirations, although he served as Chairman of the Parnell District Board and the Auckland Industrial Building Society, and served as a Justice of the Peace more than once. He was elected as an Auckland City Councillor and later was elected Mayor for a one-year term, his first nomination for the mayoralty came in 1877.¹⁵¹ The nominations were not accepted without issue as Brett's position as the Council's advertiser was seen as a conflict of interest.¹⁵² Despite these appointments he showed little interest in maintaining civic authority and never actively sought re-election. He turned down the chairmanship of the Municipal Conference in Wellington as he felt the chairman should reside in Wellington.¹⁵³

Brett announced in 1880 that he was starting a new weekly illustrated newspaper and the feeling in Auckland was that "if anyone can make a paper of that sort pay in Auckland, Henry is the man."¹⁵⁴ However, Brett's continued success and the fast growth of his businesses meant he required support in his endeavours. In 1876 he bought out the other shareholders in the *Evening Star*, becoming sole owner, and appointed Thomson Wilson Leys as editor. Four years later he advertised a 50 percent share of the businesses for £15,000, although the sale never occurred. He and Leys ran the paper together for more than 40 years.¹⁵⁵

Brett bought *Te Aroha News* in 1883 and continued to expand the number of newspapers he owned across the country by purchasing magazines such as *The New Zealand Farmer and Bee* and *Poultry Journal*. His success in the field brought him into contact with leading political figures such as Sir George Grey, for whom he acted as publisher.¹⁵⁶ Long after Grey's retirement and return to Britain, Brett and Leys still sent enquiries to him to get first-hand accounts of London society and news. They usually sent an associate, such as Wilfred Rathbone, who called on him in 1896.¹⁵⁷ Not all were happy with Brett's work, and he was once taken to court for an alleged assault against an author, Edwin Harrow, who chose

¹⁵⁰ "Shipping," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume VIII, Issue 2463, 16 December 1871, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ "Telegraphic," *Colonist*, Volume XX, Issue 2312, 20 November 1877, p. 3.

¹⁵² "Telegrams," *Star (Christchurch)*, Issue 3006, 20 November 1877, p. 2.

¹⁵³ "Parliamentary," *Bay of Plenty Times*, Volume VI, Issue 612, 31 July 1878, p. 3.

¹⁵⁴ *Thames Star*, Volume XI, Issue 3604, 15 July 1880, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ "Miscellaneous News," *Poverty Bay Herald*, Volume VII, Issue 1171, 13 November 1880, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ "Wellington Notes," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXVI, Issue 5473, 3 February 1885, p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ "Arrival of the Alameda with The English Mail (Via San Francisco)," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXVII, Issue 143, 19 June 1896, p. 5.

not to publish his book with Brett's company. Brett allegedly struck him in Queen Street, but the case was dismissed; the tensions between the two men appear to have been regarding more than a book's publication.¹⁵⁸



Figure 66: Henry Brett's large Takapuna estate, Te Kiteroa, overlooking Lake Pupuke. The immense stately home hosted gatherings and parties of political elites and, at the end of every year, the Brett Publishing Company's annual picnic. Photograph, *Te Kiteroa, Killarney Street, Takapuna*, T6124, Takapuna Collection, Auckland Libraries Heritage Images Collection, Auckland Libraries, Auckland.

Brett's wealth meant he was able to build a large home on Auckland's North Shore and have extensive holidays, including to Europe to visit the Paris Exhibition (Figure 66).¹⁵⁹ His 1889 visit to London did not go unnoticed and was reported in the *London Star*. He was described as "one of the pioneers of journalism in the Antipodes," and his fast rise through professional and political circles was noted, as were his refusals to stand for parliament or accept any honours.¹⁶⁰ The weekly journal *New Zealand Graphic* was lauded in British papers as "an amazingly well got up and high-toned paper to flourish in such a comparatively limited community."¹⁶¹ With his financial capital Brett continued to purchase other papers, including rivals. The *New Zealand Mail*, a rival paper, queried in 1893 whether Brett would ever stop his expansion or if he would continue until he had an absolute monopoly.¹⁶² Further complaints about Brett were made in other spheres. He helped establish the Auckland Choral Society and while there was a committee, members, and subscribers, they had "just as much

¹⁵⁸ "Alleged Assault," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 8560, 7 May 1891, p. 6.

¹⁵⁹ "Personal," *Observer*, Volume 9, Issue 535, 23 March 1889, p. 10.

¹⁶⁰ "Mr H. Brett in London," *Wanganui Herald*, Volume XXIII, Issue 6877, 10 August 1889, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ "Arrival of the Mariposa with the English Mail," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXIII, Issue 215, 9 September 1892, p. 3.

¹⁶² "Here And There," *New Zealand Mail*, Issue 1108, 26 May 1893, p. 12.

say in the working of the Society as they have in management of the *Auckland Star*.”¹⁶³ However, this situation may have brought out the philanthropist in Brett who donated a pipe organ, worth £786, to the Choral Hall in 1900.¹⁶⁴ Brett continued to be appointed to prestigious positions, including as a commissioner for the royal visit of 1901.¹⁶⁵



Figure 67: The Australian and New Zealand delegates at the Imperial Press Conference, London, in 1909. Henry Brett is standing in the centre front row with a flower in his lapel, an attribute that is present in many portraits and photographs of him. Photograph, Imperial Press Conference, NZG-19090616-0028-01, NZ Graphic Collection, Auckland Libraries, Auckland.

There is a methodological issue when using newspapers to discuss Henry Brett. Newspapers he owned were hardly going to speak of their director in a negative light. When Brett travelled to the Imperial Press Conference in Britain in 1909 the *Auckland Star* was full of commendations for him: “we [the author] express our heartfelt feelings of respect and esteem.” (Figure 67).¹⁶⁶ The *Observer* was not as kind to its rival’s owner. Upon Brett’s appointment as commissioner for the royal visit the paper facetiously asked, “When are Lords Henry Brett... going to take their seats in the Legislative Council?”¹⁶⁷ During the Imperial Press Conference the *Observer* began their reports with the statement “Specially written for the OBSERVER by the Only Genuine New Zealand Editor attending the Conference. All

¹⁶³ “Music or Monopoly? An Industrial Anomaly,” *Observer*, Volume XX, Issue 118, 2 June 1900, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ “General Telegrams,” *Evening Post*, Volume LX, Issue 81, 3 October 1900, p. 5.

¹⁶⁵ “The Royal Tour,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVIII, Issue 11645, 6 May 1901, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ “Imperial Press Conference,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XL, Issue 75, 29 March 1909, p. 5.

¹⁶⁷ “Things the Observer Would Like to Know,” *Observer*, Volume XXI, Issue 1175, 6 July 1901, p. 20.

other reports – especially Henry Brett’s – are spurious imitations.”¹⁶⁸ They also targeted the *New Zealand Herald*, asking “How the ‘Herald’ came to notice the Henry Brett reception at all?”¹⁶⁹ regarding a dinner held for Brett by the Choral Society.

Brett’s son Harry worked as the secretary of the Brett Publishing Company and in the commercial department of the *Auckland Star*. This was like other Albertlanders who had owned businesses in Auckland; their children had played a part in the operation and then had inherited the business. It is possible that Harry Brett was being prepped to take his father’s role in the papers. However, Harry predeceased his father by 10 years.¹⁷⁰ Henry Brett’s death in 1927 was just one year after being bestowed a knighthood in recognition of his services to journalism and the city of Auckland (Figure 68).¹⁷¹ Brett was a staunch Anglican his entire life; in his honour the “Marche Funebre” by Chopin was played at St. Mary’s Anglican Cathedral upon his passing.¹⁷² Despite his adherence to the Anglican Church he bequeathed large amounts of money to various non-Anglican church bodies, including Presbyterian and Catholic charities, the Salvation Army, and Methodist orphanages.¹⁷³



Figure 68: The funeral of Sir Henry Brett, Feb 1927. Brett died before the publishing of his pivotal work on the Albertlanders. His funeral was held at Te Kiteroa and was attended by family, his colleagues from the press, and political elites. Photograph, *Funeral of Sir Henry Brett*, AWNS-19270210-44-02, Auckland Weekly News Collection, Auckland Libraries, Auckland.

Thomson Wilson Leys was Brett’s business associate for decades. He, too, contributed to Auckland society, especially the arts. Leys was born in Nottingham and was

¹⁶⁸ “Shots From Sholto,” *Observer*, Volume XXIX, Issue 43, 10 July 1909, p. 18.

¹⁶⁹ “Things The Observer Would Like to Know,” *Observer*, Volume XXX, Issue 24, 26 February 1910, p. 11.

¹⁷⁰ “Death of Mr h. L Brett,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XLVIII, Issue 11, 12 January 1917, p. 4.

¹⁷¹ “Sir Henry Brett,” *Northern Advocate*, 2 January 1926, p. 4; “Deaths,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LVIII, Issue 25, 31 January 1927, p. 1.

¹⁷² “Expressions Of Sympathy,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LVIII, Issue 25, 31 January 1927, p. 8.

¹⁷³ “Estate Of Sir Henry Brett,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LVIII, Issue 81, 6 April 1927, p. 7.

only 13 years old when he arrived in the colony. He began his career working for Julius Vogel and at the age of 25 he wrote the Auckland section of Vogel's *Official Handbook of New Zealand*.¹⁷⁴ A year later Leys was hired by the *Auckland Star* as its new editor. Hints as to Leys political and altruistic leanings can be gleaned in newspapers; he took part in meetings supporting Irish Home Rule and his attendance was considered noteworthy.¹⁷⁵ Leys supported the women's suffrage movement, was a committee member of the Auckland branch of the Women's Franchise League, and an avid supporter of the establishment of a home for the blind in Auckland.¹⁷⁶ Leys was most connected with the Leys Institute, a free public library and learning institution, established with a bequest left by his brother William (Figure 69). Leys personally saw to the building of the Institute and, when finances grew thin, paid half the costs of its establishment. He also purchased a library of 5,000 volumes.¹⁷⁷ The Institute became the home of numerous societies in the Ponsonby area, including the Ponsonby Literary Society which elected Leys a life member.¹⁷⁸

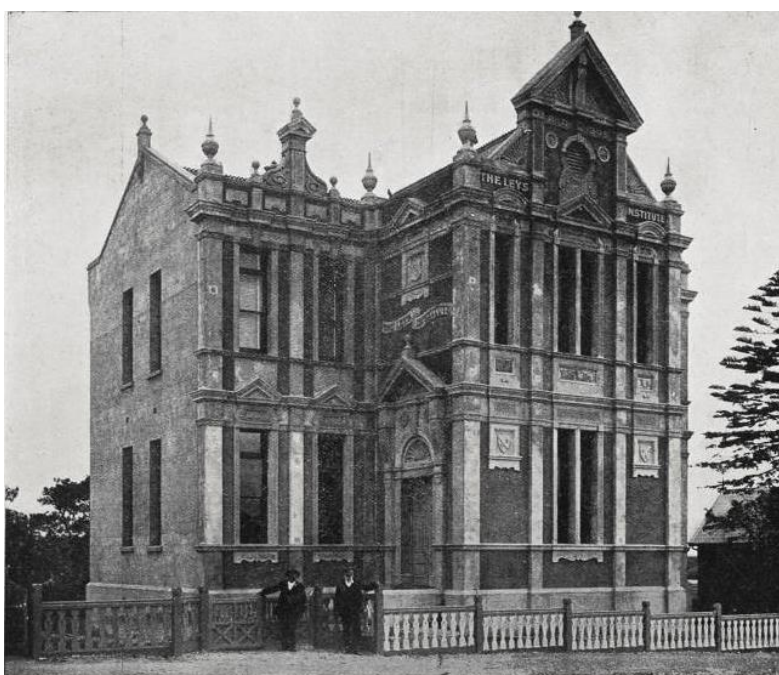


Figure 69: The newly completed and opened Leys Institute. A public library and education centre funded by Thomson Wilson Leys and his brother William. Photograph, *The Leys Institute*, AWNS-19050330-11-05, The Auckland Weekly News Collection, Auckland Libraries, Auckland.

Leys was a member of the Auckland Society of Arts and was in contact with many notable artists, including the highly respected painter C. F. Goldie who painted a portrait of

¹⁷⁴ "The New Zealand Handbook," *Auckland Star*, Volume VI, Issue 1603, 2 April 1875, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ "Home Rule Meeting," *Auckland Star*, Volume XX, Issue 265, 7 November 1889, p. 2.

¹⁷⁶ "Women's Franchise League," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXIV, Issue 133, 7 June 1893, p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ "The Leys Institute," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLII, Issue 12827, 29 March 1905, p. 5.

¹⁷⁸ "Ponsonby Literary Society," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXVI, Issue 93, 19 April 1905, p. 3.

Leys which was exhibited in 1905. Viewers of the painting remarked “it is impossible to mistake the portrait for that of anyone else.”¹⁷⁹ Throughout his life Leys purchased works by notable artists as gifts to the city of Auckland, including some he purchased on trips to Britain.¹⁸⁰ He also funded the purchase of numerous artifacts from throughout the Pacific for various local museums and societies. Leys died after a short illness in 1924; his son Cecil Leys had already taken over the editorship of the *Auckland Star*, and his many obituaries listed his philanthropic acts. The wreaths at his funeral required two motorcars to transport them to the cemetery and the chief mourners were his son Cecil and the Brett family.¹⁸¹

Conclusion: The Nature of Success

The successes of the Albertlanders who settled in Auckland and beyond raises three key questions:

1. Does their success reflect positively or negatively on the scheme and the results the scheme’s organisers had hoped to achieve?
2. Which better measures the success of the Albertland scheme, the success of the settlement or the success of the people?
3. What does their success mean in relation to the notion of the pioneering settler?

The Albertland settlement would not have survived if the settlers who ventured there were not successful. Had they failed to earn a sustainable living the settlement would have been completely abandoned, and association with it would not have evoked a sense of pride in those who remained in Auckland or settled elsewhere. However, if all the Auckland Albertlanders had gone to the settlement, then it may not have been able to separate into the smaller communities that enabled it to survive. For some, their association with Albertland may have been superficial and extended to only being recognised as a passenger on the Albertlander ships. Wanting to be associated with the settlement in retrospect, after decades of no contact, is a significant sign of success for the settlement, especially when significant figures such as Henry Brett advocated so strongly for their history. It had enough of an influence on peoples’ lives for the association to be worthwhile. While the settlers who did

¹⁷⁹ “Auckland Society of Arts,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLII, Issue 12917, 13 July 1905, p. 6.

¹⁸⁰ “Pictures For Art Gallery,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLVII, Issue 14386, 3 June 1910, p. 5.

¹⁸¹ “Late Dr. T. W. Leys,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LV, Issue 230, 29 September 1924, p. 8.

stay in Albertland were met with varying levels of success in their enterprises, those who did not go, especially the Auckland Albertlanders, were largely successful in their businesses, employment, and establishing multigenerational family enterprises. They were successful settlers regardless of where they chose to settle, and this reflected positively on the Albertland scheme.

A non-conformist influence remained even when the settlers abandoned the scheme. Many joined local chapels or churches, some similar in size to the rural chapels at Albertland and others more grandiose, such as the Baptist Tabernacle in Auckland. The adherence to their religious beliefs makes clear it was not a disagreement with the scheme's religious nature that caused them to forgo the settlement. The non-conformist identity was important in the milieu in which they arrived, but being labelled non-conformists did not necessarily mean the settlers were zealots. Their new homes in Auckland and beyond contained a far greater choice of already existing congregations. The Albertlanders who left the district were able to follow whichever denomination they desired without it having to be a functional decision.

An issue arises when discussing a group of this size and their individual and collective impact. Newspapers and media favour those who lived atypical lives: those who stand out from the rest of the population, either positively through their business dealings, sports, or charitable endeavours, or negatively through such as crime, vagrancy, or behaving outside societal norms. The influence of the Albertlanders was felt far beyond the boundaries of the settlement, mainly due to the presence of those who settled elsewhere. The city of Auckland especially benefitted from the influx of skilled labourers, clerical workers, and businesspeople who applied their crafts there. The association the settlers kept with the scheme, however superficial, shows that the title of Albertlander was one they proudly chose for themselves. Even the names of the ships they travelled on being mentioned in obituaries was viewed as a positive association. The methodological issue of gaining access to the "other" Albertlanders who are identified by only their name on the shipping lists remains to be solved.

Chapter Nine: The Liberal Women of Albertland

The role of women in Albertland was also a point of some contention as the settlement grew. Regardless of their best efforts, women found themselves being excluded from professions and having their contributions to the community go unrecognised. This developed into exclusion from histories of the settlement where their input was only acknowledged in relation to a male counterpart. However, the women of Albertland found ways to assert themselves in their community and despite their lack of visibility, contributed to the cohesion of the Albertland settlement.

Matriarchs and Suffragists

The difficulties of establishing a settlement on the Ōruawharo River made clear that the Albertlander women needed to play an active role in the community if it were to survive. These women supported the settlement and community and yet found themselves slowly being relegated to the sidelines as their male counterparts took over the roles they had established. At times, their assertiveness was even seen as a threat. However, the women of Albertland asserted themselves nonetheless, most notably through signing the 1893 suffrage petition. Despite the fears of some their emancipation and work strengthened, rather than weakened, Albertland.

The women of Albertland and their descendants supported numerous causes considered liberal at the time, including but not limited to women's suffrage and education. The 1893 suffrage petition shows how strongly a wide range of women in the Albertland district felt about universal suffrage and women's role in politics. Their political involvement at the time of the suffrage movement can be gleaned from newspapers. During a political meeting at the Paparoa Hall in June 1893, Robert Thompson, the Member of Parliament for Marsden, voiced his disappointment at the lack of women present. He stated that "if the ladies of the Colony desired to accomplish this [female suffrage] they would have to act very differently to the way they are doing at present."¹ Thompson was a former conservative politician who had crossed to the Liberal Party, and he was campaigning as a Liberal for re-

¹ "MR. R. Thompson at Paparoa," *Wairoa Bell*, Volume V, Issue 201, 9 June 1893, p. 2.

election to the Marsden seat, which included Paparoa. Though his views were not entirely in line with the party's, Thompson was popular in rural areas.

It is unclear how many signatories of the 1893 suffrage petition voted in the subsequent election, but Thompson was victorious in his seat with a significant majority of over a thousand votes. South Albertland was included in the Waitemata electorate which returned Conservative candidate Richard Monk to the House of Representatives. However, Monk only held a slim majority in the Albertland communities of Matakana, Maungatūroto, and Wellsford. Port Albert and the surrounding area voted overwhelmingly for the independent candidate Jackson Palmer. With 25 women eligible to vote in Port Albert at the time and only 14 votes cast for Monk, it is certain that most of these women voted for the more liberal independent candidate.² Monk's election was declared invalid the following year and William Massey, another conservative, won the seat with a narrow majority.³

The names on the 1893 suffrage petition provide some understanding of the views of the women in Albertland. However, the petition cannot tell us whether families were divided over signing the petition or not. It was signed by 63 women in Albertland (see Table 5); Port Albert had the most signatories with 34 women, 21 of whom could be identified; Paparoa had the next largest group with 20 signatories, 13 identified. Wharehine, Matakoho, Matakana, and Wellsford had three to four signatories each, although of the four from Wellsford only two could be identified. Those that are unidentified are so because there are either no other records of a person of that name in the district or the name is suspected to be a double of another name. Of the signatories 33 were settlers or descendants of the Albertland scheme. The others had moved into the district with non-Albertlander families after the establishment of the settlement. The largest populations of Albertlander signatories were in the larger settlements of Port Albert and Paparoa with the smaller settlements being more evenly divided. It cannot be assumed that the women who signed the petition were the only women in the district and represented fully the views of the district's women. As ages are not provided it is also difficult to discern whether there is a difference between the views of the women who emigrated from Britain and those who were born in New Zealand.

Many of the signatories married during their lives, but there appears to be no divide between whether an unmarried woman was more likely to sign than a married woman or vice

² "The Elections," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXX, Issue 9372, 1 December 1893, p. 3 (SUPPLEMENT).

³ "Waitemata Election," *Thames Advertiser*, Volume XXVI, Issue 7794, 13 April 1894, p. 2.

versa. Fourteen of the identified signatories in Port Albert were married, four unmarried, one married after signing, and the remaining two unknown. This trend is the same across the other settlements. In Paparoa, all but four of the signatories were married when they signed the petition. Two of these married after signing, one never married, and the other is unknown.

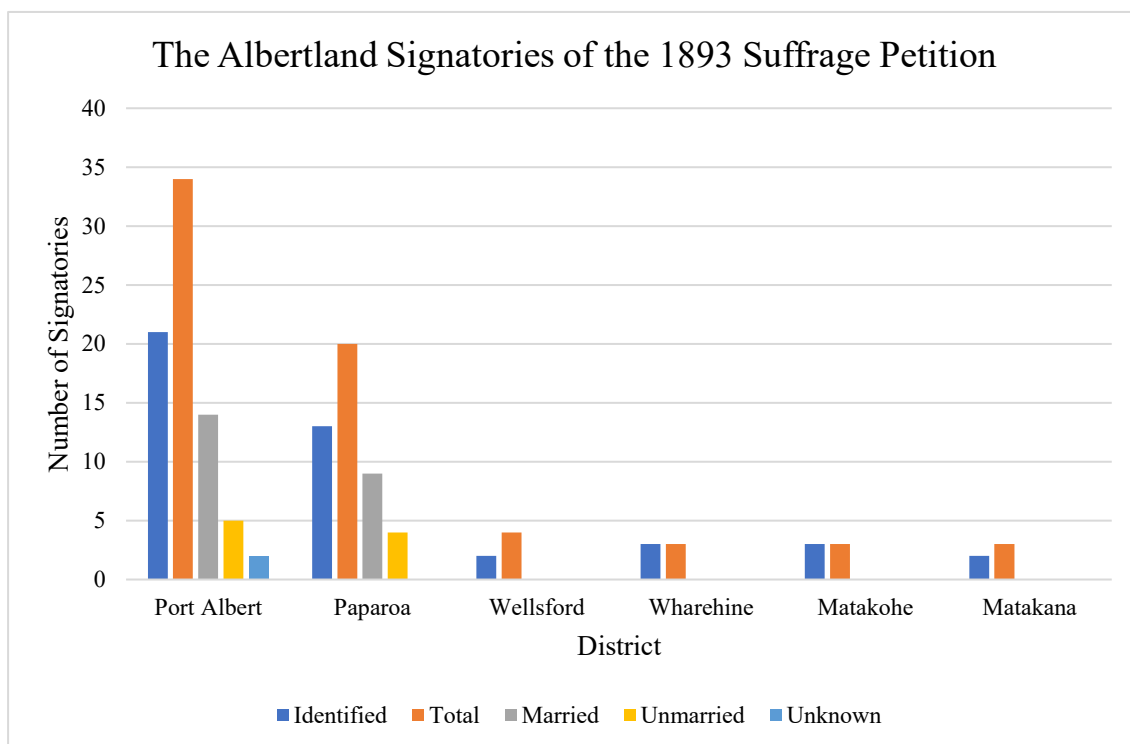


Table 5: The signatories of the 1893 Suffrage Petition from each of the districts throughout Albertland. The marital status of those in Port Albert and Paparoa are also recorded.

There is also no discernible pattern as to whether the women who signed were born in Great Britain or New Zealand, or if they were of similar ages. In Port Albert, more than two thirds of the signatories were born in Britain, the rest born in New Zealand after the Albertlanders arrival in 1863. There is only one exception to this, Alice Spick of Paparoa. She was born in 1869 in Britain and her family emigrated in the 1870s. She married into the Albertlander Spick family after her family settled in Paparoa.⁴ However, it should be noted that the petition occurred 30 years after the Albertlanders arrived in New Zealand and that to be eligible to sign the petition the signatory had to be 21 years of age. This means for a signatory to have been born in New Zealand they needed to be born between 1863 and 1872, a narrow timeframe. These 63 women vary greatly in age. The eldest signatories were Sarah

⁴ 1891 New Zealand Marriage Record [Database Online]. Surname: Evans; Given Name: Alice Maud; Spouse's Name: George Thomas Spick; Registration Number: 1891/3347. Accessed 10.05.2024. <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dMarriageSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

Hindle of Port Albert and Mary Hames of Paparoa, who were born in 1822 and 1827, respectively. The youngest were Alice Partridge of Port Albert and Olive Hames of Paparoa who both were born in 1872, being only 21 when they signed.

Harriet Stott was one of three women in Wharehine who signed the 1893 petition. Though she had a daughter of the same name, it seems to have been the elder who signed the petition in 1893 at the age of 55.⁵ Born Harriet Baldock, she came to Albertland with her family from Faversham, Kent, where her father and brother both worked as tradesmen. Harriet married Mark Stott in 1865, three years after arriving in Albertland. Mark had been a lone traveller on board the *Matilda Wattenbach*, the same ship that the Baldock family had travelled on, and he settled in Wharehine near the family. Harriet lived a typical settler experience with her husband, slowly developing a farm at Wharehine; while Mark was involved in various aspects of the community, such as the Wharehine Road Board, Harriet maintained a more discreet profile.⁶ However, she and her husband were both present at the 25th Albertland anniversary and were part of a group photographed specifically because they had been unmarried when they had arrived in the colony.⁷

Harriet and her husband had four children, three girls and a boy, though one of the girls did not survive to adulthood. It is interesting to note that while Harriet had signed the suffrage petition in 1893 none of her daughters did—despite being over the minimum age at the time. There is no record of Elizabeth Stott or Lottie Nicol having signed anywhere in New Zealand (Lottie married Samuel Nicol in 1895 and took his last name).⁸ Harriet Jnr was still living with her parents in Wharehine when the suffrage petition was signed. She was still there two years later in 1895 when a local man committed suicide in the Stott family barn. While it is not clear how this event affected the family, the inquest into the death was held in their home and Harriet Snr remarked that they had tried to help the man with his “extremely nervous, weak, and depressed condition.”⁹ Harriet and her husband remained in Wharehine

⁵ “Women’s Suffrage Petition 1893,” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), [database on-line], result for Stott, Harriet, updated 13.03.2018. Accessed 30.10.2023. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/suffragist/harriett-stott>

⁶ “Wharehine Highway District. Election of Highway Board,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3464, 22 August 1868, p. 4.

⁷ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 214.

⁸ 1895 New Zealand Marriage Record [Database Online]. Surname: Stott; Given Name: Lottie; Spouse’s Name: Samuel Clark Nicol; Registration Number: 1895/1777. Accessed 13.02.2025.

<https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dMarriageSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

⁹ “The Suicide at Wharehine,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXII, Issue 9866, 8 July 1895, p. 6.

until his death in 1908. Harriet then moved to Auckland to live with her sister before dying four years later in 1912.¹⁰

Edith Marcroft was already married when she arrived in Albertland, having wed Edwin Marcroft less than a month before departing Britain. It appears that her emigration was not her decision, rather the Marcroft family's, and she made this clear both while travelling and after arrival. On board the *Matilda Wattenbach* she begged the captain to allow her to board a passing ship returning to Britain. He refused as the passing ship was displaying flags showing they were dealing with an outbreak of disease.¹¹ Edith was the first woman to arrive in Albertland and when asked by a fellow settler if she felt honoured by the title, she remarked that "I'd feel a great deal more honoured if you were setting me down in England."¹² Her first year in the settlement did nothing to quiet her trepidation. According to Henry Brett she fled her home with her new-born baby when she saw a group of Māori landing near the property. Her fears were unfounded as the group were peaceful, and headed elsewhere, and her protestations did nothing to dissuade her husband that emigrating had been the right decision.¹³

According to Edith's descendants she kept a garden of English flowers around the family's homestead "saying that they reminded her of 'home.'"¹⁴ Edith's husband found leadership roles in Wharehine, and despite her yearning for Britain in the early years of settlement Edith made herself indispensable to the district. When barred from taking the same leadership role as her husband in the church, Edith refused to sit as one of the congregation. Instead, using her own harmonium which she had brought from England, she found an important role as the organist. She remained in the role for 60 years. She also became the communion steward in support of her husband, a central role in the weekly services at Minniesdale Chapel.¹⁵ Despite her husband's death in 1909, Edith refused to leave the family homestead and lived off her own farm produce until her death in 1937 (Figure 70).

¹⁰ "Deaths," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLIX, Issue 15163, 30 November 1912, p. 1.

¹¹ Women's Suffrage Petition 1893," (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), [database on-line], result for Marcroft, Edith updated 13.03.2018, accessed 30.10.23. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/suffragist/edith-marcroft>

¹² Women's Suffrage Petition 1893," (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), [database on-line], result for Marcroft, Edith updated 13.03.2018, accessed 30.10.23. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/suffragist/edith-marcroft>

¹³ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 170-172.

¹⁴ Lyn Johnston, "Pioneering realities," *Localmatters*, 15 March 2017, accessed 13.11.2023. <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/pioneering-realities/>

¹⁵ Women's Suffrage Petition 1893," (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), [database on-line], result for Marcroft, Edith updated 13.03.2018, accessed 30.10.23. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/suffragist/edith-marcroft>



Figure 70: Edith Marcroft, suffragist and temperance advocate who made herself indispensable to Wharehine and the community. Photograph, *Edith Marcroft*, File F-P, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Edith's beliefs as both a suffragist and advocate for temperance were remembered by her descendants. Her great-great-granddaughter Jenny Marcroft MP delivered an address to Parliament in 2019 in recognition of the centenary of women being granted the right to enter parliament. She remarked that "I [Marcroft MP] think: did my great-great-grandmother Edith think... [there] would there be a girl in the family at some point in history that would become a member of Parliament? I'm her descendant now, and I think back and wonder what she was thinking when she signed that petition to give women the vote."¹⁶ To have been both a signatory of the suffrage petition and a strong influence on a great-great-granddaughter who became an MP displays how the actions of a liberal woman in Albertland could have influence over their descendants. The third of the Wharehine suffragists was Minnie Marsh, the daughter of Henry Marsh, a non-Albertlander, and Elizabeth Jerome, of the *Matilda Wattenbach*. While her brother, William Marsh, became a well-known photographer, little is known about her life except for her signing the suffrage petition at 24 years old, a younger age than the other two Wharehine signatories.¹⁷

¹⁶ "New Zealand Parliament: Pāremata Aotearoa," Hansard Online, Sitting date: 22 October 2019, accessed 13.11.2023. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/HansS_20191022_054675000/marcroft-jenny/

¹⁷ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 129.

The signatories in Paparoa (20) and Port Albert (34) (the areas with the largest numbers) represent a diverse array of ages, marital statuses, roles in family groups, and roles in their community. In Paparoa, three members of the Cliff family and five of the Hames family signed. The Hames family are prominent in this respect as these five women represent all the eligible woman in the family at that time: Mary Hames, the matriarch, her daughters Priscilla and Olive, and her daughters-in-law Clara and Mary Jane. While the lives of the Hames family and their struggles at Albertland have already been discussed, it cannot be overstated how Mary Hames (nee Maddox) was instrumental in keeping her family together through times of turmoil. With a husband struggling with deafness and ill-health, and four sons who were either too young, too unwell, or too frail to assist, Mary took the family's fate into her own hands rather than defer to the male members of the family.

It was said that Mary felt the family were being laughed at for their formal attire when they disembarked in Auckland. Charles was reluctant to remove his chimney pot hat, but Mary immediately went to the nearest cover and removed her crinoline coverings—never again wearing what she deemed frivolous.¹⁸ While her husband attempted to clear the land and plant vegetables, Mary obtained a cow for the family and made her own butter, which she sold.¹⁹ Without Mary's independent efforts and her willingness to look after both the farm, and her husband after he lost his sight, the family would not have survived their first years at Paparoa.

The four other Hames women who signed the suffrage petition may not have established the unquestionable matriarchy their mother/mother-in-law had, but they were no less independent. Priscilla and Olive were Hames sisters born after arrival in New Zealand. Priscilla was 26 years old and Olive 21 years old when they signed the petition. Descendant T. L. Hames only mentioned the siblings once in a history of the family, stating that “in the early years they seldom saw children outside their own family. The loneliness of her early years deprived Aunt Olive particularly, of something which she never gained in later life.”²⁰ Olive remained in Paparoa until her last years, when she moved to Auckland to care for her older brother Rowland. Her nursing qualification, gained in 1907, made her the ideal candidate for this familial duty.²¹ Priscilla married William Mundy, a non-Albertlander, in

¹⁸ Dick Scott, “Hames, Mary,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 19.11.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h6/hames-mary>

¹⁹ Watson, “Pioneers Cheerful Courage,” pp. 10-11.

²⁰ Hames, *Charles and Mary Hames*, p. 22.

²¹ “Nurses' Examination. The Results,” *Evening Post*, Volume LXXIV, Issue 146, 17 December 1907, p. 8.

1911, the couple had no children in their 30 years of marriage, and Priscilla remained in Paparoa until her death in 1941.²² Mary Jane and Clara Hames both married into the family in the decade before the suffrage petition. Mary Jane died young in 1901 from an undiagnosed illness, leaving behind a husband and a daughter.²³ Clara and her husband Rowland had seven children together and she lived until 1940.²⁴

The women of Southern Albertland took active roles in their community despite many having their stories relegated to those of domestic servants or mere supporters of male counterparts. Ella Vipond was not an Albertlander; she was born into the Raynor family who moved to Matakana in Northern Albertland five years after the Albertlanders had arrived in New Zealand. She married Joseph Vipond, another non-Albertlander, although the Vipond family had grown to prominence in the district since their arrival. She signed the suffrage petition at the age of 26 and maintained her voter registration until her death. She was registered in the Waitemata and Marsden electorates from 1896 to 1925.²⁵

Ella was an active member of the community, especially during her later years. During the First World War she organised several events to raise money for the Volunteer Sisterhood in Egypt. She continued these fundraisers even after she suffered the loss of her only son, Joseph Alon, in 1916. Joseph joined the New Zealand 17th Reinforcements but he died of pneumonia in Wellington before he was deployed to Egypt.²⁶ He was interred in the family's plot at Matakana cemetery; marble for a memorial was gifted to the family by the community.²⁷ In the 1930s Ella served as the secretary of the North Albertland Women's Institute, a social and educational group that aimed to make education available for all women regardless of their age.²⁸ She was interred with her son 30 years after his death.²⁹

²² *Priscilla Hames Mundy* [database on-line]. Find A Grave Memorial ID: 109716343, accessed 19.11.2023. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/109716343/priscilla-mundy>

²³ "Paparoa," *Northern Advocate*, 13 July 1901, p. 4.

²⁴ "Deaths," *Auckland Star*, Volume LXXI, Issue 242, 11 October 1940, p. 1.

²⁵ *NZ Electoral Record* [database on-line]. Name: *Vipond, Ella Norma*; Year: 1925; Electorate: *Marsden*; Region: *Northland*; Address: *Matakana*; Record: 7999; Reference: *V153*, myheritage.com, accessed 28.11.2023. *NZ Electoral Record* [database on-line]. Name: *Vipond, Ella Norma*; Year: 1896; Electorate: *Waitemata*; Region: *Auckland*; Address: *Matakana*; Record: 3881; Reference: *V153*, myheritage.com, accessed 28.11.2023.

²⁶ "Passing Of Private Joseph Vipond," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 12 July 1916, p. 4.

²⁷ "Bereavement Notices," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LIV, Issue 16613, 9 August 1917, p. 1.

²⁸ "Women's Suffrage Petition 1893," (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), [database on-line], result for Vipond, Ella, updated 13.03.2018, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/suffragist/ella-vipond> accessed 28.11.2023.

²⁹ "Women's Suffrage Petition 1893," (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), [database on-line], result for Vipond, Ella, updated 13.03.2018, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/suffragist/ella-vipond> accessed 28.11.2023.

The role of women in education in Albertland has been overlooked, despite their significant role. At Te Wheau near Wharehine, G. H. Brookes reminisced, the need for education for the children of the district became immediately apparent. Mary Alice Steventon took it upon herself to provide this and opened a school in her nikau whare, offering free lessons to all children who could attend. She continued this arrangement for two years at her own behest before the settlers in the district built a permanent school building. Despite the work she had done the role of teacher at the new school was granted to her husband, Alfred Steventon, who was paid initially in goods and later with a set salary.³⁰ Regardless of this dismissal, Mary continued her service to the community working as a nurse. She earned herself the nickname “Mother” from the local iwi when she offered to sew clothes for them using a sewing machine she had brought from Britain.³¹

Louisa Rushbrook took similar initiative to Mary Steventon in Wellsford. However, knowing that the district’s remote nature may obstruct children from travelling to the school she opted to allow boarders. This situation continued until 1875 when a formal school building was constructed. Rushbrook, unlike Steventon, was granted the role of schoolteacher at a rate of £80 a year.³² Charles Rushbrook, her husband, died a year after the school opened and she became dependant on her salary for her upkeep, meanwhile the family farm was left in the care of her husband’s children.³³ It was another six years before she completed her formal teacher training; she was listed on the successful candidates of the Teacher’s Examination in Auckland in 1881.³⁴

Louisa Rushbrook did not stay in the district; she moved to Auckland where she remained until her death in 1911. Her death caused a notable legal proceeding in Auckland owing to her husband’s 40-year-old last will and testament. The will left everything to her, and then upon her death to his “lawful heir.”³⁵ There was much contention as to whom the lawful heir was, his eldest son or another administrator who would act on behalf of the whole family, as Louisa had until her death. The eldest son, a civil servant in Wellington, argued that he was the heir by right of birth, but the judge ultimately ruled that the heir would be an

³⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 167.

³¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 213.

³² Mabbet, *The Rock and the Sky*, p. 368.

³³ *Auckland Star*, Volume VII, Issue 2015, 25 July 1876, p. 2.

³⁴ *Auckland Star*, Volume XII, Issue 3342, 12 April 1881, p. 2.

³⁵ *Dominion*, Volume 6, Issue 1685, 27 February 1913, p. 3.

administrator, and that Charles Rushbrook had obviously intended that all his children would benefit from the sale of any land.³⁶

The Albertlander women lived varied lives; they supported families by working in the community and the home. Many found their place providing education and supporting charitable ventures. Meanwhile others, such as Mary Hames, became matriarchs of their families and governed the family's affairs for decades. Rather than being a threat to cohesion, the liberalism and attitudes of the women of Albertland were a boon to the community.

Preaching and Education: The Edger Family After Albertland

The removal of Rev. Samuel Edger from Albertland to Auckland brought about new opportunities for his children. However, to understand how his daughters were able to capitalise on their new situation and undertake endeavours previously unheard of for women requires understanding their father's views at the time. Edger continued to face many of the same struggles he faced in Albertland, including denominationalism and aggression from other ministers. After their move from Albertland, Edger preached in Parnell and continued until a medical emergency left him bedridden for six weeks at the close of 1867. With Parnell being too far for some of his new congregation to travel and the Thames goldfield drawing many away from Auckland, Edger resolved to continue a morning service in Parnell but also preach an evening service closer to the city centre. Despite the desire of many parishioners, he refused to build a chapel as he believed giving the group a vested material interest would lead to them becoming a sect. He strove to avoid this after his difficulties in Albertland and instead rented use of the Lorne Street Hall.³⁷

Edger's disaffection with sectarianism appears to have strengthened after the move to Auckland, whereupon he found his views being attacked by both fellow ministers and the press. After some months in Auckland Edger was uninvited to the monthly meeting of Auckland ministers, which he felt was due to his non-sectarian stance.³⁸ In a letter to the editor in 1867, Edger refuted the assertions by Auckland minister J. Buller, a Wesleyan, that denominationalism was due to schisms caused by their ancestors. He retorted that

³⁶ *Dominion*, Volume 6, Issue 1685, 27 February 1913, p. 3.

³⁷ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, pp. 95-96.

³⁸ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 92.

denominationalism was freely maintained by their contemporaries who had forgone the peace and love preached by Christ.³⁹ Robert Creighton, the Member of Parliament for Auckland, wrote that Edger brought his role as a minister into question by discussing politics in his sermons and becoming a leading agitator at political meetings. This agitation was in reference to Edger questioning the sudden stop of funding to help the infirm, poor, and orphaned in Auckland.⁴⁰ Edger also made references and remarks to the various injustices he felt were being perpetrated against the Māori people in the aftermath of the Waikato war.⁴¹

Edger was a strong prohibitionist and included an annual sermon on temperance and prohibition, though it was noted by fellow prohibitionist ministers that he used wine in his sermons.⁴² An avid supporter of the Independent Order of Good Templars, Edger even edited the group's weekly newspaper. He also defended the order when David King, a Birmingham preacher, delivered two lectures on Christianity and Good Templarism being diametrically opposed.⁴³ In 1880 Edger's wife, Louisa, died and he lost his constant companion.⁴⁴ His own health declined and he became too tired to preach. He was eventually instructed to return to Britain for an operation. His autobiographical notes written after he arrived in Britain speak of full of acceptance that he may not survive (Figure 71). "I feel now that it is finished. Not that there is no more to do. There is plenty for twenty years yet; which I should do as ardently as any I have ever done. But *my* special work is finished."⁴⁵ Four days after arriving in London Edger died at his lodgings in Stockwell Park Road and was interred at Nunhead cemetery shortly afterwards.⁴⁶

³⁹ "Dr. Kidd and Rev. J. Buller on Denominationalism," *Daily Southern Cross*, February 27, 1867, p. 6.

⁴⁰ "Mr. Samuel Edger's "Facts"," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIV, Issue 3572, 30 December 1868, p. 4.

⁴¹ "Answer to Rev. S. Edger on New Zealand Difficulties," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3764, 11 September 1869, p. 6.

⁴² Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 94.

⁴³ David King and Samuel Edger, *Good Templarism Compared with the Doctrine of Christ* (Auckland: Daily Southern Cross Steam Printing Establishment, 1874), pp. 13-16.

⁴⁴ "Deaths," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XVII, Issue 5882 23 September 1880, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Edger, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 117.

⁴⁶ "Deaths," *Oxfordshire Weekly News*, No. 911, 11 October 1882, p. 5.

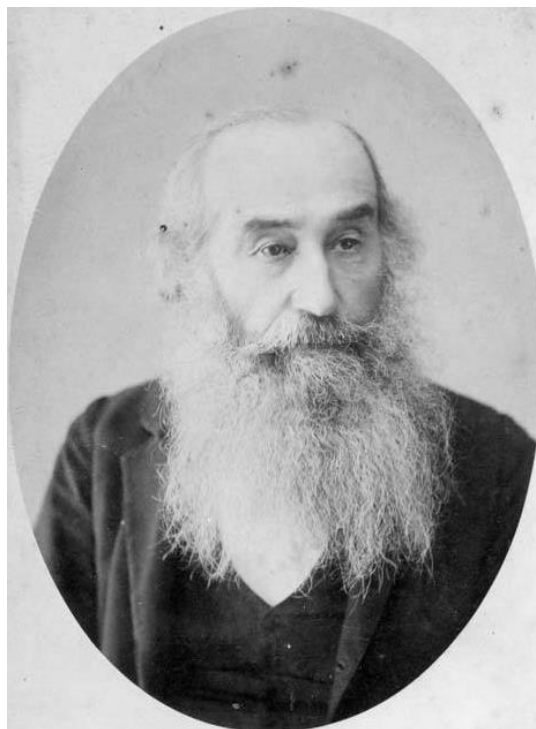


Figure 71: Rev. Edger in later life, after his permanent move to Auckland. A well-known and outspoken Auckland preacher and religious leader. Photograph, *Rev. Samuel Edger*, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The Edger family's removal to Auckland, and Rev. Edger's outspoken liberalism and uncompromising nature, opened routes for his daughters that did not exist in Albertland. The Edger sisters pursued paths of education that were considered extraordinary for the time. The eldest daughter Marion travelled to London and was a student at the London Academy of Music, returning to Auckland in 1876.⁴⁷ Younger daughters, Kate and Lilian, excelled in their educations. The first mention of Kate's academic abilities came in 1872 when she played a piano reduction of Beethoven's Symphony No. 6 and took part in numerous vocal items at a concert in the Auckland City Hall. At 15 years old her abilities were already extensive.⁴⁸ In 1875, in her father's hall on Lorne Street, she also won a charity spelling bee. While these are extracurricular activities, they demonstrate a level of education beyond basic schooling.⁴⁹ Kate also accompanied the choir at her father's hall on the harmonium, providing a possible explanation as to where her musical education may have begun.

Kate's greatest academic distinction came in 1877 when she became the first woman in the British Empire to attain a Bachelor of Arts degree and second in the Empire to attain a university qualification overall (Figure 72). She was described as "*facile princeps*; and men

⁴⁷ Ford, *Unpretending Excellence*, p. 15.

⁴⁸ "Advertisements," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4599, 21 May 1872, p. 1.

⁴⁹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXXI, Issue 561, 13 September 1875, p. 2.

of taste and true feeling, who have mothers and sisters, will be gratified by the honour conferred on one...who has, by earnest study and application, attained to a position which no other British woman has yet reached.”⁵⁰ The Bishop of Auckland spoke at the graduation ceremony and stated “that the examination passed by Miss Edger was of a higher kind than that required for an ordinary B.A. degree at Cambridge in his time.”⁵¹ and went on to argue that barring women from university education was detrimental to society.⁵² This distinction immediately propelled Kate Edger into the spotlight and she became sought after in education circles for various roles; the first she accepted was in Christchurch as Assistant Principal of a girls’ high school.⁵³



Figure 72: Kate Edger in her graduation garb. She was the first woman in the British Empire to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree and second in the Empire to obtain a university degree overall. Photograph, *Kate Edger*, File A-E, General Family History Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁵⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XIV, Issue 4793, 28 March 1877, p. 2.

⁵¹ “Presentation of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts,” *Press*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3750, 28 July 1877, p. 3 (Supplement).

⁵² “Presentation of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts,” *Press*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3750, 28 July 1877, p. 3 (Supplement).

⁵³ “Southern Telegrams,” *Thames Advertiser*, Volume X, Issue 2673, 12 July 1877, p. 3.

At this time Lilian, Kate's younger sister, was admitted to the University of New Zealand having gained a junior scholarship.⁵⁴ In 1882 Kate and Lilian, both now with Master of Arts degrees, were appointed the Principal and Deputy Principal, respectively, of Nelson Girls' College. This appointment came before the college had been constructed so they had to wait over a year to take up their posts.⁵⁵ Kate took an active interest in the establishment of the school, eager that her influence be felt from the outset including in the design of the main school building (Figure 73). She also sent the Board of Governors lists of equipment and books that were necessary for the type of education she felt they wanted to instil in their students. This included three pianos, prints of artworks, and over £50 worth of plaster casts.⁵⁶



Figure 73: Nelson College for Girls in 1889, while Kate Edger was still principal. The establishment of the college was met with both positive and negative reactions from the community. However, despite some criticism and disagreements with colleagues Edger's work in the college was praised. Photograph, *Ladies College 1889. Nelson N.Z.*, Ref. 181886, Tyree Studio Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum, Nelson.

⁵⁴ "News of the Day," *Globe*, Volume IX, Issue 1302, 22 May 1878, p. 2.

⁵⁵ *Nelson Evening Mail*, Volume XVIII, Issue 154, 15 July 1882, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Lois C. Voller, *Sentinel at the Gates; Nelson College for Girls, 1883-1983* (Nelson: Nelson College for Girls' Old Girls' Association (INC.), 1982), p. 17.

Despite difficulties, including the building not being completed by opening day, Lilian remarked to her sister Eva that “It is a good beginning, is it not?...We have begun our day in spite of everything, so now we shall carry on through everything.”⁵⁷ Kate dedicated herself to teaching as well as administration and taught English, composition, literature science, Latin, geography, and singing. The sisters were known for a no-nonsense attitude towards their work. This was reflected in a letter between two members of the Board of Governors which stated, “Fate and I have been laughing at two criticisms you passed when down here in the winter... [the second] was the sheer impossibility of either of the Miss Edgers, but especially of the younger, getting married.”⁵⁸

Kate had many disagreements with staff while principal, the first music teacher resigned due to their strained relationship, and the first matron was given her notice by the Board of Governors for the same reason (Figure 74). In 1884 Lilian left her position and many staff followed soon after. One of the staff wrote to a friend and stated the staff were all resigning not from ill will to the school but because they desired to travel, and that Kate had also stated her intention to travel to Britain.⁵⁹ Kate remained at the school until 1889 when she married William Evans and was replaced by one of the school’s first students. The work of Kate and Lilian in both their own education and aiding the educations of other women must be given the significance it is due. Many were hostile to the idea of women receiving formal education; at the first award ceremony of Nelson Girls’ College an Otago Professor declared he would be horrified if his daughters earned the same certificates as the students on that day.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Voller, *Sentinel at the Gates*, p. 22.

⁵⁸ Voller, *Sentinel at the Gates*, p. 17.

⁵⁹ Voller, *Sentinel at the Gates*, p. 26.

⁶⁰ Voller, *Sentinel at the Gates*, p. 28.



Figure 74: Kate Edger, while the Principal of Nelson College for Girls. Photograph, *Principal Kate Edger*, Ref. 31040, Tyree Studio Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum, Nelson.

Kate continued to be involved in the advancement of women's causes in New Zealand. She joined the Women's Christian Temperance Union and campaigned for women's suffrage. In 1891 she spoke at a Union meeting and stated, "very much had been done for the emancipation of women since then; they had equal educational privileges with men, and must be able to exercise the vote as intelligently as men."⁶¹ Kate and her husband established a branch of the Forward Movement in Wellington and spent decades working in charitable endeavours, including a private school named Dehra Dhoon, which was open until the First World War.⁶² She wrote an article in the *White Ribbon*, the Temperance Union magazine, where she stated "the fundamental and highest aim of education is the formation of character, the right, natural, and balanced development of the physical, mental, and spiritual powers of the child."⁶³ By the time of her death in 1935 her views were starting to be viewed as archaic; she still believed that women were destined for a domestic role but should be active in the

⁶¹ Ford, *Unpretending Excellence*, p. 31.

⁶² "Social And Personal," *Dominion*, Volume 3, Issue 834, 4 June 1910, p. 10.

⁶³ "Sketch Of the Movement for The Higher Education of Girls," *White Ribbon*, Volume 20, Issue 230, 18 August 1914, p. 13.

decisions that govern society.⁶⁴ Her obituary described her as a “gentle and charming personality which, in a way, masked her power and determination to work for what was right and just.”⁶⁵



Figure 75: Lilian Edger, the daughter of a preacher who spent 40 years of her life teaching in India. Her dedication to Theosophy may not have pleased her father but her upbringing certainly encouraged and supported a free and independent thinker. Photograph, *Lilian Edger, Theosophist*, “Theosophy in New Zealand,” *New Series* v.7: no.2, April-June 1946, p. 47.

Lilian became a theosophist, mixing her intellectualism and the religiosity of her father together (Figure 75). In 1895, as a founding member of the Theosophist movement in New Zealand she gave numerous lectures on the movement and stated, “there is no religion higher than truth...Theosophy is that Secret Doctrine, that inner or esoteric truth which underlies all religions, being far above all outward forms or ceremonies.”⁶⁶ Her defences of Theosophy were documented in letters to the editor. In response to a negative characterisation she retorted “I [Edger] am led to the inevitable conclusion that he has not yet commenced the study of Theosophy; and it seems to me hardly fair that a man should lecture on any subject

⁶⁴ Ford, *Unpretending Excellence*, p. 35.

⁶⁵ Obituary, *Evening Post*, Volume CXIX, Issue 110, 11 May 1935, p. 18.

⁶⁶ Lilian Edger, “Religion and theosophy,” Lecture, City Hall, Auckland, New Zealand, 26 March 1893. Transcript, p. 3, as quoted in Andrew Henry, “Lilian Edger and Theosophy,” Heritage et Al, accessed 23.07.2024. <https://heritageetal.blogspot.com/2017/04/lilian-edger-and-theosophy.html>

unless he is thoroughly conversant with it.”⁶⁷ Lilian left New Zealand for India, spending 40 years as the principal of the Theosophical Girls’ School at Varanasi. She also became private tutor to the sons of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. She returned to New Zealand only two years before her death and her obituary does not make note of her Theosophist views. It instead focuses on her place as an early female graduate and, though it is a small mention, on her place as one of the original Albertland settlers.⁶⁸

The foundation left by their father led the Edger sisters to pursue educational achievements and roles in communities and institutions that they would not have attained had the family remained in Albertland. The sisters, and the women who stayed in Albertland or settled elsewhere, played major roles in the formation of their communities. While they may be less visible in the public sphere, they were more than capable of exerting influence and dictating their own destinies separate from the whims of their male counterparts.

⁶⁷ “Mr. Carter and Theosophy,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXIX, Issue 8987, 19 September 1892, p. 3.

⁶⁸ “Women’s Notes,” *Timaru Herald*, Volume CXLX, Issue 22024, 25 July 1941, p. 3.

Chapter Ten: Albertland and Memory

*For the cause that lacks assistance,
For the wrong that needs resistance,
For the future in the distance,
And the good that we can do.¹*

It was not long after their arrival that Albertlanders began to commemorate the founding of their settlement. These commemorations were celebrations of what the Albertlanders and their descendants, both those at Albertland and those elsewhere, felt was fundamental to their identity. The anniversaries and larger jubilee celebrations held show the development of how the Albertlanders viewed themselves. In the early years of the settlement, when the idea of Albertland was still strong amongst the settlers, they typically celebrated together. As the original plans for the settlement broke down, there was a noticeable loss of cohesion—anniversaries became separate celebrations for smaller communities. These communities were not just townships but also groups such as churches, schools, or fraternal societies as well. Decades later, after the younger generations of Albertlanders had grown into adulthood and their descendants rediscovered their heritage, the jubilee celebrations became larger events once again under the banner of a unified Albertland identity.

Throughout the decades the Albertlanders maintained a strong religious foundation in their communities. Their chapels held celebrations for their own anniversaries, distinct from the events held for the settlement. One year it was the Methodist church anniversary, the next the Congregationalist chapel anniversary, and then the following year for the Baptist church. The desire to celebrate their separate denominations shows that while the Albertlanders were still brought together by a common history, they were struggling to achieve a paradigm of unity, suggesting that there was more that divided them than brought them together.

Anniversary Celebrations in New Zealand

Anniversary celebrations were a feature of settler communities across New Zealand. Communities acknowledged yearly anniversaries and hosted large celebrations for significant milestones such as silver, gold, diamond, and centenary jubilees. The Northland settlements

¹ *Auckland Star*, Volume XLIII, Issue 128, 29 May 1912, p. 4.

of Pūhoi and Waipū held jubilee celebrations throughout the century after their settlement and up to the present day. However, the identity they presented at these celebrations changed throughout the years as older settlers died, and younger generations had differing ideas of what it meant to be a member of the community.

The settlers of Pūhoi celebrated their Golden Jubilee in 1913. Earlier that year the people of Pūhoi celebrated the golden wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. John Schollum and the town was lauded as the “town that never does anything by halves.”² This celebration appears to have been a rehearsal for the settlement’s anniversary later that year, as there was a church service and a large dinner attended by almost the entire settlement.³ The Pūhoi settlers were predominantly Germanic in origin, but newspaper articles describing their jubilee made note that the British settlers who had travelled to New Zealand on board the same ship were also welcome at the celebration.⁴ Most of these British settlers had stayed in Auckland so a special charter boat was organised to bring them north for the celebration.⁵ This shows that being on board the same ship, regardless of whether the person was intending to live in the same settlement or not, was a sign of familiarity and connection. Emphasis was given to people who had shared at least part of the settlers’ experiences.

Religion had a prominent place at the celebration. The Pūhoi settlers were united in their religious views, sharing the same Catholic faith, and a single official service of thanksgiving and remembrance was held after a Catholic Mass. Pūhoi’s parish priest Monsignor Brodie led the service, and the church was decorated with nikau fronds.⁶ The settlers emphasised their place as Christians in a foreign land. Monsignor Brodie stated that “these early settlers were to be the instruments by which would be spread in the adopted country the faith and religion of their homeland.”⁷ A large dinner was held after the service. The original Pūhoi settlers were given places of honour amongst their compatriots and were presented with badges inscribed with “Puhoi Pioneers 1863-1913.” Monsignor Brodie gave a speech in which he emphasised the “sturdy pioneers who in the face of great difficulties had made their homes in our young country, overcoming with unfailing courage the apparently

² “Rejoicing at Puhoi,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 12 March 1913, p. 5.

³ “Rejoicing at Puhoi,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 12 March 1913, p. 5.

⁴ “Puhoi’s Jubilee,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume L, Issue 15342, 1 July 1913, p. 9.

⁵ “Jubilee of Puhoi Settlement,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 2 July 1913, p. 4.

⁶ “Jubilee of Puhoi Settlement,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 2 July 1913, p. 4.

⁷ “Jubilee of Puhoi Settlement,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 2 July 1913, p. 4.

insuperable obstacles which confronted them.”⁸ Pūhoi’s Catholic identity continued through to the 90th anniversary of the settlement in 1953, when a wayside crucifix, a definitive catholic symbol, was raised on the roadside. This left no mistake to visitors that the Catholic Church was still the dominant denomination in the town and still part of the community’s identity.⁹

Waipū had been founded almost a decade before Pūhoi and was anticipating a large festival in 1915 for its Diamond Jubilee. However, owing to the First World War the celebration was of a more subdued character. An article describes the older Waipū settlers reminiscing about their early experiences, although these settlers were children when they had arrived. The themes of hardship, hard work, loyalty, and the pioneer spirit found in the Pūhoi celebrations also arose in these reminiscences, including discussion on “the true spirit of clanship and mateship.”¹⁰ The use of the term “clanship” is unique to Waipū due to the settlers being Highlanders, and its usage shows the settlers and descendants were still acutely aware of that part of their identity.

While Pūhoi formed a special committee to organise their jubilee, the Waipū settlers had a Caledonian Society which took it upon itself to plan and arrange the anniversary, as well as the annual highland games. This is despite the original settlers’ religious convictions setting them against frivolities such as music, dancing, and games. Rev. McLeod, de facto leader of the Waipū settlers, had not allowed many of the common cultural symbols associated with the highlands and vied for an austere settlement.¹¹ However, the anniversary celebrations at Waipū became more associated with the Caledonian Society and its founding, rather than the founding of the settlement itself.¹² The practice of Highland traditions was an attempt by the descendants of the Waipū settlers to link the past and present through an unchanging constant, regardless of whether those traditions were “genuine” or “invented.”¹³

⁸ “Jubilee of Pūhoi Settlement,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 2 July 1913, p. 4.

⁹ Wilfried Heller and James Braund, *The ‘Bohemians’ in New Zealand: An Ethnic Group?*, ed James N. Bade (Auckland: University of Auckland, 2005), p. 18.

¹⁰ “Notes And Comments,” *Lyttelton Times*, Volume CXVI, Issue 16751, 5 January 1915, p. 6.

¹¹ Eric Richards, “The Last of the Clan and Other Highland Emigrants,” in *The Heather and the Fern; Scottish Migration & New Zealand Settlement*, edited by Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman, pp. 49-65 (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003), p. 34.

¹² “Waipū Caledonians,” *Northern Advocate*, 20 August 1921, p. 6; “New Advertisements,” *Northern Advocate*, 26 November 1921, p. 5.

¹³ Hobsbawm, “Introduction,” pp. 1-2.

The Presbyterian church of Waipū held separate anniversary celebrations for itself. However, it had the distinction of being one of the oldest Presbyterian churches in the Auckland Province, thus its significance for the denomination extended beyond the immediate congregation.¹⁴ In 1934 the church held its 80th anniversary and received a communion table with a dedication to “the Christian men and women who pioneered in the district. Their children thrive and call them blessed.”¹⁵ This was inscribed in both English and Gaelic, despite the decline of Gaelic within the community and its relegation to a language of church services.¹⁶ However, it reveals close links between the identity of the settlement and the identity of church.

Larger cities and towns in New Zealand, such as the first two religious settlements, Dunedin and Christchurch, also had anniversary celebrations, though these were of a far larger scale. The Scottish settlers of Dunedin had religious and economic reasons for settling in New Zealand. These included the religious divide between the Church of Scotland and the Free Church Presbyterians as well as severe economic depression in Britain.¹⁷ The size of Dunedin’s 50th Jubilee celebration was so large that all the city’s hotels and restaurants were filled weeks in advance. Private individuals were even asked to billet visitors on behalf of the city. This jubilee was accompanied by the largest industrial exhibition New Zealand had seen at the time, with the Governor, Uchter Knox, Earl of Ranfurly, in attendance. While there were obvious benefits to holding such an exhibition, it was billed as an opportunity for the old settlers of Otago, a “hardy band of settlers,”¹⁸ to “view the success which has attended their contribution to the work of building up a nation in these far off seas.”¹⁹ A message was released prior to the jubilee asking Otago residents and old settlers to contribute any anecdotes of interest to a book that was being prepared for publication. However, this was more of a pamphlet than an extensive written history of Dunedin and Otago.²⁰

The 50th Jubilee of the Canterbury settlement was celebrated in 1900, just two years after the jubilee in Dunedin. It was announced on New Year’s Day with much fanfare, long before the celebration itself.²¹ The Canterbury Association, the founding body of the

¹⁴ “75 Years Old,” *Sun (Auckland)*, Volume III, Issue 692, 18 June 1929, p. 7.

¹⁵ “Local And General,” *Waikato Times*, Volume 116, Issue 19347, 29 August 1934, p. 6.

¹⁶ Martin George Holmes, “The Language of Eden in God’s Own Country: Gaelic Presbyterianism in Aotearoa New Zealand,” *Journal of Australian, Canadian, and Aotearoa New Zealand Studies* 4 (2024): pp. 22, 30-35.

¹⁷ King, *Penguin History of New Zealand*, p. 170.

¹⁸ “The Otago Jubilee,” *New Zealand Tablet*, Volume XXV, Issue 46, 18 March 1898, p. 18.

¹⁹ “The Otago Jubilee,” *New Zealand Tablet*, Volume XXV, Issue 46, 18 March 1898, p. 18.

²⁰ “The Otago Jubilee,” *New Zealand Tablet*, Volume XXV, Issue 46, 18 March 1898, p. 18.

²¹ “New Year’s Day,” *Lyttelton Times*, Volume CIII, Issue 12089, 2 January 1900, p. 6.

Canterbury settlement and city of Christchurch, had its beginnings as an extension of the New Zealand Company. However, it had a religious nature—a letter of recommendation was required from a local Anglican Priest for a settler to be eligible for acceptance and participation in the scheme.²² As Dunedin showed its progress through an industrial exhibition, Christchurch chose to show progress by vigorously lobbying for the completion of its cathedral, planned since the settlement's inception. It was hoped £12,000 would be raised; over a third was collected by the beginning of the jubilee year.²³ The cathedral was not completed until 1904, but the intention of the people of Christchurch to complete the project showed that it was an important symbol—a testament to their successes. The *Canterbury Times* advertised for manuscripts and written material, including pictures, for a special issue to be printed in conjunction with the jubilee. This is similar to Dunedin's anniversary publication.²⁴

The anniversary celebrations held throughout New Zealand by small and large communities attempted to unite their past and present using shared experiences and shared symbols. Waipū attempted this through Highland traditions, though these were invented traditions not practised by their forebears. In Dunedin the industrial exhibition provided the link through the lens of progress, showing how the descendants had built on the foundation provided by the original settlers; in Christchurch the completion of the Cathedral, a project decades in the making, provided a symbol of unity for the city. These projects were successful, regardless of whether the traditions were invented, or if the project truly benefitted only part of the growing population, such as the Anglican Cathedral.

Celebrating the First 25 Years of Albertland

Before long, the Albertlanders began to celebrate the anniversary of their settlement on the Kaipara. The 29th of May was chosen as the anniversary day as it was the date that the first ships departed Britain for New Zealand. This date signalled the start of all Albertlanders' journeys and was chosen in lieu of the first ships' arrivals in Auckland because those dates could be seen as relating to the specific ships rather than the Albertlanders as a whole. The first advertised anniversary celebration was held in 1865, three years after departing Britain,

²² Terry Hearn, "19th-Century Migration," Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 20 April 2022, accessed 04.08.2023. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/english/page-2>.

²³ "Advertisements," *West Coast Times*, Issue 11489, 3 January 1900, p. 3.

²⁴ "Advertisements," *Star (Christchurch)*, Issue 6682, 2 January 1900, p. 3.

and after a majority of the Albertlander ships had arrived. However, this celebration was not held in Albertland but in Auckland where most of the settlers still resided. Clement Witheford and James Coupland, the soirée organisers, were both Albertlanders who had gone to the settlement but then quickly given up their hopes of settling there and returned to Auckland.²⁵ The event itself was a dinner preceding a meeting with the Provincial Superintendent. Those present were all Auckland-based Albertlanders and demanded of the Superintendent more support for their compatriots at Albertland, including more funding for roads and communication.²⁶

The fifth anniversary celebration was the first recorded as being held in Albertland—at the Port Albert Chapel in 1867. Over 170 people attended, around 30 were from Ngāti Whātua. The celebration consisted of a tea and a public meeting, where four men spoke of the success of the settlement over the previous five years. Three of these men, Gittos, Worker, and Brookes, were reverends of different denominations.²⁷ At this time many of the Albertlanders were still worshipping together, and the leadership of three different religious figures at this meeting attests to their desire to be united as a district regardless of denominational affiliations. No religious service was held in conjunction with the celebration.

Two years later at the seventh anniversary the same group of men spoke, and their speeches were in similar vein to the previous meetings, again there was no religious service. However, it was noted that this celebration was larger than those previous: a concert of sacred music was held, and many missed the event as the Port Albert Chapel could not accommodate the large crowd.²⁸ By the 13th anniversary the venue had changed from the Port Albert Chapel to the larger Wharehine School Hall.²⁹ This venue became the regular choice for the anniversaries, and a larger school hall built in 1879 allowed for an even larger gathering of 200 people at the 18th anniversary.³⁰ Even up until this date there was no mention of religious services being observed at the gatherings, and that the settlers were willing to travel to Wharehine for the event shows a willingness to see each of the smaller communities as part of a united district.

²⁵ “Advertisements,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume II, Issue 470, 16 May 1865, p. 1.

²⁶ “Thompson A Pai Marire,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume II, Issue 485, 2 June 1865, p. 4.

²⁷ “Albertland (From a Correspondent),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIII, Issue 3088, 10 June 1867, p. 4.

²⁸ “Port Albert Anniversary Tea Meeting. (From Our Own Correspondent),” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3713, 12 June 1869, p. 6.

²⁹ “Meetings and Amusements,” *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXXI, Issue 5553, 10 June 1875, p. 7.

³⁰ “Albertland Special Settlement,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XI, Issue 3191, 8 June 1880, p. 3.

At a farewell address for G. Plummer, a speaker noted that some of these leaving settlers should tell their Auckland counterparts about the struggles they still faced. There was a feeling of animosity growing against the Auckland Albertlanders as it was felt that one would visit the settlement claiming “he was proud he is an Albertlander”³¹ but then return to Auckland and make more money in a week than the Albertland farmers could make in six months.³² It was proposed that the 20th anniversary celebration should be held in Auckland itself so as to bring to the city’s attention the struggles of the district and also galvanise a response amongst the Albertlanders who had settled in the city. This did not occur and instead the Albertlanders held their celebration at the, now traditional, venue of the Wharehine School Hall.³³

The Albertland 25th Jubilee celebrations did not have chapel services as part of their official programme. However, there were two unofficial services of thanksgiving and remembrance. These were held at the new Temperance Hall, built specifically for the anniversary, rather than one of the settlement’s chapels (Figure 76).³⁴ This was probably due to the size of the hall; it was significantly larger than the chapels and could hold the entire community, but it was also a neutral space where the different congregations could meet without denominational differences being made apparent. A visitor to the settlement in the early 1880s found that a denominational zeal was present in the community, but hoped a larger hall could give opportunities for the settlers to meet on a unifying platform.³⁵ This came to fruition as the size of the Temperance Hall shows it was a space where large groups could meet, and temperance and prohibition were beliefs shared across different denominations.

³¹ “Port Albert News,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XIII, Issue 3660, 4 May 1882, p. 4.

³² “Port Albert News,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XIII, Issue 3660, 4 May 1882, p. 4.

³³ “Albertland Anniversary,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XX, Issue 4015, 5 June 1883, p. 4.

³⁴ Lyn Johnston, “History – Jubilee Celebrations,” *Localmatters*, 17 May 2017, accessed 22.07.2023.

<https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/jubilee-celebrations/>

³⁵ Borrowes, *Albertland*, p. 123.



Figure 76: The Albertland 25th Anniversary Celebration was accompanied by the completion of the new Temperance Hall. This image is taken from a lantern slide that was likely shown at future anniversaries and events. Photograph, *Albertland 25th Anniversary Celebration*, 2004-2-2007-1166, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The two unofficial services were conducted by members of the community. James Coupland was a Methodist preacher and prominent figure in Albertland's prohibition movement. It seems fitting that he presided over the morning thanksgiving service in the Temperance Hall. Rev. Gittos presided over an afternoon service, also at the Temperance Hall, before a political meeting was held in the evening.³⁶ It is unknown what was said at the services as no documentation from them has survived. It is known that musical items were included, and William Armitage performed on the piano and the harmonium.³⁷ The main festivities were held the next day, a Monday, with the services the day before marking the opening of the jubilee. So, despite not being official parts of the proceedings, the services still appear to have had a marked significance.

Later Celebrations and Farewell to Old Settlers

The first years of anniversary celebrations and commemorations were small affairs, limited to the settlers remaining in the Albertland district. However, they grew due both to the increase

³⁶ Johnston, "History – Jubilee Celebrations," accessed 22.07.2023.
<https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/jubilee-celebrations/>

³⁷ Johnston, "History – Jubilee Celebrations," accessed 22.07.2023.
<https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/jubilee-celebrations/>

in population in the district and because visitors could come from further afield for the events. News articles on the 49th anniversary noted that many Albertlanders from Auckland and beyond were already making enquiries as to the celebrations proposed for the 50th anniversary the following year. Amongst those enquiring was Judge Theophilus Cooper, and Messrs Henry Brett and Thomson Wilson Leys.³⁸ By this time the Albertland anniversaries did involve religious services. Usually, as at the 49th anniversary in 1911, there were two separate services: a large service in a public hall and then a smaller service in a chapel.³⁹ The 49th anniversary service was held at the Methodist Chapel and saw the gathering of a much larger congregation than the chapel could hold. Both services were led by Rev. Gittos. It may have been the presence of Gittos that brought such a large crowd to the services, especially the service with Methodist overtones.⁴⁰ Gittos had overseen the anniversary services in Paparoa in 1911 where, like at Port Albert, one service was held in the public hall and the other in the Methodist chapel.⁴¹ Newspapers did not focus on these services, offering a few sentences to note they occurred and dedicating the rest of their articles to the dinners and soirées.

Despite separate denominational services, the presence of Rev. Gittos at these services carries echoes of pan-denominationalism. Gittos was able to transcend the divisions between different groups and communities throughout Albertland as he was a figure who, unlike others in the communities, did not represent a material interest in the scheme. Rev. Edger, Dr Bell, and William Brame were men the Albertlanders had felt were helping the scheme only to advance their own interests. Gittos served as an outsider who had ingratiated himself with the settlers through the aid and guidance he provided. As Gittos was popular throughout the community, he was able to venture into spaces that were separated by denominationalism. To remain a part of the entire community he had to ensure that he ventured into the smaller communities within Albertland for the separate anniversary celebrations held, for example, in their chapels (Figure 77). Through this he became an outlier in Albertland. He acted as a unifying force in the district, maintaining connections between the different denominations and townships.

³⁸ "Port Albert," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 7 June 1911, p. 4.

³⁹ "Port Albert," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 7 June 1911, p. 4.

⁴⁰ "Port Albert," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 7 June 1911, p. 4.

⁴¹ "Port Albert," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 7 June 1911, p. 4.



Figure 77: One of many separate chapel anniversaries held at Minniesdale Chapel. Photograph, *Celebrating the 50th anniversary of Minniesdale Chapel*, 2004.2.2007.50, Photographic Collections, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The 50th Albertland Jubilee celebration was held on the 29 May 1912. The first newspaper advertisement for the jubilee appeared in early April 1912 and stated, “if the Albertlanders do not score deep on memory’s tablet, ‘29th May 1912,’ it won’t be for the want of trying.”⁴² The joint secretaries of the 50th Jubilee Committee were George Hartnell and G. C. Nicholson, both original Albertlanders who had been resident in the district since arrival.⁴³ Invitations were sent to all known Albertlanders and their descendants; they were dispersed across New Zealand, some even Members of Parliament. The *Weekly News* reported that “the project [the Albertland Settlement] – notwithstanding its apparent failure – may be more correctly called a splendid success, for nearly everywhere they have done well, and their influence has been for progress.”⁴⁴ Two separate events were held, one in Port Albert and the other in Kingsland. The Kingsland event was for those unable to travel to Port Albert and included many who had moved away from the settlement in their old age. It was organised by Sarah Ann Utting and Edith Kayes, two daughters of John Shepherd, and over 80 attended. The guest given most notice was William Kayes, who was the 50th grandchild of John Shepherd and was dubbed “the Jubilee Baby.”⁴⁵

⁴² “Local And General,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 3 April 1912, p. 4.

⁴³ “Local And General,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 3 April 1912, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 182-183.

⁴⁵ “A Notable Jubilee,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLIX, Issue 15006, 30 May 1912, p. 9.

Despite being held at the onset of winter the weather remained fine for the Port Albert celebrations. It was one of the largest gatherings the district had seen in years. Over 60 people from Auckland and another 60 from Paparoa and Matakōhe arrived by steamboat for the event, bringing the total number of Albertlanders in attendance to approximately 300. However, the *Rodney and Otamatea Times* noted that although these were all considered to be Albertlanders, they were in fact visitors—distinct from their brethren who had remained in the district. “The same river...ebbed and flowed, but its charm has not the charm of home for the brethren scattered abroad.”⁴⁶ The Temperance Hall was the focal point of the day’s events, and artefacts from Albertland’s history were put on display for all to view. The hall itself was noted as an artefact, having been purpose built for the 25th Anniversary celebrations.⁴⁷ Paintings of the *Matilda Wattenbach* were hung in pride of place on the hall’s stage, including one of the ship losing its mast in a storm. A volume of the *Illustrated London News* with an article about the departure of the Albertlanders was present, alongside copies of the *Albertland Gazette* and the first minute book of the Albertland Association.⁴⁸ The hall had been decorated with nikau fronds to replicate the nikau whare the settlers first constructed on the banks of the Ōruawharo (Figure 78).⁴⁹



Figure 78: 29th May Celebration in the Temperance Hall, nikau fronds decorate the walls. Photograph, *Port Albert Hall*, 2004.2.98.537, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁴⁶ “The Year of Jubilee,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 5 June 1912, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Borrows, *Albertland*, p. 182.

⁴⁸ “The Year of Jubilee,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 5 June 1912, p. 5.

⁴⁹ “The Year of Jubilee,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 5 June 1912, p. 5.

Port Albert celebrations involved into two events: a luncheon and an evening fête. The luncheon proved a challenge, as the sheer number of people and space required for tables was almost too great for the hall. Extending from the stage to the back wall, the tables fitted up to 20 Albertlanders a side and were decorated with floral and fruit arrangements. The fruit comprised mostly of apples, a fitting choice as Albertland had been referred to colloquially as “Appleland” for some time owing to the success of many orchards in the district, and the day had commenced with tours through some of the surrounding orchards.⁵⁰

Places of honour were held for Albertlanders of note. The criteria for a place of honour were various, though they seemed dependent upon social status (both inside and outside Albertland), a person’s age (with older Albertlanders taking precedence), and whether a person was an original settler. Settlers from the original six ships appeared to take pride of place over the later arrivals. However, people who may not have been Albertlanders but had contributed to the settlement in some way were also included in events. The son of the captain of the *Matilda Wattenbach* was present at the anniversary and read a letter of appreciation his father had written to the passengers upon their arrival in Auckland. Emma Legge was considered the eldest mother of the original settlers and was afforded a seat on the stage of the hall throughout the ceremonies. Her husband, John Legge, had been the organising chairman for the past anniversary gatherings and had died shortly after the 49th anniversary.⁵¹ At that anniversary he had stated “Father Gittos and I [Legge] are the only ones in this large gathering who were present at the prayer meeting we had on that first Sunday. I pray God, Sir, that we may not be spared until next year for the Jubilee.”⁵² Many of the speakers at the 50th anniversary noted the loss of John Legge and emphasised the importance of memory and commemoration. Prayers were offered for the Albertlanders who had died since settlement and a toast was given by Oliver Hames to the journalists present and their role in recording the event and immortalising it in print.⁵³

Speeches were given by both resident and non-resident settlers. William Farrand of Ōtāhuhu joked that with settlers speaking for five minutes each they would be celebrating for a longer time than anticipated. Frederick Davies of Ponsonby stated that he had been at the 25th anniversary, and every anniversary in between, and whilst he recognised many faces

⁵⁰ 29th May Celebration. Port Albert Hall, May 1912, 2004.2.98.537, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

⁵¹ “The Year of Jubilee,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 5 June 1912, p. 5.

⁵² “Obituary,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 2 August 1911, p. 5.

⁵³ “The Year of Jubilee,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 5 June 1912, p. 5.

from that event there were others he had not seen for 50 years. He said he “was glad to see the sons and daughters of Albertlanders making their mark.”⁵⁴ Davies was a bootmaker and one of the original settlers of the *Matilda Wattenbach*. His words of friendship and reconnection became more meaningful when he was discovered dead the next morning, the 50th anniversary being his last night alive.⁵⁵ Telegrams were received from the Kingsland celebration and the Prime Minister Thomas Mackenzie, wishing all well in the Port Albert event. Apologies also followed from Theophilus Cooper, Henry Brett, and Thomson Wilson Leys for their absence.⁵⁶

Rev. Gittos was the guest of honour for the evening fête, where he was presented with a collection and illuminated manuscript as thanks for his decades of aid and guidance to the settlers. The widow of Rev. William Worker was also given a place of note amongst the party. However, none of the ministers working in the district at the time were mentioned in articles on the jubilee events. Unlike the 49th anniversary a year earlier there appear to have been no church or chapel services as part of the 50th anniversary official programme. It is unusual that after integrating chapel services in previous years they would suddenly be omitted. However, the various chapels, including those at Minniesdale, Maungatūroto, and Paparoa, held separate events for their own anniversaries in the years after the Albertland jubilee and it may have been that it was not felt appropriate to favour any one of them for the 50th Jubilee when so many visitors from outside the district were present.⁵⁷ This was the last jubilee held at the Port Albert Temperance Hall, as it burnt down less than a year later and from then on future celebrations were held in Wellsford. “When the meeting closed, one felt the gates of memory were only just opened.”⁵⁸

The Paparoa community held their own anniversary in 1913, and this was just as notable an event as the 50th Jubilee the previous year because the Prime Minister, William Massey, was in attendance. He was met with an enthusiastic reception and gave a short speech in which he asserted that “in that huge gathering there was not a man or a woman who was not either a personal friend of his or a political supporter.”⁵⁹ Paparoa’s event also shows that the return of religious services to anniversaries may not have been divisive; it opened

⁵⁴ “The Year of Jubilee,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 5 June 1912, p. 5.

⁵⁵ “Personal,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XLIII, Issue 131, 1 June 1912, p. 5.

⁵⁶ “The Year of Jubilee,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 5 June 1912, p. 5.

⁵⁷ “Paparoa Jubilee,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XLIII, Issue 273, 14 November 1912, p. 2; “Maungatūroto’s Jubilee,” *Kaipara and Waitemata Echo*, 11 February 1914, p. 2.

⁵⁸ “The Year of Jubilee,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 5 June 1912, p. 5.

⁵⁹ “Local and General News,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume L, Issue 15203, 17 January 1913, p. 6.

with a “United Thanksgiving Service in Cliff’s Hall.”⁶⁰ The service was truly “united” as it was led by three separate ministers, William H. Speer, Thomas Wilson Potts, and George Albert Rickaby, who were a Methodist, a Congregationalist, and an Anglican respectively.⁶¹ This confluence of denominations in the northern section of Albertland is not a totally isolated example. Maungatūroto celebrated its own jubilee the next year and the same three ministers presided over a thanksgiving service. However, Rev. Potts led most of the event as the official minister of the Maungatūroto Congregationalist Church, while Rickaby and Speer proffered short congratulatory speeches. Another minister, William Tanner, from Waipū, was also present.⁶² His presence seems to be due to his position as Congregationalist minister of Waipū, rather than a connection to a community in what was the Albertland district.

Albertland and Memory of War

The Albertland community suffered, as did many communities, during the First World War. Borrowes stated that “the years of the First World War seem to mark the end of Albertland’s era as a community apart. The call to arms was heard as clearly... as it was elsewhere in New Zealand.”⁶³ In the same vein as other communities in New Zealand, the Albertlanders honoured their fallen sons by constructing stone memorials and memorial halls. These served as surrogate tombs for lost loved ones.⁶⁴ Similar to other small communities their ANZAC day services mirrored those in larger centres in acknowledging a link to the unifying idea of nationhood but with more emphasis on local and familial bonds.⁶⁵ The loss of so many young men caused significant disruption to the community’s workings after the war. It is remarkable, then, that during the settlement’s diamond jubilee of 1922 the war and the loss incurred received little acknowledgement in the programme.

Many attended the diamond jubilee in Paparoa and Port Albert not just for the celebrations, but also to hear the Minister for Public Works, J. G. Coates, speak. Coates made statements on the aftereffects of the war, on unemployment in rural communities, and how the government could not afford to forgo its duties to Britain after the war. He added that the

⁶⁰ “Advertisements,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume L, Issue 15192, 4 January 1913, p. 12.

⁶¹ “Advertisements,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume L, Issue 15192, 4 January 1913, p. 12.

⁶² “Maungaturoto’s Jubilee,” *New Zealand Herald*, Vol. LI, Issue 15523, 3 February 1914, p. 9.

⁶³ Borrowes, *Albertland*, p. 184.

⁶⁴ Jock Phillips, *To the Memory: New Zealand’s War Memorials* (Nelson: Potton & Burton, 2016), p. 88.

⁶⁵ Scott Worthy, “A Debt of Honour: New Zealanders’ First ANZAC Days,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 36, No. 2 (2002): pp. 186, 188.

Ōtamatea County Council, which at this time included Albertland, was an example of good management: it had no overdraft, while other councils required government assistance.⁶⁶ These were the only substantial mentions of the war during the jubilee. The Maungatūroto community celebrated their own diamond jubilee in 1923, a year after the main Albertland celebrations. In this case, the only mention of the First World War was in an article that noted a letter sent to the community by Thomson Wilson Leys. He stated the settlers “had contributed much to the prosperity of the Dominion. The sons of these men had proven a worthy succession in the Great War.”⁶⁷ This triumphalism was not uncommon at such events but was more subdued than similar displays after New Zealand’s participation in the Second Boer War 1899-1902.⁶⁸

The memorials in Albertland were not constructed until the 1920s. However, almost immediately after the First World War, each of the townships and rural communities in Albertland established separate committees to organise the erection of memorials. This explains why no single memorial for the fallen of Albertland was built, but instead several smaller memorials; they were organised and funded by separate groups from the separate Albertland communities. Memorials in Albertland took on many shapes and forms, and many straddled the boundary “between the memorial with one purpose only, to remember the dead, and what was known as the utilitarian scheme; that is one with a useful function.”⁶⁹ The distinction between these two types of memorial had been a point of contention, with the RSA favouring the first and civil authorities the latter.⁷⁰ It was thought that utilitarian memorials would eventually have their purpose forgotten, while simple memorials would always be seen solely as a tribute.⁷¹ In Wellsford, it took over a decade before the place and shape of the town’s memorial could be decided. The memorial was a communal effort, and the fundraising came through different avenues—cattle and pigs were even donated to the Memorial Society which they then sold. Eventually, the Wellsford Agricultural Society approached the Memorial Society with an offer to have the memorial built at their showgrounds. A stone archway was chosen, an appropriate option as it was respectful, practical, and able to take a central position in the town (Figure 79).⁷² Made of Auckland blue

⁶⁶ “Public Works,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LIII, Issue 125, 29 May 1922, p. 6.

⁶⁷ “Diamond Jubilee,” *Northern Advocate*, 30 November 1923, p. 3.

⁶⁸ Phillips, *To the Memory*, p. 85.

⁶⁹ Maureen R. Sharpe, “ANZAC Day in New Zealand: 1916-1939,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 15, No. 2 (1981): p. 107.

⁷⁰ Sharpe, “ANZAC Day in New Zealand,” pp. 107-108.

⁷¹ Phillips, *To the Memory*, p. 95.

⁷² Sharpe, “ANZAC Day in New Zealand,” p. 109.

stone, the arch had two plaques: one stating its purpose as a memorial and the other listing the names of the nine men from Wellsford who died in the war.⁷³ Seventy members of the Rodney Returned Soldiers' Association were present at the unveiling of the memorial in 1937, although due to poor weather the following ANZAC service was held in a hall opposite the memorial.



Figure 79: The Wellsford Memorial Archway shortly after its completion. Memorial Park Wellsford. Photograph, *The Memorial gates*, 2004.2.2007.681, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The memorial was completed in an atmosphere of unease about the international situation of the time. At the unveiling it was remarked that the fallen had taken part in a war hoped to be the final world-scale conflict, but that “events in the world today show that we are not living in peace but on the edge of a volcano.”⁷⁴ After the Second World War it became apparent that either another memorial was required, or the memorial archway needed renovations. It was not until 1957 that the memorial was renovated and moved to a new site, though without its complete archway. Moved again in 2013, the gateway serves as a memorial for both World Wars and has been a part of civic life as the entrance to the agricultural show-grounds and later the Wellsford domain.⁷⁵ The addition of names from the

⁷³ Lyn Johnston, *Wellsford Memorial Gates*, Unpublished Document held at the Albertland & Districts Museum, accessed 31.08.2023. <https://discover.stqry.app/en/stor y/9366>

⁷⁴ “Wellsford Notes,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 28 April 1937, p. 7.

⁷⁵ Lyn Johnston, *Wellsford Memorial Gates*, accessed 31.08.2023. <https://discover.stqry.app/en/stor y/9366>

Second World War to memorials for the First World War was common. Utilitarian memorials were more popular after the Second World War, but many towns could not afford large construction projects for halls or libraries, let alone another memorial. The latter might even be considered offensive if it were larger or grander than older memorials.⁷⁶

Wharehine had similar struggles with organising a memorial for their fallen. The people of Wharehine erected a smaller memorial, no less important, than their counterparts in Wellsford and theirs did not have another purpose. A single granite obelisk, the Wharehine memorial was inscribed with the names of the three men of the district who died in the First World War (Figure 80). By the close of the Second World War the memorial had fallen into disrepair, its foundations had broken, and the obelisk was at risk of collapsing. It was relocated to the grounds of the Wharehine Hall, and a new plaque was added, inscribed with the name of I. E. Blackburn who had died fighting in 1943.⁷⁷



Figure 80: Unveiling the Wharehine Soldiers Memorial on Prospect Hill. 17 Dec 1921. Photograph, *Address by Mr P Reekie*, 2004.2.2007.308, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford; Photograph, *Port Albert War Memorial Obelisk*, 2004.2.98.151, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

Port Albert also had a separate memorial for its fallen and, like Wharehine, it was an obelisk of granite inscribed with the names of the fallen in the First World War. However, after the Second World War, unlike Wharehine where names were added, another memorial was constructed. The new memorial was an arched gateway like that in Wellsford and functioned as an entrance to the Port Albert sports ground. It was constructed of brick with a

⁷⁶ Phillips, *To the Memory*, p. 169.

⁷⁷ Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, p. 94.

metal archway rather than of stone.⁷⁸ Like Port Albert, the community at Matakoho built two separate memorials: a stone column was built for the First World War, and a Second World War Memorial Hall was built opposite the column in 1959. This replaced the dilapidated community hall.⁷⁹ Regardless of the joint Albertland heritage of these settlements, they each built and maintained their own memorials after the First World War. As the Second World War memorials for all four settlements were built either adjacent to or as additions to the First World War memorials, it is no surprise that each settlement also had their own memorials for that conflict.

The Albertland name did not lend itself to memorials after these conflicts, it was too broad a term for intimate acts of remembrance. In 1937 a notice appeared in the district newspapers concerned that the omission of Port Albert from a list of ANZAC day services to be held in the district that year would result in low attendance. It reminded the public that a service would be held at the Port Albert memorial as it had been for the 16 previous years.⁸⁰ This desire for separate services and memorials makes it appear that even though Albertland heritage and connections had been rediscovered by the end of the 1920s, the losses felt in the two World Wars were still handled as losses for individual communities rather than as losses for the wider district.⁸¹ This follows the national trend for memorial construction. Almost all war memorials in New Zealand were constructed by communities of place, but what was considered local could be a matter of contention.

A focal point for Albertland regarding the World Wars and memorials was found in the person of Reginald Stanley Judson VC, DCM, MM. Like Rev. Gittos, Judson became a figure who transcended divides within the community. Judson was born in Wharehine and attended school in Port Albert, living the first 20 years of his life in the Albertland district before moving to Auckland to work as an engineer. Serving in the First World War, Judson was awarded the Victoria Cross, Distinguished Conduct Medal, and Military Medal within a single month, becoming one of the most decorated servicemen in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.⁸² Upon his return to New Zealand in 1919, a public tribute was held in

⁷⁸ Robin Morrison, *Memorial Gate at Port Albert*, 1970s, Auckland Museum Archive Collection, Reference No. PH-1992-5-RM-N4-F12-133, accessed 01.09.2023.

https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/collection/object/am_library-photography-91052

⁷⁹ Wilson, ed., *Paparoa-Matakoho*, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁰ "Rodney County Anzac Services," *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 28 April 1937, p. 7.

⁸¹ Phillips, *To the Memory*, p. 103.

⁸² "Personal," *Colonist*, Volume LXI, Issue 14912, 7 November 1918, p. 4.

his honour. Even though Judson never returned to live in Albertland, his heritage as an Albertland descendant was noted in many newspaper reports on the public tribute: “It is interesting to note that Lieut. Judson is a descendant of some of the early settlers of Port Albert.”⁸³

Despite his deeds taking place only ten years earlier, Stanley Judson was only mentioned in passing by Henry Brett in his book. He remarked on Judson’s Albertland roots and his familial link to Rev. Edger in a caption for a photograph.⁸⁴ Judson had lived in two different parts of the Albertland district and lived most of his adulthood in Auckland. He did not become too closely associated with any one area, thus so he was not considered a hero for any one area. Judson’s place as an Albertland hero is cemented at the Albertland & Districts Museum. In the foyer a framed photograph of Judson, accompanied by official miniatures of his medals, are displayed. This display, unveiled in 2011, was initiated through the efforts of the museum volunteers who felt that Judson’s place was as an Albertlander. By having this recognition in the museum, a man born in Wharehine, educated in Port Albert, and memorialised in Wellsford, has become a hero figure for the entire district.⁸⁵ Judson lived until 1972, reaching 90 years of age.⁸⁶

Henry Brett and Joint Projects of Remembrance

Monuments built of stone and brick grant a permanence to memories. However, unlike other forms of memorial, their effect could not be felt beyond their immediate location, hence new ways of memorialising Albertland were devised. By the time of Albertland’s 60th Jubilee the anniversary celebrations in Albertland had gone through many changes. From a single united celebration, they had split into smaller separate celebrations with denominational affiliations, and then back to a united celebration. However, the smaller communities and chapels still held separate events for their own anniversaries and war memorials had also been constructed in the separate townships in lieu of a single memorial for the district.

⁸³ “For Valour,” *Auckland Star*, Volume L, Issue 170, 18 July 1919, p. 6.

⁸⁴ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 210.

⁸⁵ “Reginald Judson 1891-1972,” (Wellsford: Albertland & Districts Museum, 4 July 2011).

⁸⁶ 1972 New Zealand Death Record [Database Online]. Surname: Judson; Given Name: Reginald Stanley; Registration Number 1972/27270, accessed 19.06.2024.

<https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dDeathSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults>

The 1922 diamond jubilee at Port Albert was chiefly attended by the settlers who had travelled on the *Matilda Wattenbach* and *Hanover*, and their descendants. The 1923 jubilee at Maungatūroto, which was also advertised as a jubilee for the town's church, was organised chiefly for the settlers of the *Tyburnia* and their descendants.⁸⁷ However, a photograph was taken of the original settlers present at the Port Albert jubilee, 19 in number, and it was noted that nearly all the Albertland ships were represented amongst the group. Therefore, the development of separate celebrations for the individual townships, and by extension separate ship groups, were not exclusive.⁸⁸

After years of slowly drifting apart the individual communities reconnected. Without the older settlers, and their religious divisions and views regarding the smaller settlements, the Albertland descendants formed a new narrative about their district. The new narrative offered cohesion. The smaller communities were still able to celebrate their individuality, but they were united in a common history and experience. Through this reformed identity, the Albertlanders maintained, to an extent, a separate identity from the communities around them. As travel and interconnectedness became routine, however, the increasing attendance at the Albertland anniversaries gave opportunities to reconnect with neighbours and friends whose paths had not crossed for decades. This in turn gave rise to larger projects of remembrance that became foundational in how the Albertlanders, and their descendants, remembered their community.

By 1923 there was a growing interest amongst Albertlanders and their descendants in recording the Albertland story. It was reported that Henry Brett and Henry Hook had already compiled information pertaining to Port Albert and Maungatūroto, and it was hoped the upcoming 60th anniversary of the Maungatūroto Church offered a chance for them to gather even more material. Although Brett did not attend the event, he sent a letter to the guests offering his fellowship and congratulations. His editor, Thomson Wilson Leys did attend.⁸⁹ Brett also requested that original settlers attending the church anniversary should bring any written material they had with them. This way copies and photographs could be taken for his work.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ "Albertland," *Auckland Star*, Volume LIV, Issue 287, 1 December 1923, p. 17.

⁸⁸ "—P. Stevens, photo," *Auckland Star*, Volume LIV, Issue 287, 1 December 1923, p. 17.

⁸⁹ "Diamond Jubilee," *Auckland Star*, Volume LIV, Issue 280, 23 November 1923, p. 7.

⁹⁰ "Diamond Jubilee Rally," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LX, Issue 18559, 17 November 1923, p. 10.

Due to the magnitude of his contribution to the memory of Albertland, Brett's work could be misconstrued as a solo endeavour. However, this is not the case. Whilst Brett gathered information on the Albertlanders a similar endeavour was taking place in Albertland itself. A committee had been formed with the purpose of gathering, correlating, and publishing the memories of various settlers before they died. The first mention of such a committee being formed comes from the settlement's 60th Jubilee, when Rowland Hames of Paparoa advocated for a history of Albertland and its various townships. This project, though, appears to have been underway by this time; the Albertland Records Association was mentioned as an already active body, and Hames had read a circular that had been sent throughout the Albertland settlements calling for contributions to their project.⁹¹ Brett's co-author, Henry Hook, was deeply entrenched in the workings of the settlement, having lived there since its establishment, and his faith in the Albertland dream never truly dissipated. As late as the 1922 jubilee, Hook was requesting the Albertland communities work together to resolve contention regarding stationmasters being placed throughout Albertland. Hook stated that "sixty years ago these districts fought together the battles of early colonisation. In the developments of a new century parochialism fits us badly."⁹²

The jubilees of the 1920s coincided with a change for Brett, who moved his focus from his newspapers to authoring books. His first foray was named *White Wings*, published in instalments with some chapters initially appearing in the *Auckland Star*.⁹³ It seems that from this venture the thought of publishing a series of articles on the Albertlanders in the *Auckland Star* arose, with Henry Hook acting as author and Brett as editor.⁹⁴ Brett had never severed his connection to the Albertland districts, and in 1926 the Albertland Records Association agreed to assist with expanding the published articles into a book.⁹⁵ The foreword of *The Albertlanders: Brave Pioneers of the 'Sixties* states that Brett had been collecting information on the Albertland settlers for years before the Records Association approached him with the offer of combining efforts. This shows Brett had maintained an interest in his fellow Albertlanders for some time before publishing *The Albertlanders*. His input to the project was described as having "the sympathetic insight of one who was himself a member of the immigrant party."⁹⁶

⁹¹ "Albertland Jubilee," *Auckland Star*, Volume LIII, Issue 126, 30 May 1922, p. 4.

⁹² "The North Auckland Line," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LIX, Issue 18139, 11 July 1922, p. 4.

⁹³ "Clipper Ships," *Auckland Star*, Volume LIII, Issue 154, 1 July 1922, p. 17.

⁹⁴ "The Albertlanders," *Auckland Star*, Volume LVI, Issue 138, 13 June 1925, p. 27.

⁹⁵ "Albertland Settlers," *Auckland Star*, Volume LVII, Issue 71, 25 March 1926, p. 6.

⁹⁶ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 5.

Leys remained connected to the Albertland settlement and his role as an Albertlander. He was invited to the various celebrations held at the settlement, and any mention of Henry Brett and Albertland inevitably included mention of Leys as another close fellow Albertlander. It was remarked that “if Albertland lost an indifferent farmer, Auckland gained a clever and successful journalist, and faithful advocate of her best interests.”⁹⁷ At the 35th Anniversary celebrations Leys, who had been on the organising committee for the event, was given a place of honour on the platform with other notable settlers, many of whom had also never settled at Albertland. The individuals involved were organised by the ships they travelled on; Leys was noted as a passenger on board the *Tyburnia*.⁹⁸ Leys also took part in an anniversary held at Takapuna specifically for the Auckland Albertlanders. Here, once again, Leys was an attendee of considerable note.⁹⁹ He was present years later at the 60th Jubilee of the Maungatūroto church and township, showing that his interest and connection to Albertland extended well into his later years and was not limited to any specific township in the settlement.¹⁰⁰

After the 60th jubilee the anniversary gatherings continued but with considerable difference to the pomp and excitement of earlier gatherings. The 70th anniversary was described as “by no means elaborate... they [the celebrations] were simple and sincere.”¹⁰¹ At the Port Albert celebration only six of the original settlers remained; they were all seated at the same table in the middle of the Port Albert Hall, acting as a centrepiece for the festivities. Of those six original settlers, three were from the Inger family and the others from three different families. Thomas Inger had recently surpassed 100 years of age, and his two daughters, Mary and Hannah, were both over 70 years old by this time.¹⁰²

A special church service was held at the Paparoa Methodist Church for the 70th Albertland anniversary in 1932. It was remarked that those original settlers present had been children when they arrived, and most of the Methodist congregation were descendants of the original group. However, J. H. Trounson commented on the absence of the old settlers. He stated “that those today [the descendants] who were intimately related could never feel that

⁹⁷ “Pen and Ink Portraits,” *Observer*, Volume 3, Issue 71, 21 January 1882, p. 296.

⁹⁸ “Albertland Settlers,” *Auckland Star*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 145, 24 June 1897, p. 3.

⁹⁹ “Reviving Youthful Days,” *Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette*, 19 March 1913, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ “Diamond Jubilee,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LIV, Issue 280, 23 November 1923, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ “Old Days Recalled,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LXIII, Issue 127, 31 May 1932, p. 3.

¹⁰² “Old Days Recalled,” *Auckland Star*, Volume LXIII, Issue 127, 31 May 1932, p. 3.

they were altogether removed from the history that meant so much to them.”¹⁰³ He continued, stating that the descendants of the Albertlanders needed to look far ahead, rather than to the immediate future, and that “a short view of the colonisation movement at that time would have pronounced it a failure, but in the long view it was not a failure at all.”¹⁰⁴ The 80th anniversary was overshadowed by the Second World War, and the post-war era anniversaries had a subdued air until reinvigorated by the Centenary Jubilee in 1962. The presence of original settlers became a thing of the past and commemoration, rather than memory, was the focus of events.

Institutionalisation of Memory: Albertland & Districts Museum

Concurrent with the anniversary celebrations in Albertland was another project to memorialise the settlement, one that was a century in the making. The work of Henry Brett and Henry Hook became the seminal work in the recording of Albertland’s history and was foundational in collecting material from various Albertlander families. However, the Albertland & Districts Museum in Wellsford, along with the Kauri Museum in Matakohē, represented the institutionalisation of memory in the district as documents, artefacts, and mementos were collected and catalogued in a permanent collection.

The first museum in Albertland was the private collection of Edwin Brookes Jnr. He allowed anyone interested to view his collection, which he kept displayed in his attic (Figure 81). Many of the objects in his collection came from his tenure as a government surveyor and included Māori objects from his time in Taranaki. The Brookes collection included objects ranging from archaeological finds and contemporary settler tools, to natural specimens such as taxidermy and a large quantity of kauri gum.¹⁰⁵ However, with Brookes Jnr’s death, interest in the collection dwindled and a great deal of the knowledge on how and where the items of Māori provenance had been found was lost. After the Second World War a descendant sold the family property and much of the collection was put into storage for decades.¹⁰⁶ However, the Alexander Turnbull Library and Auckland Museum took ownership

¹⁰³ “Paparoa,” *Northern Advocate*, 31 May 1932, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ “Albertland Pioneers,” *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LXX, Issue 21504, 30 May 1933, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ Lyn Johnston, “History – A museum takes shape,” *Local Matters*, 19 June 2017, <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/a-museum-takes-shape/> accessed 18.08.2023.

¹⁰⁶ Lyn Johnston, “History,” accessed 18.08.2023. <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/a-museum-takes-shape/>

of many of the manuscripts in the collection as it was felt they could preserve them far better than if they went back into storage.¹⁰⁷



Figure 81: The Brookes Collection at Wharehine, The First Unofficial Museum at Albertland. Photograph, *The Brookes Collection*, 2004.2.00.255, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The 1960s was a monumental decade for the Albertland district. Though by this time the name Albertland no longer appeared on any maps, as the district had been amalgamated into the Otamatea and Rodney Counties. A century since its inception, through troubles and turmoil, the descendants of the Albertlanders had to choose how to celebrate their community and the legacy of their progenitors. The effort applied to the centennial celebrations is best summarised in the foreword of the 1962 commemorative Albertland history that was printed in conjunction with the centenary events at Port Albert. “The work of the whole compiling committee, its contributors, checkers, typists, proof-readers and photographers is yet another example of the co-operative effort working towards the common good which has been typical of the First Hundred Years of this – our Albertland.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Lyn Johnston, “History,” accessed 18.08.2023. <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/a-museum-takes-shape/>

¹⁰⁸ Farr, *Albertland: The First 100 years*, p. 7.



Figure 82: Photograph, The Albertland 100th Anniversary Celebration, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The centennial celebration in 1962 was opened with a reenactment of the first landing of the settlers at Port Albert attended by a large crowd (Figure 82). This romanticised depiction showed settlers, played by Albertland descendants, arrive at Port Albert to a warm welcome from the local iwi and then make their way to the old boarding house. The reenactment showed some of the peculiarities of the first days of the Albertlanders: actors were dressed in suits complete with top hats, and large dresses with bonnets. It was a perfect, and unintended, reflection of the optimism and lack of preparedness of their forebears. The welcome from the local iwi was not too farfetched as Ngāti Whātua had been there to welcome the settlers upon their arrival.¹⁰⁹

Like earlier anniversaries, the centenary included a service of thanksgiving and commemoration. However, this service was non-denominational, an amalgamation of assorted services held at different public halls and chapels in the preceding decades. The service was held at the Port Albert Hall, utilised the Bible from the Minniesdale Chapel, and was led by Rev. Eric Wilson Hames.¹¹⁰ Hames was a descendant of Paparoa Albertlanders, and religion had played a pivotal role in the Hames family's lives through generations. Eric

¹⁰⁹ Borrows, *Albertland*, pp. 206-207.

¹¹⁰ Borrows, *Albertland*, pp. 206-207.

Hames had been a local preacher and then an ordained minister in the Methodist Church at Paparoa for decades, with a break only for his service in the First World War. His cousin, Inez Hames, worked as a Methodist schoolteacher and missionary in Fiji for almost 50 years, only returning to New Zealand for the Hames family reunion in 1964.¹¹¹

With the original Albertlanders gone, and most of the celebrants at the centenary being third, fourth, and fifth generation it raises a question—what were they offering thanks for and commemorating at this service? Thanksgiving was given for a century of growth and development, rather than achieving the intended goals of the scheme, and commemoration given for a varied history fraught with disagreements, denominationalism, reconciliation, and discourse. The best way to commemorate and memorialise a history so diverse was with a museum, a central storehouse of memory and knowledge for use by future generations.



Figure 83: The First Museum Beneath the Grandstand at Port Albert. Featured are the original printing press used to print the Albertland Gazette aboard the *Matilda Wattenbach*. Photograph, *Grandstand Museum Collection*, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The centennial brought the inauguration of the first official Albertland Museum. This was housed underneath the Port Albert Memorial Grandstand, which had been built as part of the centenary celebrations (Figure 83). Unveiled on the final day of the centenary by W. J. Scott, the M.P. for Rodney, the museum contained “dozens of valuable old photographs, farm implements, weapons, the plan of the envisaged ‘city’ of Port Albert, the frame of Samuel

¹¹¹ Hames, “I remember...,” pp. 66-67.

Johnson's printing press, and several copies of the newspapers produced on it."¹¹² However, in the following three decades it became apparent that the location did not meet the expectations of a museum. Staffed only by volunteers, the museum could only be open by appointment, significantly decreasing the chance of visitation. The location at Port Albert, while no longer difficult to reach, also decreased the chances of visitation due to its distance from State Highway One. The conditions inside began to deteriorate and many of the objects in the collection were soon overwhelmed by dampness, despite the best efforts of the staff.

By the middle of the 1980s, the need for a dedicated museum space had become increasingly apparent. Although, with only a small number of dedicated volunteers, led by Bess Farr, it was obvious that more manpower and fresh input was needed. Ivan Tomas was one of the chief instigators of the renewal project for the museum. Tomas was not an Albertlander descendant but had resided in Wellsford since 1947 and felt truly connected to the community. He had worked with Bess Farr's husband and through this relationship was invited to view the museum under the grandstand at Port Albert. He was impressed by the collection but concerned with the damp conditions and limited security. Some objects, including a collection of sporting caps, had already gone missing.¹¹³ It was decided that a new building, dedicated solely to the museum and archive, was needed and Wellsford Memorial Park was chosen as the site.

Clearing the site for the museum was not difficult as it consisted of only a few trees on the outskirts of the park. It was clear that the most difficult part of the project would be raising the funding for the construction of the main building. A fundraising effort through gala days, show days, and a large event involving the local fire brigade providing demonstrations was instigated.¹¹⁴ The main venture that brought funding for the museum was weekly fundraising dinners on Friday nights at the Wellsford RSA. These dinners were prepared by Tomas and other volunteers and continued for over two decades with the final fundraising dinner occurring in September 2004, over ten years after the museum had opened.¹¹⁵ Without the input of the entire community, dedicated volunteers, and extensive fundraising the Albertland & Districts Museum would not have opened in 1990 after six

¹¹² Borrows, *Albertland*, pp. 207-208.

¹¹³ "History- A Museum Takes Shape," *Local Matters*, 19 July 2017, accessed 13/10/2023.
<https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/a-museum-takes-shape/>

¹¹⁴ "History- A Museum Takes Shape," *Local Matters*, 19 July 2017, accessed 13/10/2023.
<https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/a-museum-takes-shape/>

¹¹⁵ "History- A Museum Takes Shape," *Local Matters*, 19 July 2017, accessed 13/10/2023.
<https://www.localmatters.co.nz/opinion/a-museum-takes-shape/>

years of work (Figure 84). Tomas' role in founding the museum was still being honoured in 2023 when, at a meeting of museum members and alumni, the Wellsford RSA presented him with a surprise meal and cake for his 90th birthday.¹¹⁶



Figure 784: Ivan Tomas Giving the opening address at the grand opening of the Albertland & Districts Museum. Photograph, *Opening of the Wellsford Museum*, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford; Photograph, *Opening Day of the Museum in Wellsford, 1989*, Photographic Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford.

The museum's enlarged size meant the collection could be expanded. From the foundation left by Edwin Brookes Jnr, the collection grew to include an archive of over 7,000 photographs, documents, family histories, and manuscripts of significance. The primary function of a community museum is to preserve evidence of the community's history and "to enable and encourage the community to access its memory."¹¹⁷ The Albertland & Districts Museum has attempted to achieve this by routinely publishing new editions of *The Albertlanders*. Many of the resources used in Brett's work are amongst those donated to the museum, which makes the work retroactively represent both the museum's collection as well as the community's memory. It should be noted that the relationship the contributors had to Brett's work is different to that of their descendants. *The Albertlanders* serves as a connection to the past for the descendants, while the contributors saw it as a way of preserving their heritage.¹¹⁸ As with any institution, limitations in handling and caring for the collection must

¹¹⁶ "Concluding 2023: A Celebration of Dedication and Milestones," *Albertland Heritage Newsletter*, January 2024, accessed 12/09/2024. <https://albertlandmuseum.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Albertland-Heritage-January-2024-Master.pdf>

¹¹⁷ Sarah Welland, *The Role, Impact, and Development of Community Archives in New Zealand*, May 2015, accessed 09/10/2021.

<https://repository.openpolytechnic.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/11072/1752/The%20role,%20impact%20and%20development%20of%20community%20archives%20in%20New%20Zealand.pdf?sequence=3>.

¹¹⁸ Gloyn et al., "The Ties That Bind," p. 159.

be recognised, and as new objects or documents are gifted to the museum, decisions must be made as to whether they are best cared for at another institution such as the National Archives. As of 2023, original deeds from 1867, signed by Governor George Grey, have been donated to the museum. A decision is pending as to whether they will be kept or passed onwards.¹¹⁹

The Museum contains large numbers of photographs as the use of photography in remembering Albertland was widespread and included work by non-professional and professional photographers. The subject matter encompassed landscapes, homes, individuals, and families. Some of these photographs are part of immense collections taken by single photographers, and others were taken as private mementos of special occasions. All can reveal different aspects of Albertland and its residents through visual memory and raise significant questions. Are these images showing the “true” or the idealised Albertland? Are they displaying the settlement and its people as they were, or have they been orchestrated to present specific narratives? Either way they can reveal how the memory of Albertland and its settlers have shaped the current community and how in retrospect the Albertland Special Settlement scheme achieved its aims.

Most of the museum’s photographic collection came from a single photographer, William Harold Marsh. Marsh was a generation removed from the original settlers: his father moved to the district, and his mother was a member of the prominent Becroft family. His passion for photography led to an enormous collection of images documenting the district’s history from the late 1800s to the 1930s. These photographs included landscapes, events, as well as portraits of individuals and families, providing a wide scope for future researchers to use. The glass plates that these photographs were imprinted on, numbering over 7,000, were also donated to the museum, as were large collections from photographers Cliff Grant and Don Worsnop. Marsh’s place in the memory of Albertland was noted in Brett’s work as many stories of Albertland’s early days were supplied by Marsh, who had gathered them from older settlers before they passed away.¹²⁰

The Marsh descendants have continued to hold on to their history and help preserve the collection at the Albertland & Districts Museum. Lynette Johnston, a descendant of the

¹¹⁹ Deeds – No. 161. Oruawharo No. 1 Block, Kaipara District, 1862, FC16, Map Collection, Albertland & Districts Museum, Wellsford; Deeds – No. 162. Oruawharo No. 2 Block, Kaipara District, 1862, FC16, Map Collection, Albertland & District Museum, Wellsford.

¹²⁰ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, pp. 154, 180, 218.

Marsh family, was born in Australia and moved to New Zealand at a young age, settling near Whenuapai. Her mother moved them to the district, and they took up residence in the Marsh family homestead “The Farm.” Johnston left but returned to the district in the early 1990s and became a committee member for both the museum and the Minniesdale Chapel. Johnston wrote over 30 articles for the local paper *Mahurangi Matters* about various historical events and anniversaries for the district, taking the history from the museum setting and into a community forum. Though she moved to the district from elsewhere, her connection to family and district history was keenly maintained.¹²¹

Graham Henderson, a trustee of the Albertland & Districts Museum, moved with his mother into the district in 1945 from nearby Matakana. Many Albertlander families had connections to Matakana, but it lay outside of the original district. Henderson recalled that at primary school, to be accepted meant knowing your history. Everybody knew each other’s families and how they were related; everybody was literally family in one way or another and exclusion came swiftly to those who could not prove a familial connection. Those without a connection of blood or marriage had to find connection in other ways, such as by joining community groups and contributing in the public sphere to “earn the right to belong in the district.”¹²² Henderson’s mother married into the Neal family when he was young and so, through marriage, he was connected to the Albertland descendant community. He was also sent to boarding school, considered a tradition amongst many families in the community, at Wesley College near Pukekohe. Despite an absence from the district after his schooling, Henderson returned to the community and has remained there for 50 years. This is a community with a strong set of family groups at its core and who maintained a sense of belonging through their knowledge of the past. This strong sense of family that permeated the community is what Henderson believes caused many transient people to remain in the district.¹²³

Henderson has taken a role of identifying and preserving the community’s origins. His maternal grandmother, a member of the Vipond family from Matakana, wrote a family tree that was passed down to him. The Vipond family intermarried extensively with Albertlander descendants including some from the Pricor, Becroft, Blackburn, Woodcock, and Treadwell families. As Henderson investigated these links, the family tree grew. With

¹²¹ “Vale- Lynette Johnston,” *Local Matters*, 3 Oct 2021, <https://www.localmatters.co.nz/Mahurangi-news/vale-lynette-johnston/>, accessed 13/10/2021.

¹²² Graham Henderson, *Graham Henderson: My Story*, email message to author, 10 November 2021.

¹²³ Graham Henderson, *Graham Henderson: My Story*, email message to author, 10 November 2021.

new technologies to aid organising the information, the family tree has grown to contain over 50,000 names, 90 percent of which are from his side of his family, not his spouse's side.¹²⁴ With an understanding of his own place in the Albertland story, Henderson's work at the museum has revolved around helping others understand their familial ties in the area and their link to the district's past, by identifying and showing them the land their ancestors once occupied. This knowledge gives them a sense of belonging within the community, and through that, the distinctiveness of the Albertlander identity may be maintained.

Many Albertlander descendants have spent decades as trustees of the museum, as well as working as its curators, archivists, and volunteers. Simultaneously acting as trustees of other community sites such as the Minniesdale Chapel and Port Albert Town Hall has caused these bodies to overlap. Thus, a small core of the community has taken a caretaker role for the history of the area. A cycle emerges in which these curators and volunteers preserve their history through these institutions and after their passing, the museum, chapels, and other sites will serve as their memorials. Other descendants then fill their roles, preserving Albertland's heritage until they too pass and the cycle repeats. The Albertland & Districts Museum, the chapels, and many organisations throughout the former Albertland district survive because the Albertland descendants protect and care for them. They are simultaneously storehouses of knowledge and living memorials to Albertland's legacy.

The Albertland & Districts Museum has made it easier for genealogical records and other material to be collected. Having such a large trove of information pertaining to Albertland's history means it operates as both a museum—functional space of “living” history—and as a monument—a static place which through its presence acts as a reminder of the past. The work of the museum as both museum and monument shows a continuing desire, on behalf of both volunteers and visitors, to identify with this past and have it shape part of a modern identity. The accessibility of the museum has allowed descendants who wish to learn more about their family's role in the history of the district to do so. The donated materials, not just family histories, but also letters, journals, and other documents, offer insight into how the descendants have wanted the settlement to be remembered. However, this does raise the question of whether the survival of these objects and not others was through chance or whether they were carefully chosen over other documents that may not have fitted a desired narrative? The museum is the culmination of Albertland's collective memory. It stands as the

¹²⁴ Graham Henderson, *Graham Henderson: My Story*, email message to author, 10 November 2021.

surest sign that the separation that occurred in the district's earlier years was not to last; descendants have joined together and formed their own connected history.

Conclusion

From the security of their homes in Britain to their new lives along the banks of the Ōruawharo, the Albertlanders exhibited a formidable determination to succeed. However, their success did not reveal itself in ways they may have expected and came with caveats that many were unprepared for. Difficulties in reaching the settlement, extreme hardships lasting years upon arrival, and more promising opportunities elsewhere led to most settlers abandoning the scheme. From an initial number of approximately 3,000, only 300 ever went to Albertland and almost half of those were gone before the end of the decade. There were varying degrees of community participation from those who remained in Albertland, and slowly the official leaders of the scheme were unable to reconcile their differences and abdicated their responsibilities. The small group of settlers who took over these responsibilities were tasked with resurrecting the settlement and became influential figures in both the civic and religious life of the community. They altered and changed it to fit their ideal of what Albertland should have been. The founder and leaders of the Albertland Special Settlement Scheme had hoped to create a community marked by a distinct and unifying identity, but this was only created in retrospect.

The success of the Albertland scheme came from the adaptability of the settlers when faced with seemingly insurmountable challenges. Facing challenges to their cohesion from within and without, the separate communities dealt with each one in ways that allowed contact with outside influences while simultaneously ensuring their continued control over their own affairs. Some settlers engaged in activities that the founders did not expect in their plan for the settlement. The Levet family with their vineyard, the Woodcock family with their legal troubles, and the Brookes family with their monopolisation of land, all pushed against the principles of their compatriots. Regardless, they were still accepted as part of the Albertland community. Likewise, the settlers who never ventured to the settlement, maintained a connection to the scheme through the title of “Albertlander,” irrespective of their location and social status. At times, the settlers who ventured elsewhere, such as Henry Brett, became more deeply intertwined with the story of Albertland than others who lived in the district. Accessibility to sport and recreation, the rights of women within society, and different styles of land ownership all confronted the community—each time they were overcome. This is what characterises the Albertlanders. Despite their differences and the many challenges, they maintained an identity and developed a sense of community that did

not rely on a specific quality. This meant that the Albertland community could transcend the borders of the district; as the decades since settlement passed, descendants only had to acknowledge their heritage to be included as Albertlanders.

This study has challenged the readily accepted notion in popular histories that the Albertlanders were a non-conformist group of purely English midlands stock and has contributed to our understanding of immigration, settler societies, and utopianism. Looking at their origins confirmed that these settlers were a far more diverse group. They included conforming Anglicans, even Catholics, and were from all parts of the United Kingdom, including Scotland and Ireland. The origins of the scheme's leaders also revealed previously unknown motivations and ambitions. Rev. Brookes' land acquisitions, Rev. Edger's hope for non-denominationalism rather than just non-conformism, and Brame's attempts to recoup his own financial losses did not align with the other settlers' intentions for immigration and were detrimental to the settlement.

This thesis has also probed lengthy sea voyages, a previously unexplored area of community formation in relation to Albertland. The behaviour exhibited by the Albertlanders during their voyages to New Zealand make apparent their motivations and show clearly which aspects of their past lives they wanted to maintain in the new settlement. Study of the Albertlanders who lived elsewhere has also allowed a broader understanding of the meaning of belonging, showing how passive involvement can lead to a person being considered part of a community. Likewise, it showed how transience allowed settlers to leave the settlement for years at a time and then return with no detriment to their social standing.

The memory of these experiences directed generations of Albertlanders through periods of hardship and success and generated a renewed interest from those who identified themselves as Albertlanders. The Albertland & Districts Museum stands as a memorial to the Albertlanders and a treasury of collective memory for past, present, and future generations. With access to this museum future generations of Albertlanders will be able to maintain a community identity and ensure Albertland is remembered as a success.

Quality of Leadership & Land

Throughout this thesis the nature of the Albertland community and their struggles to form permanent ties and bonds have been discussed. It is evident that the scheme faced significant

issues from its inception, but the foremost reason the Albertland settlement failed to take root or achieve expectations was the unsuitability of both the people and the land. William Rawson Brame, the progenitor of the scheme, had imagined a non-conformist religious settlement, and he had the charisma to attract people to the cause. His ability to maintain trust from the settlers waned significantly as it became clear to many that he intended the scheme to be a profit-making venture. Moreover, he lacked any true experience in organising such a large endeavour, relying on others similarly lacking in experience to direct the association. After multiple issues, the settlers' support of Brame turned to open hostility: he was, in all but name, banished from the settlement with his reputation ruined.

Harper Twelvetrees and Joseph Angus fully supported the scheme due to their philanthropic and religious views, but Twelvetrees did not assist the association in preparing for hardships; rather, he acted as a recognisable face for the scheme. Similarly, Angus, acting as chief of the council of reference, chose settlers based on religious suitability for the scheme, rather than whether they were suited to a life of frontier hardship. However, the number of opportunities for leaders amongst the settlers to emerge and take prominent roles in the community grew as the limitations of the official leadership became apparent. On board the ships the settlers attempted to build the foundations of their community. Cooperative Societies, Mutual Improvement and Agricultural societies, prohibition groups, and lodges were all conceived, with many under the leadership of "average" citizens unaffiliated with the official scheme leadership. The splitting of the settlers across numerous ships may have, as Rev. Edger asserted, hindered the development of the congregation and community. Yet there were settlers such as Samuel Johnson, Rev. Worker, Rev. Davis, and Henry Marcroft who committed to positive work on board and encouraged cooperation through shared activities and organisation.

Two of the schemes' official leaders, Rev. Edger and Charles Hook, were prepared to live in the settlement while maintaining leadership positions. Edger as the official religious leader and Hook in an administrative role. However, while Hook took up land in the northern Albertland settlement of Paparoa and was content with his place, Edger was unprepared for the disagreements amongst the settlement's leadership. Hook slowly abdicated his responsibilities but remained in the district, whereas Edger was unable to reconcile his planned role with the stark reality of his situation and so begrudgingly gave up his duties before leaving the district entirely. The interference of internal and external leadership, such as Rev. Gittos, caused Edger to abandon the scheme, leaving the settlement without official

religious leadership. It relied instead on the work of unofficial leaders and volunteers, which hastened the fracturing of the community.

Even if the Albertland Association had had a united, experienced, and well-intentioned leadership it may have been destined for the same outcome. The location of the settlement and the quality of the land played a large role in the initial collapse of the scheme. The Ōruawharo block was purchased by the Auckland Provincial Government not because it had any exceptional factors key to a settlement's survival but because it was the next step in a progression of land sales between Ngāti Whātua and the Crown. The Paparoa and Matakōhe blocks were more suitable for a new settlement. Land sales continued after the arrival of the Albertlanders, with the Opou block, and eventually the Paraheke reserve, also being sold to the Provincial Government and then on to settlers. The government surveyors who originally viewed the blocks gave an overly optimistic view of the land to the Albertland Association, who had given them the authority to reserve the land on their behalf. Two of the party of surveyors were appointed by the Association, and one had already emigrated to New Zealand and returned to Britain. However, the other surveyors were employed by the Provincial Government, which wanted the area settled and so had an incentive to portray the land as desirable.¹

After the settlers arrived in Auckland, they were dismayed to find no plans had been made to transport them to the settlement, and the Great North Road they had been promised existed only as lines on a map. This made the high wages and opportunities in Auckland too tantalising for many Albertlanders to forgo. The number of settlers from each ship willing to travel to the settlement steadily dropped after the arrival of the first three Albertlander ships. The settlement, intended to be a port, was knowingly placed on a harbour that had limited access due to a sandbar. Steep inclines, ruggedness, and density of the bush made travel to the Ōruawharo River, a vital lifeline, a very difficult undertaking and further discouraged settlers from remaining in the district. The ill-suitedness of the settlers to frontier life soon became obvious—many did not know how to clear the land or even farm their sections beyond small vegetable gardens grown close to their homes.

The involvement of Edwin Stanley Brookes Snr cannot be understated. His undermining of the scheme, by paying the passage fares of settlers in exchange for their land orders, made the scheme appear far more successful to its organisers than it truly was. When

¹ Brett and Hook, *The Albertlanders*, p. 7-8.

the allotments were distributed, the vast sum of land he accumulated left other settlers isolated from each other and led to accusations of land appropriation. This land acquisition was a concentrated family effort with the Brookes brothers acting as their father's agents in the settlement before his arrival. This signalled a deeper conflict. While the Brookes family had hoped to build a large family estate other settlers worked in concert with each other, owning land as shareholders, or working sections in tandem to save on labour costs. This shows that there were many different ideas among the settlers of how their society should be governed: whether it should contain large family estates as the Brookes family wished, or if it should have an egalitarian view of ownership and community spirit. Conflict between these styles of land ownership and the effects that had on the community certainly contributed to the initial failure of the Albertland scheme.

The presence of Ngāti Whātua in the district, while concerning to some individual settlers, did not deter the community; indeed, the Albertlanders relied heavily on their neighbours to survive the first tumultuous years of settlement. Without the goods that Ngāti Whātua contributed to early markets and their guidance in navigating the land, the settlement would have been in an even more dire state in its first decade and may not have survived at all. Throughout the decades after settlement there does not appear to have been any indication that the relationship between the Albertlanders and Ngāti Whātua was ever strained. The family histories and larger histories give an overly positive picture of the Albertlanders relationship with local iwi. However, more research is required here as this thesis did not explore their relationship in detail.

Non-conformist or Non-denominational

The breakdown of the Albertland scheme extended into the realm of religion. Although the place of religion in the settlement was significant, the nuances of its influence in Albertland's development had not previously been comprehensively investigated. Religion had a role in both dividing the community, in its initial phase, and acting as a uniting force in the years after the scheme's resurrection. Brame conceived Albertland as a non-conformist settlement, with non-conformist churches and their values as the bedrock of the new community. However, large numbers of conformists, Anglicans and even a small group of Catholics also joined the scheme. The conflict did not stem from disagreements between the non-conformists and the conformists but from among the non-conformists themselves.

Rev. Edger had joined the scheme as the official spiritual leader on the understanding that he alone would direct the settlement's religious development. Amongst the scheme's leaders he appears to have been the only non-denominationalist, with the others being denominational non-conformists. The splitting of the settlers across multiple ships hindered the establishment of a united congregation under Edger. In Britain he had preached at Baptist chapels and found he much preferred the non-denominational and non-sectarian chapel in Kimbolton. Initially this is what he found in Albertland, as the settlers were forced to worship together regardless of sectarian ideals. However, the splitting of the settlement and construction of the settlement's chapels meant that sectarian ideals were allowed to grow. Despite Edger's later admission that he felt non-sectarian meant the toleration of other denominations, his own actions, including abandoning the scheme, were fuelled by his inability to reconcile the different denominations in Albertland with his own views.

As explored in the thesis, the settlers' non-conformism was not a strong enough force to unify the community in its first years. They appeared more than willing to tolerate the different denominations but preferred to worship in a chapel that aligned with their denominational leanings. This split the community in its first years, though it allowed newcomers to the district to be easily welcomed and assimilated into the district. The Albertlanders overcame denominational differences and were willing to assist their fellow chapels and churches throughout the district, including those established by conforming denominations such as the Anglicans. Even the presence of conformist clergymen like Bishop Selwyn was tolerated; he was viewed as just another outside influence, much like Rev. Gittos. The other religious leaders were not doing anything contrary to the scheme's ideals in leading smaller congregations in lieu of Edger's larger group, they simply had a different idea of the settlement's religious freedom in practice. In the following decades, the Albertlanders were a denominational community, but they had taken opportunities in the years immediately after arrival to work together for communal wellbeing. Therefore, religion had a role in both the fracturing of the community and the resurrection of the scheme after its initial failures. This allowed the Albertlanders to maintain control of their religious life and retain a distinct identity.

Denomination as a Functional Decision

Through the decades, the denominations of Albertland showed that they were willing to come together and assist each other for the benefit of the wider district. After the fracturing of the settlement and initial failure of the scheme they became a uniting force, and the fracturing of the settlers into smaller denominational congregations represented a practical decision for the settlers—rather than one of religious fervour. Congregations worshipped together and either a chapel was built that adhered to a denominational doctrine that pleased the majority in the community, or the settlers merely went to the nearest chapel they had access to regardless of denomination. Assistance between the congregations could take the form of sharing buildings, financial assistance, or even sharing places of worship, such as when the Anglican congregation at Tauhoa received assistance from the Methodists of Port Albert and other chapels when they were in dire financial straits.

Although settlers of the different denominations were interspersed the denominations were centred on different parts of Albertland. Anglicans held considerable sway throughout the district due to their large numbers, especially in Paparoa and Wellsford where they formed the majority. The Congregationalist chapel was in nearby Maungatūroto. In Port Albert the Methodists held sway but they also had a congregation in Paparoa. The Baptists were firmly based around Wharehine and Port Albert, with the Minniesdale Chapel their epicentre. Being split between North and South Albertland, the Methodists encouraged more communication between the two districts than may have otherwise been as the lay preachers they elected were expected to attend multiple chapels in the circuit. Thus, preachers from Paparoa and Port Albert regularly attended each other's services. Being given a circuit roster, then can be seen as an example of a positive outside influence as the lay preachers may have otherwise preached solely at their home chapel. A similar outside influence is that of the Anglican Bishop, George Selwyn, who dictated that the Anglicans should worship with their fellow settlers for a longer period before building their own chapel. Further, Rev. Brookes bequeathed his chapel to the Baptist Union rather than the community; while this was an attempt by Brookes to ensure the chapel remained Baptist, it also ensured the survival of the chapel because outside influence could provide funding for its upkeep.

Previous works on the Albertlanders have discussed the locations and denominations of these chapels as if their locations were just happenstance. However, for a settler in Wharehine who happened to be Methodist, the journey to Port Albert was arduous and at

times dangerous, so worship at the Minniesdale Baptist chapel was preferable. Many of the settlers worshiped at specific chapels not because they adhered to that specific denomination's teachings but for convenience. The Matakohē Undenominational Church is confirmation of this. Both the Methodists and Congregationalists funded its construction but as it was too far from Paparoa, where most Methodists lived in North Albertland, it was agreed that only the latter group would use it for services. It was agreed, though, that other denominations could use the chapel if required. Religious belief was a core aspect of the Albertland settlement and its community. The initial tensions and splintering of the community were due in part to disagreements over denominationalism. However, choosing a chapel for worship did not always reflect personal feeling or communal conflict, but rather a convenient decision on a practical matter.

Albertland Among the Special Settlements of New Zealand

The Albertland settlement holds a unique place in the history of New Zealand and its special settlements. It was established at the behest of a provincial government that was openly competing with other provinces in the colony to attract settlers. Because of this, Albertland contrasted sharply with the settlements of the New Zealand Company. Wakefield's settlements relied heavily on speculation to attract investment and settlers; they were built with an underlying economic philosophy that ultimately doomed the Company when the investment and speculation did not materialise. However, having invested their own finances into the success of these settlements, many of the settlers felt compelled to stay rather than leave for opportunities elsewhere, though many did abandon these schemes regardless. Albertland did not rely on speculation. The 40-acre scheme implemented by the Auckland Provincial Government ensured that settlers of any class could take part in a settlement scheme in the province. It gave the settlers an incentive to remain on the land while at the same time relieving them of some financial burden. Alternatively, for the Albertlanders it also meant that should they see better opportunities elsewhere, namely in Auckland, then they had no reason to remain in the settlement and could abandon their allotments.

With no landowning policy set out by the scheme's founders, Albertland was more susceptible to conflict over land. Rev. Brookes and Rev. Edger are the prime example of this. Both came into the scheme with different styles of land ownership, and these came into

conflict with each other. However, because he speculated and obtained such large swathes of land, Rev. Brookes was compelled to remain in the settlement even as his finances depleted. Rev. Edger, on the other hand, was able to leave the settlement, find opportunity elsewhere, and still maintain an interest in Albertland. Other settlers were able to put what finances they had brought with them into developing their land or into communal projects such as the agricultural and mutual improvement societies, further assisting the settlement's success.

Compared to the other Northland special settlements, Waipū and Pūhoi, Albertland was unique. The Albertlanders did not have a significant cultural identity to unite them like their counterparts in the Highland and Bohemian settlements. It represented a settlement of predominantly English settlers in a British colony. This made it easier for the Albertlanders to integrate themselves into other communities if they decided to abandon the scheme, something the settlers of Waipū and Pūhoi may have struggled with due to cultural and language barriers. Indeed, Rev. Norman McLeod of Waipū had hoped for an isolated settlement to prevent the intermingling of his settlers with others.

Reasons for emigrating elucidate a difference between the Albertlanders and other settlers. The Waipū Scots left Scotland due to both severe economic factors and a feeling of persecution. While economic factors did affect many Albertlanders, many were from middle-class backgrounds and their reasons for emigrating can be hard to determine. Religion, a major part of the scheme, seemed to be a deciding factor for many, while the promise of land ownership certainly encouraged others. The Scots of Waipū brought with them a style of land ownership that stemmed from Highland cultural practices; this was distinct from the settlements around them and may have contributed to their isolation for a time.

Why the settlements of Waipū and Pūhoi appeared more successful in their initial years is owing to many different factors. Chiefly, unlike the Albertlanders, the Waipū settlers had already emigrated twice before, first to Canada and then Australia. Coming from a rural background and settling in two extreme environments before reaching Waipū readied the Scots for the task of establishing their settlement, far more so than the Albertlanders, many of whom came from urban backgrounds and had no experience in frontier or rural life. The Albertlanders prepared for their settlement in a vastly different way. While Pūhoi and Waipū were developed organically, settlers creating a township that grew slowly, the Albertlanders pre-planned their township. Before arriving in the colony, the Albertland Association had planned their entire township, ascribed roles and responsibilities to certain leaders, and had

expectations that the settlement's development would follow this clearly laid plan. This was one of the stark issues that caused many to abandon the scheme even after making the arduous journey to New Zealand and then to Albertland. When their carefully laid plans unravelled the settlers were unable to adapt. The settlers of the other Northland settlements had built their townships ad hoc and through trial and error were adaptive.

As previously discussed, the starkest comparison between Albertland and its fellow Northland settlements is its denominationalism. The fracturing of the planned Albertland non-denominational congregation made the district home to numerous denominations, including Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Anglicans, and Catholics. Waipū and Pūhoi both enjoyed united congregations in their settlement. However, this contrast mean that the Albertlanders were in fact less denominational than their neighbours because they were more welcoming of different religious ideas. The Pūhoi and Waipū settlements made clear their religious affiliations and in doing so set a barrier between themselves and others. The Albertlanders' embrace of new arrivals was not vital to the settlement's survival but certainly provided them new manpower, ideas, and financial capital that they may have missed had they remained in a united congregation.

Fair comparison could also be made between Albertland and the Scandinavian settlements of the Wairarapa. Unlike the Northland communities the Scandinavians were brought to New Zealand by the government directly, without a third party like the Albertland Association. They were chosen largely because of their Protestantism and because they were seen as capable of enduring harsh conditions that were a part of frontier life. Dannevirke, the Danish settlement in Southern Hawkes' Bay, was isolated. It served as a vanguard for later settlements, being used to clear the land for others who came after them. Unlike the Waipū Scots the Danes maintained their language for decades and were proud to be seen as distinct from those around them due to their culture, not their religious beliefs. This isolation and language barrier allowed the Danes to maintain a distinct identity that endured and was celebrated by generations of their descendants. Though it is true that aspects of that identity, such as their language, slowly changed or were lost.

This research has revealed the uniqueness of the Albertland settlement when compared to other special settlements of the era. It may share one facet in common with other settlements—similar location, the make-up of the settler group, similar religious belief, or being established by a third party. However, its mixture of these is unlike any other

settlement. Albertland descendants were able to maintain a distinct identity, though changed throughout the years, from those around them. The creation of a community memory and an understanding of their place in New Zealand's history has allowed them to celebrate and memorialise their story.

Creation of Albertland Memory

Throughout this research it became apparent that family histories, at least in relation to the Albertlanders, had both significant benefits and limitations. The stories contained within these works were tales not found in other popular histories on the settlement. They offered insight into the lives of the settlers in ways that archival records could not and showed the perception that the settlers and their descendants had of their story.

Discovering the untold lives of the Albertlanders before their emigration was made doubly difficult by the omission of those stories in family histories and genealogies. The family histories contained in the Albertland & Districts Museum and New Zealand archives are most usually written by New Zealanders and focus on the family's history from their arrival in the colony until the time of writing. There are notable exceptions amongst middle-class families such as the Hames, Edger, and Brookes families whose large quantities of writings and letters from their time in Britain have survived. Much information about the Albertlanders before their departure from Britain comes from newspapers and archival documents such as the census and birth, death, and marriage records. The digitisation of archival documents and ease of accessibility to international archives could explain why many family histories omit these documents; the authors were unable to gain access.

A caveat to these points is that all these sources—family histories, newspapers, even many archival records—focus on the visible and more prosperous people. Additionally, they tend to focus on family groups rather than single settlers who may have travelled by themselves. Hence, our understanding of the experiences of Albertlanders before their emigration is skewed to the more affluent. For many single settlers, name, address, and field of employment are all that is known of them and their experience must be inferred from those. However, thanks to the intermarriage of many Albertland families, some of the settlers who travelled alone made appearances in some histories with additional information about their backgrounds.

The voyage from Britain to New Zealand is a point of transformation for the settlers. They change from a conglomeration of people with a united aim to a fledgling community. The trials and tribulations on the ships offer a convenient starting point for family histories, as it omits the harder-to-research British lives of the settlers but allows the story to be set definitively as one of settler spirit. The *Albertland & Ocean Chronicle*, first published at sea, granted an overview of the struggles many faced on board the various settler ships but also served as the beginning of a record of the community and its activities. It detailed the various groups that formed and the relationships established, as well as reporting on the difficulties the community faced—which pointed to the beginnings of its fracturing.

Almost immediately after settlement, the Albertlanders seemed committed to celebrating anniversaries. The first anniversary saw significant celebration even though the settlers were enduring hardships. As the situation in the settlement stabilised, celebrations developed into commemorative events, no longer to observe another year passed but to commemorate significant events since settlement. However, these events split into smaller celebrations specifically tailored to the smaller communities and institutions in the districts. They show that the memory of Albertland fractured with the community after the initial failures of the scheme. Slowly this aspect changed. Major anniversaries, such as the 25th, saw separate celebrations being held throughout Albertland and in Auckland. This showed that the memory of Albertland was important not just to those who lived in the district but also to those who had left; the community had expanded and become more inclusive.

In contrast to the earlier memorials and anniversaries that reflected the fracturing of the settlement the newer memorials for the World Wars merely showed the individual struggles that the smaller parts of Albertland had faced through these major events. The hall for the 25th anniversary, the Wellsford memorial arch, the Port Albert grandstand, all represent utilitarian memorials; they were spaces that could act as a memorial but still be used by the community for different purposes. They paved the way for the creation of the Albertland & District Museum. The projects of remembrance associated with the 60th anniversary celebrations, by the community and in conjunction with Henry Brett, were creating a depository of communal memory.

The Albertland community were united in their desire to preserve their history. However, this was not the history of a failed settlement but was written as the story of a living community. The Museum, with its volunteer-driven construction, funding, and

preservation, has become threefold: a hub of communal memory, a physical memorial, and a community project. It serves as the continuation of Brett and the earlier community's work in that it is a testament to a living community. Though existing only in memory, the title of "Albertlander" is still an identity that is admired, held, and protected by those who claim it. The Albertland Association and its intentions were not achieved. But through the efforts of the settlers and their descendants who have maintained a distinct identity, Albertland is a retrospective success.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Data Fields in Research Database

The list below is of the fields included in the Database of Albertland Settlers created for this research. However, the database itself is too large to include in its entirety in this document.

Fields in the Albertland Settler Database:

- Are they part of the Research Study Group? Y/N
- Record Number
- Family Name
- First Name
- Family ID
- Familial Link (to Senior Family Member)
- Gender
- Denomination
- Occupation (Before Departure from Britain)
- Occupation (After Arrival in New Zealand)
- Ship Name
- Date Ship Left Port
- Date Ship Arrived in New Zealand
- Date of Birth
- Date of Death
- Age at Arrival
- Age at Death
- Place of Death
- Number of Dependants (and Gender if known)
- Married Y/N
- Date of Marriage
- Are there any linked sources relating to this settler?
 - News Article Y/N
 - Census Y/N
 - Documentation or Archival Source Y/N

- Images Y/N
 - Genealogical or Family History Website Y/N
- Did they Stay or Leave Albertland? (Indication given if they Stayed, Left, or Never Went)
- UK Address (Last Known)
 - Street
 - City
 - County
- Additional Notes

- Date of Birth

ID	Family Name	First Name	Family ID	Familial Link	DOB	Document Year	Description	Notes	Link
1058	REDFERN	Janez	REDFB1	Sister Fam. Ma.	5 Jan 1915	2020	Registration of Birth	MyHirings; English Birth Collection	https://www.mchirstree.com/famsearch/?cmd=20046-37D9032f&mccr=&src=inca&nid=3&birth_christmaswcb_5592246
1063	REDFERN	Elinbeth	REDFB1	Wife	24 Dec 1915	2020	Registration of Birth	MyHirings; English Birth Collection	https://www.mchirstree.com/famsearch/?cmd=20046-6d1e8c222f&nashibid=3&candaid=3&birth_christmaswcb_5592246#t
1102	ROBINSON	Mary	ROBIIB1	Sister Fam. Ma.	Dec 31st 1942	2020	Gravestone information	billiongraves.com	http://fb.billiongraves.com/offers/Search?ID=12117/&from_mchirstree
1109	ROGERS	Ana	ROGER2	Wife	Apr 10 1925	2020	Registration of Birth	MyHirings; English Birth Collection	https://www.mchirstree.com/famsearch/?cmd=20042-51032328f&ncat=cic&nid=3&birth_christmaswcb_5592246#t
1118	ROGERS	George William	ROGER2	Son	1 Aug 1952	2020	Registration of Birth	MyHirings; English Birth Collection	https://www.mchirstree.com/famsearch/?cmd=20042-325d185f&ncat=cresso&cic=nid=3&birth_christmaswcb_5592246
1145	SHEPHERD	John	SHEPB1	Sister Fam. Ma.	07 Jul 1933	2020	Registration of Birth	MyHirings; English christening collection	https://www.mchirstree.com/famsearch/?cmd=20042-495293fd&john_shepherd&cic=nid=3&birth_christmaswcb_5592246
1146.1	SHEPHERD	John Alfred	SHEPB1	Son	July 1T 1959	2020	Registration of Birth	MyHirings; English christening collection	https://www.mchirstree.com/famsearch/?cmd=20042-5d7229df&john_shepherd&cic=nid=3&birth_christmaswcb_5592246
1150	SNEDECLOCK	Adam	SNEDEB1	Sister Fam. Ma.	04 Dec 1906	2020	Registration of Birth	MyHirings; English Birth Collection	https://www.familytreebuilder.co.uk/view.php?id=2075-MainView

Number	Family Name	First Name	Family ID	Familial Link	DOD	Year	Reference	Description	Link	Retrieved
1058	REDFERN	James	REDF#1	Senior Fam. Membe	Jun 24th 1900	1900	NEW ZEALAND HERALD, VOLUME XXXVII, ISSUE 11410, 28 JUNE 1900.	Death	https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/papers/params?NZH=19000638&_date_start=&_date_end=&_terms_per_page=1000&query=james:redfern&snippets=true&sort_by=bjdgA&start_date=01-01-1900&title=NZABIGQz2cNA5z2cALG5z2cACNfZv2cASz2cAKTImz2cDSCz2cFFTIMh2cKVEZ2cZH2cZNHAGQz2cZnZv2cTDQz2cFwTz2cBGTvKGz2cAGEArticle	11/10/20
1060	REDFERN	Mary Jane	REDF#1	Daughter	13-Feb-21	1921	Index No. R1921/9086	NZ Death Records	https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/aSearchPz#the_querySubmit.m%3FPleoprlname%3D&search%3CRecordsRecordPF%3C430ESearchResults	12/10/20
1061	REDFERN	Richard	REDF#1	Son	25 Jun 1893	1893	ROCKLAND STAR, VOLUME XXIV, ISSUE 253, 1 NOVEMBER 1893	Article that mentions his death	https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/papers/params?AS189318014&_end_date=31-12-1933&terms_per_page=1000&query=richard:redferm&snippets=true&sort_by=bjdgA&start_date=01-01-1893	10/10/20
1062	REDFERN	George	REDF#1	Son	3-Feb-01	1901	NEW ZEALAND HERALD, VOLUME XXXVIII, ISSUE 11659, 5 FEBRUARY	Article about Death	http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/papers/params/NZH=19010205&_date_start=&_date_end=&_terms_per_page=1000&phrase=george:redfern&snippets=true&sort_by=bjdgA&start_date=01-01-1901	10/10/20
1063	REDFERN	Elizabeth	REDF#1	Wife	c. 20 Feb 1871	1871	SOUTHERN CROSS, VOLUME XXVII, ISSUE 4224, 27 FEBRUARY	Obituary	http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/papers/params/DSC18710227&_date_start=&_date_end=&_terms_per_page=1000&phrase=20query:redferm&snippets=true&sort_by=bjdgA&start_date=01-01-1871	10/10/20
1076	RICHARDS	Bertha	RICH#1	Daughter	7-Sep-32	1932	NEW ZEALAND HERALD, VOLUME LXIX, ISSUE 12183, 9 SEPTEMBER	Obituary	https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/papers/params/NZH=19320909&_date_start=&_date_end=&_terms_per_page=1000&phrase=bertha&snippets=true&sort_by=Dia.rev&start_date=01-01-1932&title=NZABIGQz2cNA5z2cALG5z2cACNfZv2cASz2cAKTImz2cDSCz2cFFTIMh2cKVEZ2cZH2cZNHAGQz2cZnZv2cTDQz2cFwTz2cBGTvKGz2cAGEArticle	27/03/20
1077	RICHARDS	Froeh	RICH#1	Son	16-Feb-18	1918	VOLUME LVI, ISSUE 11087, 17 FEBRUARY	Obituary	https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/papers/params/NZH=19180217&_date_start=&_date_end=&_terms_per_page=1000&phrase=20query:froeh&snippets=true&sort_by=bjdgA&start_date=01-01-1918	27/03/20

- Date of Marriage

- Pictorial/Image
 - Images have been removed to protect copyright.

Record Number	Family Name	First Name	Family ID	Familial Link	Picture	Document Year	Description	Link	Retrieved
1058	REDFERN	James	REDF#1	Senior Fam. Member		2020	Rev James Redfern	https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-145674681-1-8348/james-redfern-in-myheritage-family-trees	10/10/2020
1058	REDFERN	James	REDF#1	Senior Fam. Member		2020	Rev James Redfern	https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:1111-3Q9M-CSKJ-3VJ	10/10/2020
1062	REDFERN	George	REDF#1	Son		2020	George Redfern in masonic(?) gear.	https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:1111-3Q9M-CSKJ-3VJ	10/10/2020
1078	RICHARDS	Evan Jnr	RICH#1	Son		2020	Evan Jnr and Clara Gimmer	https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-200054171-1-10/evan-richard-in-myheritage-family-trees?i=353834639	27/03/2020

- Family History Website

Record Number	Family Name	First Name	Family ID	Familial Link	Retrieved	Description	Link
1058	REDFERN	James	REDF#1	Senior Fam. Member	10/10/2020	family tree data	https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-145674681-1-8348/james-redfern-in-myheritage-family-trees
1059	REDFERN	James	REDF#1	Son	10/10/2020	family tree data	https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-145674681-1-8350/james-redfern-in-myheritage-family-trees
1060	REDFERN	Mary Jane	REDF#1	Daughter	10/10/2020	family tree data	https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-145674681-1-8350/mary-jane-burn-redfern-in-myheritage-family-trees
1061	REDFERN	Richard	REDF#1	Son	10/10/2020	family tree data	https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-145674681-1-8352/richard-redfern-in-myheritage-family-trees
1062	REDFERN	George	REDF#1	Son	10/10/2020	family tree data	https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-145674681-1-8353/george-w-redfern-in-myheritage-family-trees
1063	REDFERN	Elizabeth	REDF#1	Wife	10/10/2020	family tree data	https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-1-145674681-1-8349/elizabeth-redfern-born-kidwell-in-myheritage-family-trees

Appendix C: Excerpt of Research Database Featuring Study Group

Family Name	First Name	Family ID	Familial Link	Denomination	Ship	County
ABBEY	Frank Goodman	ABBE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	Yorkshire
ADAMS	Emma	ADAM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	Gertrude	Shropshire
ADAMS	Ann	ADAM#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
ADAMS	Ann	ADAM#1	Wife	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
ADAMS	John	ADAM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
ADSHED	William Henry	ADSH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	London
AIKEN	Annie	AIKE#1	Wife	Not Stated	Annie Wilson	Lanarkshire
AIKEN	William	AIKE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Annie Wilson	Lanarkshire
ALERDICE	Maria	ALER#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	London
ALEXANDER	Agnes	ALEX#1	Daughter	Unknown	Gertrude	Midlothian
ALEXANDER	Andrew	ALEX#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Gertrude	Midlothian
ALEXANDER	Margaret	ALEX#1	Daughter	Unknown	Gertrude	Midlothian
ALEXANDER	Margaret	ALEX#1	Wife	Unknown	Gertrude	Midlothian
ANDERSON	John M	ANDE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Northumberland
ANTROBUS	Edward C.	ANTR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	N/A
ARCH	Benjamin	ARCH#2	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
ARCH	Sophia	ARCH#2	Wife	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
ARCHER	Edmund	ARCH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	William Miles	London
ARCHER	John	ARCH#3	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
ARCHER	Mary	ARCH#3	Wife	Not Stated	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
ARMIGER	James	ARMI#1	Brother	Anglican	William Miles	Middlesex
ARMIGER	Robert Jukes	ARMI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	Middlesex
ARMITAGE	William	ARMI#3	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
ARMITAGE	Ann E.	ARMI#2	Daughter	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ARMITAGE	John	ARMI#2	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ARMITAGE	Mary Ann	ARMI#2	Wife	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ARMITAGE	William C.	ARMI#2	Son	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ASHLEY	Joseph	ASHL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	Oxfordshire
ATTENBOROUGH	John	ATTE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
BACH	Ellen	BACH#1	Wife	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire
BACH	Emily	BACH#1	Daughter	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire
BACH	Florence	BACH#1	Daughter	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire
BACH	Harriet	BACH#1	Daughter	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire
BACH	Helen	BACH#1	Daughter	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire

BACH	Maria	BACH#1	Daughter	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire
BACH	Rachel	BACH#1	Daughter	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire
BACH	Richard	BACH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire
BACH	Thomas	BACH#1	Son	Anglican	Gertrude	Worcestershire
BAILEY	Annie	BAIL#1.1	Wife	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	John	BAIL#1.4	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	John	BAIL#1.2	Son	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	Josiah Quincey	BAIL#1.1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	Mary	BAIL#1.2	Wife	Independent	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	Naomi	BAIL#1.2	Daughter	Independent	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	Ruth	BAIL#1.2	Daughter	Independent	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	Samuel	BAIL#1.2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	Sarah	BAIL#1.4	Wife	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	Thomas	BAIL#1.3	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	William	BAIL#1.1	Son	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAILEY	Isaac	BAIL#1.5	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
BAKER	Henry James	BAKE#2	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	London
BAKER	Mary-Ann	BAKE#2	Wife	Independent	Gertrude	London
BALDOCK	Edward	BALD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
BALDOCK	Elizabeth	BALD#1	Mother	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Kent
BALDOCK	Elizabeth	BALD#1	Sister	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Kent
BALDOCK	George	BALD#1	Brother	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
BALDOCK	Harriet	BALD#1	Sister	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Kent
BARTLETT	Alfred	BART#1	Son	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTLETT	Alfred Gregory	BART#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTLETT	Alice	BART#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTLETT	Eliza	BART#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTLETT	Emma Jane	BART#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTLETT	Esther Sarah	BART#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTLETT	Henry Gregory	BART#1	Son	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTLETT	Marianna	BART#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTLETT	Sarah	BART#1	Wife	Anglican	William Miles	London
BARTON	Annie	BART#2	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	London
BARTON	Henry	BART#2	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
BARTON	Maria	BART#2	Wife	Baptist	William Miles	London
BARTON	Samuel Henry	BART#2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	London
BAXTER	Agnes	BAXT#1	Wife	Presbyterian	William Miles	Lanarkshire

BAXTER	John	BAXT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Presbyterian	William Miles	Lanarkshire
BAXTER	Robert	BAXT#1	Son	Presbyterian	William Miles	Lanarkshire
BAXTER	Thomas	BAXT#1	Son	Presbyterian	William Miles	Lanarkshire
BAYSLEY	George	BAYS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
BAYSLEY	Jane	BAYS#1	Wife	Not Stated	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
BEANEY	Adam Dyson	BEAN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	London
BEANEY	Annie	BEAN#1	Daughter	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	London
BEANEY	Mrs. Sarah	BEAN#1	Wife	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	London
BEANEY	Rebecca	BEAN#1	Daughter	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	London
BEANEY	Sarah	BEAN#1	Daughter	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	London
BEASLEY	Henry Thomas	BEAS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Non-conformist	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BECROFT	Alfred	BECR#1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	David	BECR#1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	John	BECR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	John	BECR#1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	Joseph	BECR#1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	Lucy	BECR#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	Mary Ann	BECR#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	Peter	BECR#1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	Phillip	BECR#1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BECROFT	Susan	BECR#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
BENNETT	Alfred Edward	BENN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	London
BENNETT	Edwin	BENN#2	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Worcestershire
BIRD	George	BIRD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
BLACKBURN	Benjamin	BLAC#1	Son	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BLACKBURN	David	BLAC#1	Son	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BLACKBURN	Edward	BLAC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BLACKBURN	Sarah	BLAC#1	Wife	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BLANDFORD	Blanch	BLAN#1	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire
BLANDFORD	Constance	BLAN#1	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire
BLANDFORD	Eliza	BLAN#1	Wife	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire
BLANDFORD	Emily	BLAN#1	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire
BLANDFORD	George B.	BLAN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire
BLANDFORD	Lillian	BLAN#1	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire
BLANDFORD	Maud	BLAN#1	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire
BLANDFORD	Morgan	BLAN#1	Son	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire
BLANDFORD	Rosa	BLAN#1	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Wiltshire

BLOMFIELD	Alice	BLOM#1	Granddaughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Charles	BLOM#1	Son	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Elizabeth Emily	BLOM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Ellen	BLOM#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Emma	BLOM#1	Daughter-in-law	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Frances	BLOM#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Frederick William	BLOM#1	Son	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Grace	BLOM#1	Granddaughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Mary-Ann	BLOM#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOMFIELD	Samuel	BLOM#1	Son	Baptist	Gertrude	London
BLOW	William	BLOW#1	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
BOOT	Alfred	BOOT#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Surrey
BOOT	Augusta	BOOT#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Surrey
BOOT	George Herbert (Hubert?)	BOOT#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Surrey
BOOT	Robert	BOOT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Surrey
BOOT	Robert Ernest	BOOT#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Surrey
BOTTRILL	Christopher	BOTT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
BOTTRILL	Sarah	BOTT#1	Wife	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
BOTTRILL	Christopher Harry	BOTT#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
BOTTRILL	Amy Eliza	BOTT#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
BRADBURY	Jane	BRAD#1	Wife	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
BRADBURY	Florence Mary	BRAD#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
BRADBURY	William	BRAD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
BRADLEY	Alex	BRAD#2	Senior Fam. Member	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Catherine	BRAD#2	Daughter	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	David	BRAD#2	Son	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Franklin	BRAD#2	Son	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Jane	BRAD#2	Daughter	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Jane	BRAD#2	Daughter-in-law	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	John Alexander	BRAD#2	Son	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Mary	BRAD#2	Daughter	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Robert	BRAD#2	Son	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Samuel	BRAD#2	Son	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Susanna	BRAD#2	Wife	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRADLEY	Susanna	BRAD#2	Daughter	Unitarian	Gertrude	Down, Ireland
BRAITHWAITE	Joseph	BRAI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
BRAME	Elizabeth	BRAM#1	Wife	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
BRAME	William Rawson	BRAM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire

BRETT	Henry	BRET#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	
BROOKES	Albert Edward	BROO#1	Brother	Baptist	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
BROOKES	Charles Henry	BROO#1	Brother	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
BROOKES	Edwin Stanley Jnr	BROO#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
BROOKES	George Hovey	BROO#1	Brother	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
BROOKES	Edwin Stanley Snr	BROO#1	Father	Baptist	Caduceus	Nottinghamshire
BROOKES	Jemima	BROO#1	Mother	Baptist	Caduceus	Nottinghamshire
BROOKES	Mary Annie	BROO#1	Sister	Baptist	Caduceus	Nottinghamshire
BROOKES	Frederick Augustus	BROO#1	Brother	Baptist	Caduceus	Nottinghamshire
BROWN	Arthur	BROW#1	Son	Not Stated	William Miles	Yorkshire
BROWN	Henrietta	BROW#1	Daughter	Not Stated	William Miles	Yorkshire
BROWN	Samuel	BROW#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	William Miles	Yorkshire
BROWN	Sarah	BROW#1	Wife	Not Stated	William Miles	Yorkshire
BROWN	Thomas	BROW#1	Son	Not Stated	William Miles	Yorkshire
BROWN	Peter	BROW#2	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	London
BROWN	Christopher	BROW#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
BROWNE	Edward	BROW#2	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Norfolk
BROWNE	Eliza	BROW#2	Wife	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Norfolk
BUCKTON	Clara Evaline	BUCK#1	Daughter	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BUCKTON	Emily	BUCK#1	Daughter	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BUCKTON	Emma Dean	BUCK#1	Wife	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BUCKTON	Joseph	BUCK#1	Son	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BUCKTON	Joseph Isherwood	BUCK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
BULL	Henry	BULL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Annie Wilson	Isle of Wight
BULLEN	Jane Sarah	BULL#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Hampshire
BULLEN	Robert	BULL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Hampshire
BULLEN	Robert A.	BULL#1	Son	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Hampshire
BULLEN	Thomas	BULL#1	Son	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Hampshire
BURDETT	Alfred Lovett	BURD#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Leicestershire
BURDETT	Charles Martin	BURD#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Leicestershire
BURDETT	Edward Deacon	BURD#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Leicestershire
BURDETT	Eliza	BURD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Leicestershire
BURDETT	Francis John	BURD#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Leicestershire
BURDETT	John	BURD#1	Husband	Unknown	Hanover	Leicestershire
BURDETT	Theodore	BURD#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Leicestershire
BURGESS	William Sydney	BURG#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	Gloucestershire
BYRON	Edward	BYRO#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
BYRON	Harry	BYRO#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire

BYRON	Mrs. Elizabeth	BYRO#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
BYRON	Thomas	BYRO#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
CARLAW	Catherine Ann	CARL#1	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Durham
CARLAW	James	CARL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	Durham
CARLAW	James	CARL#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Durham
CARLAW	Jane	CARL#1	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Durham
CARLAW	Mary Ann	CARL#1	Wife	Independent	William Miles	Durham
CARLAW	Thomas Munro	CARL#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Durham
CARLAW	William Weatherhead	CARL#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Durham
CASHMORE	Ann	CASH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Gertrude	Warwickshire
CASHMORE	Benjamin	CASH#1	Son	Unknown	Gertrude	Warwickshire
CASHMORE	Elon	CASH#1	Son	Unknown	Gertrude	Warwickshire
CASHMORE	Robert	CASH#1	Husband	Unknown	Gertrude	Warwickshire
CASHMORE	Thurza-Ann	CASH#1	Daughter	Unknown	Gertrude	Warwickshire
CASHMORE	William	CASH#1	Son	Unknown	Gertrude	Warwickshire
CHADWICK	Jane	CHAD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	Yorkshire
CHADWICK	William	CHAD#1	Husband	Independent	Gertrude	Yorkshire
CHAMBERS	John	CHAM#2	Son	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	Mary	CHAM#2	Daughter-in-law	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	Mrs Mary Ann	CHAM#2	Wife	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	Sarah	CHAM#2	Granddaughter	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	William	CHAM#2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	Harriot Blyton	CHAM#2	Granddaughter	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	Jean	CHAM#2	Granddaughter	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	Moses	CHAM#2	Son	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	Sarah Ann	CHAM#2	Daughter-in-law	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMBERS	Sarah Ann	CHAM#2	Granddaughter	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
CHAMPION	Eric W.	CHAM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	London
CHIDGEY	Cornelius	CHID#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	London
CHOAT	Alfred John	CHOA#1	Son	Independent	Gertrude	London
CHOAT	Alice Elizabeth Heyne	CHOA#1	Wife	Independent	Gertrude	London
CHOAT	Catherine Rebeckah	CHOA#1	Daughter	Independent	Gertrude	London
CHOAT	Elizabeth	CHOA#1	Daughter	Independent	Gertrude	London
CHOAT	James Fawcett	CHOA#1	Son	Independent	Gertrude	London
CHOAT	John	CHOA#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	London
CHOAT	Sarah Amelia	CHOA#1	Daughter	Independent	Gertrude	London
CLARKE	Ebenezer	CLAR#1	Son	Baptist	Gertrude	London

CLARKE	Elizabeth	CLAR#1	Wife	Baptist	Gertrude	London
CLARKE	James	CLAR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	London
CLARKE	Martha Ann	CLAR#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
CLIFF	Annie	CLIF#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
CLIFF	Annie	CLIF#1	Sister-in-Law	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
CLIFF	George Kidwell	CLIF#1	Husband	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
CLIFF	James	CLIF#1	Father-in-Law	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
CLIFF	James Redfern	CLIF#1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
CLIFF	Mary	CLIF#1	Mother-in-Law	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
CLIFF	Richard	CLIF#1	Brother-in-Law	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
COCKAYNE	Annie	COCK#1	Daughter	Non-conformist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
COCKAYNE	Clara	COCK#1	Daughter	Non-conformist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
COCKAYNE	Harriet Maria	COCK#1	Daughter	Non-conformist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
COCKAYNE	John	COCK#1	Son	Non-conformist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
COCKAYNE	Harriet	COCK#1	Wife	Non-conformist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
COCKAYNE	Thomas William	COCK#1	Son	Non-conformist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
COCKAYNE	Thomas	COCK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Non-conformist	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
COLLISON	Edward	COLL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Leicestershire
COOKSEY	Samuel Brett Farmer	COOK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Non-conformist	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
COOPER	Theophilus Jr	COOP#1	Son	Unknown	Gertrude	Surrey
COPLEY	Charlotte	COPL#1	Daughter	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Yorkshire
COPLEY	Elizabeth	COPL#1	Daughter	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Yorkshire
COPLEY	Harriet	COPL#1	Wife	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Yorkshire
COPLEY	Mary	COPL#1	Daughter	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Yorkshire
COPLEY	William	COPL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Yorkshire
CORDWELL	Emma	CORD#2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	Devon
CORLETT	Benjamin J.	CORL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lancashire
CORLETT	Claude F.	CORL#1	Brother	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lancashire
COTTERELL	Alice Harriet	COTT#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
COTTERELL	Ellen Ann	COTT#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
COTTERELL	Harriet	COTT#1	Wife	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
COTTERELL	Henry	COTT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
COTTLE	Alice	COTT#1	Wife	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Alice	COTT#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Charlotte	COTT#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Frances	COTT#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Henry	COTT#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon

COTTLE	Henry Wyatt	COTT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Jane M.	COTT#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Kate	COTT#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Laurence	COTT#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Morford	COTT#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Richard Wyatt	COTT#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COTTLE	Thomas	COTT#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
COUPLAND	Elizabeth	COUP#1	Wife	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
COUPLAND	Emma	COUP#1	Daughter	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
COUPLAND	Harriet	COUP#1	Daughter	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
COUPLAND	James	COUP#1	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
COUPLAND	Levi	COUP#1	Son	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
COUPLAND	Sarah Ann	COUP#1	Daughter	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
COUSINS	James	COUS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Presbyterian	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
CRANWELL	Sarah	CRAN#1	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
CRANWELL	Benjamin	CRAN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
CRANWELL	Charles	CRAN#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
CRANWELL	Hannah Binns	CRAN#1	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
CRANWELL	John Benjamin	CRAN#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
CRANWELL	Thomas	CRAN#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
CRANWELL	Eliza	CRAN#2	Wife	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	London
CRANWELL	Robert	CRAN#2	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Matilda Wattenbach	London
CRAWFORD	Alice	CRAW#1	Sister-in-law	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Lancashire
CRAWFORD	Bertha Balfour	CRAW#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Lancashire
CRAWFORD	Isabella Balfour	CRAW#1	Sister	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Lancashire
CRAWFORD	William Balfour	CRAW#1	Brother	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Lancashire
CRAY	Charles Doudney	CRAY#1	Husband	Unknown	Hanover	Hampshire
CRAY	Catherine Rogers	CRAY#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Hampshire
CRAY	Charles Fredrick	CRAY#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Hampshire
CRAY	Elizabeth	CRAY#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Hampshire
CRAY	Frances Mary	CRAY#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Hampshire
CRAY	Margaret	CRAY#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Hampshire
CRAY	Margaret	CRAY#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Hampshire
CUMMINGS	Robert	CUNN#1	Brother	Baptist	Hanover	Middlesex
CUNNINGHAM	Ann Maria	CUNN#1	Wife	Baptist	William Miles	Middlesex
CUNNINGHAM	Benjamin	CUNN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	Middlesex
CUTFORTH	Richard	CUTF#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Lincolnshire
DAVIES	Frederick	DAVI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Hanover	Lancashire

DAVIS	Jesse	DAVI#2	Son	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
DAVIS	Mala	DAVI#2	Daughter	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
DAVIS	Jane	DAVI#2	Daughter-in-law	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
DAVIS	Phoebe	DAVI#2	Wife	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
DAVIS	William	DAVI#2	Grandson	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
DAVIS	William	DAVI#2	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
DAVIS	Valentine	DAVI#3	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Oxfordshire
DAY	William Seller	DAY-#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Warwickshire
DIBBLE	Annie Maria	DIBB#1	Daughter	Non-conformist	Hanover	Somerset
DIBBLE	Christopher Huett	DIBB#1	Son	Non-conformist	Hanover	Somerset
DIBBLE	Frederick Charles Huett	DIBB#1	Son	Non-conformist	Hanover	Somerset
DIBBLE	George	DIBB#1	Senior Fam. Member	Non-conformist	Hanover	Somerset
DIBBLE	Susan	DIBB#1	Wife	Non-conformist	Hanover	Somerset
DICKEY	John	DICK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Antrim, Ireland
DICKEY	Samuel	DICK#1	Brother?	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Antrim, Ireland
DRIVER	Charlotte	DRIV#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Cambridgeshire
DRYDEN	George	DRYD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Northumberland
DRYDEN	Simon	DRYD#2	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Durham
DUCE	JOHN	DUCE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
DUCE	Sarah	DUCE#1	Wife	Independent	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
DUCKENFIELD	Charles	DUCK#2	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Warwickshire
DUCKWORTH	James Henry	DUCK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	London
DUDDING	Elizabeth	DUDD#1	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Herefordshire
DUDDING	John Gover	DUDD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	Herefordshire
DUDDING	Susanna	DUDD#1	Wife	Independent	William Miles	Herefordshire
DUDDING	William	DUDD#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Herefordshire
DUNLOP	William	DUNL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Scottish Free Churches	William Miles	Midlothian
EDGER	Emily Marian	EDGE#1	Daughter	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
EDGER	Gertrude	EDGE#1	Daughter	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
EDGER	Frank	EDGE#1	Son	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
EDGER	Kate	EDGE#1	Daughter	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
EDGER	Mrs. Louisa	EDGE#1	Wife	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
EDGER	Rev. Samuel	EDGE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
EDWARDS	James Thomas	EDWA#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	William Miles	London
ELLIOTT	Charles	ELLI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
ELLIS	Richard	ELLI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon

EVENDEN	Sarah	EVEN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	London
EVENDEN	William	EVEN#1	Husband	Anglican	Gertrude	London
FARRAND	William Bleckley	FARR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Society of Friends	Gertrude	Leicestershire
FENWICK	Ralph Green	FENW#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Durham
FITCHERY	Joseph	FITC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
FLETCHER	Howard	FLET#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Warwickshire
FOX	William	FOX-#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
FREER	Alfred	FREE#1	Son	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
FREER	Elizabeth	FREE#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
FREER	Julia Annie	FREE#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
FREER	Sarah Ann	FREE#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
FREER	William	FREE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
FREER	Lillah/Zilliah	FREE#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
FRYER	James A.	FRYE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
FULLJAMES	Eleanor	FULL#1	Wife	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Alfred Theodore	FULL#1	Son	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Clara-Catherine	FULL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Eleanor Eliza	FULL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Elizabeth	FULL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Emma-Julia	FULL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	George	FULL#1	Son	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Lucy-Jane	FULL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Mary-Ann	FULL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Sarah	FULL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Thomas	FULL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FULLJAMES	Thomas William George	FULL#1	Son	Baptist	William Miles	Kent
FURNESS	William F.	FURN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Gertrude	London
GAMBLE	Mary Ann	GAMB#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	Warwickshire
GAMBLE	Thomas	GAMB#1	Husband	Independent	William Miles	Warwickshire
GEORGE	Henry Rees	GEOR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	Kent
GILLMAN	George M.	GILL#1	Son	Independent	Annie Wilson	Monmouthshire
GILLMAN	Harriet B.	GILL#1	Wife	Independent	Annie Wilson	Monmouthshire
GILLMAN	Harry A.	GILL#1	Son	Independent	Annie Wilson	Monmouthshire
GILLMAN	John E.	GILL#1	Son	Independent	Annie Wilson	Monmouthshire
GILLMAN	Keson	GILL#1		Independent	Annie Wilson	Monmouthshire
GILLMAN	Mary S.	GILL#1	Daughter	Independent	Annie Wilson	Monmouthshire

GILLMAN	Thomas R.	GILL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Annie Wilson	Monmouthshire
GILLMAN	Thomas R.	GILL#1	Son	Independent	Annie Wilson	Monmouthshire
GLENN	Joseph Attwell	GLEN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	Leicestershire
GLOVER	Albert Edward	GLOV#1	Son	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Nottinghamshire
GLOVER	Jane	GLOV#1	Wife	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Nottinghamshire
GLOVER	Robert Jukes	GLOV#1	Son	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Nottinghamshire
GLOVER	Uriah	GLOV#1	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	William Miles	Nottinghamshire
GOLDS	Richard	GOLD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	Herefordshire
GOOCH	Anna	GOOC#1	Wife	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Hampshire
GOOCH	Anna Fanny	GOOC#1	Daughter	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Hampshire
GOOCH	Arabella	GOOC#1	Daughter	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Hampshire
GOOCH	Charles Augustus	GOOC#1	Son	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Hampshire
GOOCH	Thomas Frederick	GOOC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Hampshire
GOOCH	Thomas Frederick	GOOC#1	Son	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Hampshire
GOOCH	William Edward	GOOC#1	Son	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Hampshire
GOODALL	Ann	GOOD#2	Wife	Baptist	William Miles	Nottinghamshire
GOODALL	Frank	GOOD#2	Son	Baptist	William Miles	Nottinghamshire
GOODALL	John	GOOD#2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	Nottinghamshire
GOODALL	Mary	GOOD#2	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Nottinghamshire
GRANT	Ann	GRAN#1	Wife	Unknown	Caduceus	Lincolnshire
GRANT	Joel	GRAN#1	Son	Unknown	Caduceus	Lincolnshire
GRANT	Joseph	GRAN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Caduceus	Lincolnshire
GRANT	Robinson	GRAN#1	Son	Unknown	Caduceus	Lincolnshire
GREGORY	Alfred Butt	GREG#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	London
GRICE	Thomas Marshall	GRIC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Lincolnshire
GRIFFIN	Agnes	GRIF#1	Wife	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Hampshire
GRIFFIN	George	GRIF#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Hampshire
GRIGG	Albert	GRIG#1	Son	Baptist	Annie Wilson	London
GRIGG	John	GRIG#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	London
GRIGG	Emma	GRIG#1	Wife	Baptist	Annie Wilson	London
GRIGG	Frederick H.	GRIG#1	Son	Baptist	Annie Wilson	London
GRIGG	John H.	GRIG#1	Son	Baptist	Annie Wilson	London
HALL	Cecilia	HALL#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
HALL	Edgar	HALL#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
HALL	Faith	HALL#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
HALL	Harry	HALL#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire

HALL	Jane E.	HALL#1	Wife	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
HALL	Matthew	HALL#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
HALL	William	HALL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
HAMES	Mary Hames (nee Maddox)	HAME#1	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Ironsides	Herefordshire
HAMES	Charles Hames	HAME#1	Husband	Methodist	Ironsides	Herefordshire
HAMES	Rowland	HAME#1	Son	Methodist	Ironsides	Herefordshire
HAMES	Martin Luther	HAME#1	Son	Methodist	Ironsides	Herefordshire
HAMES	Oliver	HAME#1	Son	Methodist	Ironsides	Herefordshire
HAMES	Josiah	HAME#1	Son	Methodist	Ironsides	Herefordshire
HAMMOND	Mary Ann	HAMM#1	Wife	Independent	Gertrude	Gloucestershire
HAMMOND	Thomas	HAMM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	Gloucestershire
HANSEN	John	HANS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
HANSEN	Mrs. Elizabeth	HANS#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
HARLESNAPE	Ann	HARL#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Westmorland
HARLESNAPE	William	HARL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Westmorland
HARPER	George	HARP#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	London
HARPER	Harriet	HARP#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
HARRISON	John	HARR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
HARRISON	John	HARR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Suffolk
HARTNELL	George Totterdell	HART#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Somerset
HARVEY	Andrew	HARV#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
HARVEY	George	HARV#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
HARVEY	Hannah H	HARV#1	Wife	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
HARVEY	Hannah	HARV#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
HARVEY	Horatio N	HARV#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
HARVEY	Jane	HARV#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
HARVEY	Louisa	HARV#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
HARVEY	William	HARV#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
HAYES	Elizabeth	HAYE#1	Daughter	Methodist	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
HAYES	Elizabeth	HAYE#1	Wife	Methodist	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
HAYES	Elydia	HAYE#1	Daughter	Methodist	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
HAYES	James Berry	HAYE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
HAYES	Mary Jane	HAYE#1	Daughter	Methodist	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
HAYES	Sarah-Ann	HAYE#1	Daughter	Methodist	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
HAZARD	William Henry	HAZA#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	London
HAZLEHURST	William	HAZL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	Cheshire
HEFFORD	Robert	HEFF#1.1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Northamptonshire
HEFFORD	William	HEFF#1.2	Brother	Unknown	Hanover	Northamptonshire

HERBERT	Thomas	HERB#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Durham
HERSEY	James	HERS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Sussex
HEWETSON	Thomas	HEWE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Hanover	Surrey
HEWLETT	Ada	HEWL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEWLETT	Esther	HEWL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEWLETT	James	HEWL#1	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEWLETT	John	HEWL#1	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEWLETT	Mary Broughton	HEWL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEWLETT	Minnie	HEWL#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEWLETT	Olivia	HEWL#1	Wife	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEWLETT	Thomas	HEWL#1	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEWLETT	Thomas	HEWL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	London
HEYWOOD	Henry	HEYW#1	Son	Unknown	Victory	Lancashire
HEYWOOD	Lambert	HEYW#1	Son	Unknown	Victory	Lancashire
HEYWOOD	Margaret	HEYW#1	Wife	Unknown	Victory	Lancashire
HEYWOOD	Oliver	HEYW#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Victory	Lancashire
HILL	John E.	HILL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
HINDLE	Anna	HIND#1	Daughter	Christian Disciples	Gertrude	Shropshire
HINDLE	Ellen	HIND#1	Daughter	Christian Disciples	Gertrude	Shropshire
HINDLE	Emma	HIND#1	Daughter	Christian Disciples	Gertrude	Shropshire
HINDLE	Sarah	HIND#1	Wife	Christian Disciples	Gertrude	Shropshire
HINDLE	Thomas	HIND#1	Senior Fam. Member	Christian Disciples	Gertrude	Shropshire
HINKLEY	Goward	HINK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Cambridgeshire
HOLDERSHAW	David	HOLD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
HOLMES	Thomas	HOLM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
HOOK	Ann	HOOK#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
HOOK	Ann	HOOK#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
HOOK	Charles	HOOK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
HOOK	Ellen	HOOK#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
HOOK	John	HOOK#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
HOOK	Mary	HOOK#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
HOOK	Richard	HOOK#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
HOPKINS	Henry	HOPK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
HORLEY	Phillip	HORL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Devon
HORNE	Thomas	HORN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	London
HOUGHAM	Jesse Henry	HOUG#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	London
HOUGHAM	Sarah	HOUG#1	Wife	Baptist	Gertrude	London
HOWARD	Sarah Jane	HOWA#2	Wife	Anglican	Hanover	Warwickshire

HOWARD	William	HOWA#2	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Hanover	Warwickshire
HOWARD	Samuel	HOWA#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	London
HUBERT	Hippolite W.	HUBE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	London
HUGHES	Fredrick	HUGH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	London
HUGHES	Fredrick	HUGH#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	London
HUGHES	Thirza	HUGH#1	Wife	Independent	William Miles	London
HUNT	Thomas George	HUNT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
HURLE	James G.	HURL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	Angus
INGER	Emma	INGE#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
INGER	Hannah	INGE#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
INGER	Mary	INGE#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
INGER	Mrs. Mary Ann	INGE#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
INGER	Thomas	INGE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
JAMES	Henry J.	JAME#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
JEROME	Elizabeth	JERO#1	Daughter	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Isle of Wight
JEROME	Joseph	JERO#1	Son	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Isle of Wight
JEROME	Sarah	JERO#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Isle of Wight
JOHNSON	Joseph	JOHN#2	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
JOHNSON	Hannah	JOHN#1	Daughter	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
JOHNSON	Samuel	JOHN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
JOHNSON	Thurza	JOHN#1	Wife	Anglican	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
JOHNSTON	Joseph	JOHN#3	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Ida Zeigler	Lincolnshire
JONES	Sarah Alice	JONE#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	Lancashire
JONES	Elizabeth	JONE#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	Lancashire
JONES	John	JONE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	Lancashire
JONES	Sophia	JONE#1	Wife	Anglican	William Miles	Lancashire
JONES	Abednego Price	JONE#2	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Gertrude	Merionethshire
JONES	Ellen	JONE#3	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	Warwickshire
JONES	Thomas	JONE#3	Husband	Not Stated	Gertrude	Warwickshire
JONES	Thomas	JONE#4	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	London
JUDD	Charles	JUDD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Warwickshire
JUDD	Eliza	JUDD#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Warwickshire
JUDD	Elizabeth	JUDD#1	Wife	Unknown	Hanover	Warwickshire
JUDD	William Henry	JUDD#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Warwickshire
JUDD	Betsy	JUDD#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Warwickshire
KENDALL	William	KEND#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
KENSINGTON	Charles Spearing	KENS#1	Son	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset

KENSINGTON	Frederick Bridges	KENS#1	Son	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Sarah Catherine	KENS#1	Daughter	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Cecil Thomas Charles Spearing	KENS#1	Son	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Charles Jephson William	KENS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Charlotte Edith	KENS#1	Daughter	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Henry de la Porte	KENS#1	Son	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Marion	KENS#1	Daughter	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Olivia Emily	KENS#1	Wife	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Norreys Jephson	KENS#1	Son	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	Renora Eleanor	KENS#1	Daughter	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KENSINGTON	William Charles	KENS#1	Son	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
KINGSFORD	Charles	KING#2	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	William Miles	Kent
KIRK	Amy	KIRK#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
KIRK	George	KIRK#1	Son	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
KIRK	Harry	KIRK#1	Son	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
KIRK	Sarah	KIRK#1	Mother	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
KIRK	Sarah Jane	KIRK#1	Wife	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
KIRK	Thomas	KIRK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
KIRK	Thomas William	KIRK#1	Son	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
KIRKWOOD	Marion	KIRK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Annie Wilson	Lanarkshire
LEAF	Alfred	LEAF#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Hanover	Yorkshire
LEAF	Ann Eliza	LEAF#1	Sister	Anglican	Hanover	Yorkshire
LEAF	Elizabeth	LEAF#1	Mother	Anglican	Hanover	Yorkshire
LEAF	Julia	LEAF#1	Sister	Anglican	Hanover	Yorkshire
LEAF	Robert Jnr	LEAF#1	Brother	Anglican	Hanover	Yorkshire
LEAF	Robert Snr	LEAF#1	Father	Anglican	Hanover	Yorkshire
LEAF	William	LEAF#1	Brother	Anglican	Hanover	Yorkshire
LEGGE	John	LEGG#1	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
LEGGE	Mrs. Emma	LEGG#1	Wife	Methodist	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
LEVET	Charles	LEVE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
LEVET	Charles	LEVE#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
LEVET	Frances Elizabeth	LEVE#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
LEVET	Joseph	LEVE#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
LEVET	Keziah	LEVE#1	Wife	Unknown	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
LEVET	William Crisp	LEVE#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
LEYS	Thomson Wilson	LEYS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
LEYS	William	LEYS#1	Father	Independent	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
LEYS	Hannah Hartley	LEYS#1	Mother	Independent	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire

LEYS	Charles	LEYS#1	Brother	Independent	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
LINDSEY	Samuel	LIND#1	Brother	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
LINDSEY	Wright	LIND#1	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
LINGARD	William	LING#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
LITTLE	James	LITT#1	Son	Unknown	Gertrude	London
LITTLE	Eliza	LITT#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Sussex
LITTLE	Francis William	LITT#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	London
LITTLE	Harriett	LITT#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	London
LITTLE	Henry George	LITT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	London
LITTLE	Henry John	LITT#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	London
LITTLE	Mary	LITT#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	London
LITTLE	Mary	LITT#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Sussex
LITTLE	Selina	LITT#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	London
Longbottom	Ann	LONG#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Hanover	Lincolnshire
Longbottom	Barnard	LONG#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Hanover	Lincolnshire
Longbottom	Carter	LONG#1	Son	Wesleyan	Hanover	Lincolnshire
Longbottom	Elizabeth	LONG#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Hanover	Lincolnshire
Longbottom	Ellen	LONG#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Hanover	Lincolnshire
Longbottom	James Larder	LONG#1	Son	Wesleyan	Hanover	Lincolnshire
Longbottom	Margaret	LONG#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Hanover	Lincolnshire
LORD	Sarah	LORD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Lancashire
LOVELL	Joseph	LOVE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Oxfordshire
LOVELL	Sarah	LOVE#1	Wife	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Oxfordshire
MAKINS	Edward	MAKI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	Northumberland
MARCROFT	Annie Louisa	MARC#1.1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	Edwin	MARC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	George Lindley	MARC#2	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	Henry	MARC#1.1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	John William	MARC#1.1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	Frances Edith	MARC#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	Sarah Hannah	MARC#1.1	Wife	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	Ruth	MARC#1.1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	Susan Ann	MARC#1.1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	Thomas	MARC#1	Brother	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARCROFT	William	MARC#1	Brother	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
MARSH	Henry	MARS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Ida Zeigler	Shropshire
MARSH	William	MARS#1	Brother	Unknown	Ida Zeigler	Shropshire
MARTIN	Edward John	MART#1	Son	Anglican	Gertrude	London

MARTIN	Edwin	MART#2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	Warwickshire
MARTIN	John	MART#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	London
MARTIN	Maria	MART#1	Daughter	Anglican	Gertrude	London
MARTIN	Maria	MART#1	Wife	Anglican	Gertrude	London
MASEFIELD	Grace	MASE#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	Warwickshire
MASEFIELD	Jane	MASE#1	Sister or Daughter?	Anglican	William Miles	Warwickshire
MASEFIELD	Joseph	MASE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	Warwickshire
MASEFIELD	Mary	MASE#1	Wife	Anglican	William Miles	Warwickshire
MASON	John	MASO#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
MASON	Mary Ann	MASO#1	Sister	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
MAWER	James Sharpley	MAWE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Lincolnshire
McANDREW	James	MCAN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Lanarkshire
McANDREW	Mrs Elizabeth	MCAN#1	Wife	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Lanarkshire
MEACHEM	George	MEAC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Middlesex
MEACHEM	George	MEAC#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Middlesex
MEACHEM	Martha	MEAC#1	Wife	Wesleyan	William Miles	Middlesex
MEACHEM	Martha Elizabeth	MEAC#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Middlesex
MEACHEM	Samuel	MEAC#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Middlesex
MILLER	Robert Thomas	MILL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Congregational	Hanover	London
MOORE	Amos	MOOR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Lancashire
MOORE	George	MOOR#1	Brother	Anglican	William Miles	Lancashire
MOORE	John	MOOR#1	Brother	Wesleyan	William Miles	Lancashire
MORLEY	Ann Eliza	MORL#1	Daughter	Anglican	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
MORLEY	Charles	MORL#1	Son	Anglican	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
MORLEY	Mary Ann	MORL#1	Wife	Anglican	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
MORLEY	William	MORL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
MORRIS	Thomas H.W.	MORR#2	Senior Fam. Member	Society of Friends	William Miles	Warwickshire
MORRIS	James	MORR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
MORRIS	Laura	MORR#1	Daughter	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
MORRIS	Olive	MORR#1	Wife	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
MORRIS	Olive	MORR#1	Daughter	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
MORRIS	James	MORR#1	Son	Unknown	William Miles	Somerset
MORTIMORE	John	MORT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Wiltshire
MORTIMORE	Martha Ann	MORT#1	Wife	Anglican	Gertrude	Wiltshire
MUCKLESTON	William Davis	MUCK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	London
MUNRO	Donald	MUNR#1	Senior Fam. Member	United Presbyterian	William Miles	Lanarkshire
MUNRO	Robert	MUNR#1	Brother	United Presbyterian	William Miles	Lanarkshire

NEWBY	Charles	NEWB#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	London
NEWBY	Charlotte Amy	NEWB#1	Daughter	Anglican	William Miles	London
NEWBY	Francis Charles	NEWB#1	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
NEWBY	Henry Alfred	NEWB#1	Son	Anglican	William Miles	London
NEWTON	Mark	NEWT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
NICHOLSON	Ann	NICH#1	Mother	Unknown	Hanover	Lincolnshire
NICHOLSON	John Edwin	NICH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Lincolnshire
NICHOLSON	George Croft	NICH#1	Brother	Unknown	Hanover	Lincolnshire
NICHOLSON	Mary Ann	NICH#1	Sister	Unknown	Hanover	Lincolnshire
NICHOLSON	Robert	NICH#1	Father	Unknown	Hanover	Lincolnshire
NIELD	Ann	NIEL#2	Wife	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
NIELD	Ann	NIEL#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
NIELD	Charles	NIEL#2	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
NIELD	George	NIEL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
NIELD	Martha	NIEL#1	Wife	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
NIELD	Mary	NIEL#2	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
NIELD	Thomas	NIEL#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
NIELD	William	NIEL#2	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
O'KEARNEY	Francis J.	OKEA#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Somerset
OLDFIELD	Annie	OLDF#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
OLDFIELD	Eliza	OLDF#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
OLDFIELD	Frances Elizabeth	OLDF#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
OLDFIELD	Frances Elizabeth	OLDF#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
OLDFIELD	Frank Obed	OLDF#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
OLDFIELD	William Edwin	OLDF#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
OLDFIELD	William George	OLDF#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
OLIVER	Esther	OLIV#1	Wife	Primitive Methodist	Gertrude	Radnorshire
OLIVER	John	OLIV#1	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	Gertrude	Radnorshire
OLIVER	John	OLIV#1	Son	Primitive Methodist	Gertrude	Radnorshire
PAINE	Charles Frederick	PAIN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	London
PALETHORPE	Thomas	PALE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
PARTRIDGE	Jane	PART#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
PARTRIDGE	Elizabeth	PART#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
PARTRIDGE	William	PART#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Berkshire
PAUL	Henry	PAUL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	London
PAYNE	Louisa Sarah	PAYN#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Somerset
PAYNE	Walter	PAYN#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Somerset
PAYNE	William	PAYN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Somerset

PEACE	Elizabeth	PEAC#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
PEACE	Jane	PEAC#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
PEACE	Pollyfen William	PEAC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Gertrude	London
PEACE	Sarah E.J.	PEAC#1	Daughter	Baptist	Gertrude	London
PEACE	William	PEAC#1	Son	Baptist	Gertrude	London
PEACH	John	PEAC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
PEARMAN	Charles	PEAR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Brethren	Hanover	Hertfordshire
PELLY	Alfred	PELL#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PELLY	Annah?	PELL#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PELLY	Helen	PELL#1	Wife?	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PELLY	Emma	PELL#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PELLY	Frank	PELL#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PELLY	George	PELL#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PELLY	John	PELL#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PELLY	Mary	PELL#1	Wife	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PELLY	William	PELL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Isle of Wight
PERKS	John	PERK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	Warwickshire
PETTET	Emily Martha	Pett#1	Daughter	Baptist	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
PETTET	William Henry Snr	Pett#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
PETTET	William Henry Jnr	Pett#1	Son	Baptist	William Miles	Cambridgeshire
PHELAN	James	PHEL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Catholic	Nimroud	Tipperary, Ireland
PHELAN	Julia	PHEL#1	Wife	Catholic	Nimroud	Tipperary, Ireland
PHELAN	Mary	PHEL#1	Daughter	Catholic	Nimroud	Tipperary, Ireland
PHELAN	Catherine	PHEL#1	Daughter	Catholic	Nimroud	Tipperary, Ireland
PHELAN	Thomas Peter	PHEL#1	Son	Catholic	Nimroud	Tipperary, Ireland
PHELAN	Julia Elizabeth	PHEL#1	Daughter	Catholic	Nimroud	Tipperary, Ireland
PILKINGTON	Edmund	PILK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	Lancashire
POPE	Henry	POPE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	London
PORTWAY	Lucy Cecilia	PORT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	Warwickshire
POYZER	Arthur	POYZ#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Leicestershire
POYZER	Otho	POYZ#1	Brother?	Anglican	Gertrude	Leicestershire
PRICTOR	David	PRIC#1	Brother	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
PRICTOR	Ellen	PRIC#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
PRICTOR	Ellen	PRIC#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
PRICTOR	William	PRIC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Essex
RAMSBOTTOM	Benjamin	RAMS#1	Brother	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
RAMSBOTTOM	Betsy	RAMS#1	Wife	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
RAMSBOTTOM	James	RAMS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire

RAMSBOTTOM	Benjamin Thomas	RAMS#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
RAMSBOTTOM	Jemima	RAMS#1	Sister-in-law	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
RAMSBOTTOM	Walter	RAMS#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
RAMSBOTTOM	William Barker	RAMS#1	Nephew	Unknown	Hanover	Lancashire
RAVEN	William James	RAVE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Sussex
RAWLINGS	Austin	RAWL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Wiltshire
REDFERN	Alfred	REDF#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	Arthur	REDF#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	Edward	REDF#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	Elizabeth	REDF#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	Elizabeth	REDF#1	Daughter-in-Law (James Jnr)	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	James	REDF#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	James	REDF#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	Mary Jane	REDF#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	Richard	REDF#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REDFERN	George	REDF#1	Son	Wesleyan	Matilda Wattenbach	Staffordshire
REDFERN	Elizabeth	REDF#1	Wife	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
REES	George F.	REES#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Tyburnia	London
REID	Charles H.	REID#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	London
RENWICK	Ellen	RENW#1	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Durham
RENWICK	George	RENW#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Durham
RENWICK	John	RENW#1	Son	Independent	William Miles	Durham
RENWICK	John	RENW#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	Durham
RENWICK	Mary Ann	RENW#1	Wife	Independent	William Miles	Durham
RENWICK	Mary Ann	RENW#1	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Durham
RICHARDS	Bertha Mary	RICH#1	Daughter	Lady Huntingdon	William Miles	Worcestershire
RICHARDS	Enoch	RICH#1	Son	Lady Huntingdon	William Miles	Worcestershire
RICHARDS	Evan Jnr	RICH#1	Son	Lady Huntingdon	William Miles	Worcestershire
RICHARDS	Evan Snr	RICH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Lady Huntingdon	William Miles	Worcestershire
RICHARDS	Margaret	RICH#1	Daughter	Lady Huntingdon	William Miles	Worcestershire
RICHARDS	Nancy	RICH#1	Wife	Lady Huntingdon	William Miles	Worcestershire
RICHARDS	Sarah -Ann	RICH#1	Daughter	Lady Huntingdon	William Miles	Worcestershire
RIPLEY	Lydia	RIPL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
RIX	James	RIX-#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Tyburnia	London
RIX	James-Arthur	RIX-#1	Son	Baptist	Tyburnia	London
RIX	Sarah	RIX-#1	Wife	Baptist	Tyburnia	London

RIX	Thomas-Henry	RIX-#1	Son	Baptist	Tyburnia	London
ROBINSON	John Jackson	ROBI#1	Father	Unknown	Hanover	Yorkshire
ROBINSON	Mary	ROBI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Yorkshire
ROEBUCK	Thomas	ROEB#1	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ROGERS	Ann	ROGE#2	Wife	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROGERS	Sarah Ann	ROGE#2	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROGERS	Sarah	ROGE#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Warwickshire
ROGERS	Ann	ROGE#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Warwickshire
ROGERS	Charles Edward	ROGE#2	Son	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROGERS	Charlotte E.	ROGE#2	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROGERS	George	ROGE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	Warwickshire
ROGERS	George William	ROGE#2	Son	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROGERS	Hannah	ROGE#1	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	Warwickshire
ROGERS	John Francis	ROGE#2	Son	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROGERS	Joseph	ROGE#2	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROGERS	Lucy	ROGE#1	Wife	Baptist	William Miles	Warwickshire
ROGERS	Mary Jane	ROGE#2	Daughter	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROGERS	Thomas Bunney	ROGE#2	Son	Independent	William Miles	Lincolnshire
ROSE	Cecelia M.	ROSE#1	Wife	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ROSE	Charles E. J.	ROSE#1	Son	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ROSE	Ellen M.	ROSE#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ROSE	Emily J.	ROSE#1	Daughter	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ROSE	Joseph	ROSE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
ROWE	Martha	ROWE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Tyburnia	London
ROWSELL	Charles	ROWS#1	Son	Congregational	Tyburnia	London
ROWSELL	Clara J.	ROWS#1	Daughter	Congregational	Tyburnia	London
ROWSELL	Emma E.	ROWS#1	Wife	Congregational	Tyburnia	London
ROWSELL	Frederick	ROWS#1	Son	Congregational	Tyburnia	London
ROWSELL	Mary-Ann	ROWS#1	Daughter	Congregational	Tyburnia	London
ROWSELL	Sarah	ROWS#1	Sister	Congregational	Tyburnia	London
ROWSELL	Walter	ROWS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Congregational	Tyburnia	London
RUSHBROOK	Charles	RUSH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
RUSHBROOK	Charles Thomas	RUSH#1	Son	Wesleyan	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
RUSHBROOK	Elizabeth	RUSH#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
RUSHBROOK	Elizabeth	RUSH#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
RUSHBROOK	Frank	RUSH#1	Son	Wesleyan	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
RUSHBROOK	Harry	RUSH#1	Son	Wesleyan	Hanover	Cambridgeshire

RUSHBROOK	William Nathanael	RUSH#1	Son	Wesleyan	Hanover	Cambridgeshire
RYSDALE	Alford	RYSD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
RYSDALE	William	RYSD#1	Unknown relation	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
SCEATS	William H.	SCEA#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Tyburnia	London
SEWELL	Mary Ann	SEWE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	London
SHEPHERD	Ann	SHEP#1	Sister	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
SHEPHERD	Sarah	SHEP#1	Sister	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
SHEPHERD	John	SHEP#1	Senior Fam. Member	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
SHEPHERD	Sarah Ann	SHEP#1	Wife	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
SHEPHERD	John Alfred	SHEP#1	Son	Methodist	Hanover	Lincolnshire
SHEPHERD	John	SHEP#2	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	William Miles	Hampshire
SHEPPARD	Emily	SHEP#3	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	Gloucestershire
SHEPPARD	George	SHEP#3	Husband	Independent	Gertrude	Gloucestershire
SHEPPARD	William	SHEP#3	Brother-in-law?	Independent	Gertrude	Gloucestershire
SHERLOCK	Adam	SHER#1	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	William Miles	Staffordshire
SHERLOCK	Arthur	SHER#1	Son	Not Stated	William Miles	Staffordshire
SHERLOCK	George	SHER#1	Son	Not Stated	William Miles	Staffordshire
SHERLOCK	Kate	SHER#1	Wife	Not Stated	William Miles	Staffordshire
SHERLOCK	William James	SHER#1	Son	Not Stated	William Miles	Staffordshire
SHORTHOSE	Florence	SHOR#1	Daughter	Anglican	Tyburnia	Warwickshire
SHORTHOSE	Sarah Ann	SHOR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Tyburnia	Warwickshire
SLATER	Anthony	SLAT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
SLATER	Eleanor	SLAT#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
SLATER	Sarah	SLAT#1	Wife	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
SLATER	Thomas William	SLAT#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Staffordshire
SMALL	David John	SMAL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Antrim, Ireland
SMITH	Richard	SMIT#6	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Clackmannanshire
SMITH	Mrs Catherine	SMIT#6	Wife	Unknown	Hanover	Clackmannanshire
SMITH	Janet Hendry	SMIT#2	Wife	Not Stated	Gertrude	Ayrshire
SMITH	John	SMIT#2	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	Ayrshire
SMITH	Robert Nesbit	SMIT#3	Senior Fam. Member	Presbyterian	Gertrude	Lanarkshire
SMITH	David	SMIT#6	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Clackmannanshire
SMITH	Annie J.	SMIT#1	Wife	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
SMITH	Mark William	SMIT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
SMITH	Ann	SMIT#5	Wife	Anglican	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
SMITH	Eliza	SMIT#5	Daughter	Anglican	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
SMITH	Emma	SMIT#4	Daughter	Independent	Tyburnia	London
SMITH	Henry	SMIT#5	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire

SMITH	Henry	SMIT#4	Son	Independent	Tyburnia	London
SMITH	James	SMIT#5	Son	Anglican	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
SMITH	James Hilbom	SMIT#4	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Tyburnia	London
SMITH	Sarah	SMIT#4	Wife	Independent	Tyburnia	London
SMITH	Sarah-Annie	SMIT#4	Daughter	Independent	Tyburnia	London
SMITH	Peter	SMIT#6	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Clackmannanshire
SMITH	Alexander	SMIT#6	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Clackmannanshire
SMITH	Richard	SMIT#6	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Clackmannanshire
SMITH	Catherine	SMIT#6	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Clackmannanshire
SMITH	William	SMIT#6	Son	Unknown	Hanover	Clackmannanshire
SOAR	John Bower	SOAR#1	Son	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
SOAR	John Hutchinson	SOAR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
SOAR	Mary-Ann	SOAR#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
SOAR	William Charles	SOAR#1	Son	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
SOAR	John	SOAR#2	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Victory	Nottinghamshire
SOMMERVILLE	Robert	SOMM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Presbyterian	Annie Wilson	Angus
SPICK	Jane	SPIC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan/Methodist	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
SPICK	Robert	SPIC#1	Husband	Wesleyan/Methodist	Gertrude	Lincolnshire
SPICKERNELL	Sarah	SPIC#2	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	Hampshire
STACEY	Frederick	STAC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Tyburnia	London
STANTON	George	STAN#1	Son	Catholic	Tyburnia	Staffordshire
STANTON	Sarah	STAN#1	Wife	Catholic	Tyburnia	Staffordshire
STANTON	Enoch	STAN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Catholic	Ida Zeigler	Staffordshire
STANTON	Samuel	STAN#1	Son	Catholic	Ida Zeigler	Staffordshire
STANTON	Sarah	STAN#2	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Ida Zeigler	Staffordshire
STANTON	William	STAN#1	Son	Catholic	Caduceus	Staffordshire
STARTEVAUTE	Elizabeth	STAR#1	Wife	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
STARTEVAUTE	George	STAR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
STARTEVAUTE	George	STAR#1	Son	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
STARTEVAUTE	William	STAR#1	Son	Baptist	Ida Zeigler	Nottinghamshire
STEVENS	William	STEV#2	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Tyburnia	Surrey
STEVENTON	Alfred	STEV#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
STEVENTON	Alfred Horatio	STEV#1	Son	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
STEVENTON	Alice Matilda	STEV#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
STEVENTON	Jessie	STEV#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
STEVENTON	Julia Syers	STEV#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
STEVENTON	Lydia Mary	STEV#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
STEVENTON	Mary Alice	STEV#1	Wife	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Middlesex
STOREY	Walter	STOR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire

STOTT	Mark	STOT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Yorkshire
STRATTON	Frank	STRA#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Warwickshire
STREET	Ada	STRE#1	Daughter	Unknown	William Miles	Devon
STREET	Adelaide	STRE#1	Daughter	Unknown	William Miles	Devon
STREET	Mary	STRE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	William Miles	Devon
STREET	Frederick	STRE#1	Husband	Unknown	William Miles	Devon
STREET	Eliza	STRE#2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
STREET	Harriett	STRE#2	Daughter	Baptist	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
STRINGER	Anne	STRI#1	Wife	Independent	Annie Wilson	Cheshire
STRINGER	Elizabeth	STRI#1	Daughter	Independent	Annie Wilson	Cheshire
STRINGER	Grace	STRI#1	Daughter	Independent	Annie Wilson	Cheshire
STRINGER	Henry V.	STRI#1	Son	Independent	Annie Wilson	Cheshire
STRINGER	Thomas	STRI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Annie Wilson	Cheshire
SYMONS	Joseph	SYMO#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Wiltshire
SYMONS	Dorcas?	SYMO#1	Wife	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Wiltshire
TANFIELD	Samuel	TANF#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Yorkshire
TANNER	George E.	TANN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Gloucestershire
TAYLOR	Arthur Henry	TAYL#2	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Charles	TAYL#2	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Emily Jane	TAYL#2	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Eveland	TAYL#2	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Frances Jane	TAYL#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Cambridgeshire
TAYLOR	Henrietta Charlotte	TAYL#2	Unknown relation	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Herbert Samuel Hargreave	TAYL#1	Son	Wesleyan	William Miles	Cambridgeshire
TAYLOR	James	TAYL#2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Jane	TAYL#2	Wife	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Mary	TAYL#1	Wife	Wesleyan	William Miles	Cambridgeshire
TAYLOR	Mary Ann	TAYL#2	Daughter	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Richard	TAYL#2	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Samuel	TAYL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	William Miles	Cambridgeshire
TAYLOR	Sarah Elizabeth Holder	TAYL#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	William Miles	Cambridgeshire
TAYLOR	Stephen	TAYL#2	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Sydney James	TAYL#2	Son	Baptist	William Miles	London
TAYLOR	Stephen	TAYL#3	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
THOMPSON	John	THOM#2	Senior Fam. Member	Society of Freeman	Gertrude	Leicestershire
THOMPSON	John Henry	THOM#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	London

THOMSON	Eliza	THOM#3	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Lanarkshire
THOMSON	George	THOM#3	Senior Fam. Member	Not Stated	Gertrude	Lanarkshire
THOMSON	George Lamberton	THOM#3	Son	Not Stated	Gertrude	Lanarkshire
THOMSON	Janet	THOM#3	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Lanarkshire
THOMSON	Jeannie	THOM#3	Wife	Not Stated	Gertrude	Lanarkshire
THOMSON	Mary	THOM#3	Daughter	Not Stated	Gertrude	Lanarkshire
THOMSON	Jane W.	THOM#4	Wife	Presbyterian	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
THOMSON	John David	THOM#4	Senior Fam. Member	Presbyterian	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
TIBBITS	Gervase	TIBB#1	Senior Fam. Member	Episcopalian	Gertrude	London
TINGEY	Agnes	TiING#1	Daughter	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Albert	TiING#1	Son	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Edward	TiING#1	Son	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Elizabeth	TiING#1	Daughter in Law	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Florence	TiING#1	Daughter	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Jane	TiING#1	Daughter	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Joseph	TiING#1	Son	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Mary S.	TiING#1	Daughter	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Richard	TiING#1	Son	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Sarah	TiING#1	Wife	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	Sarah M.	TiING#1	Daughter	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	William	TiING#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TINGEY	William Joseph	TiING#1	Son	Anglican	Tyburnia	Middlesex
TIPPETT	Frederick H.	TIPP#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Devon
TODD	Eliza	TODD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Annie Wilson	Nottinghamshire
TOMLINSON	Herbert	TOML#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
TOMLINSON	James	TOML#1	Brother?	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
TURNER	Alfred	TURN#1	Son	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
TURNER	Eliza	TURN#1	Daughter	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
TURNER	James	TURN#1	Senior Fam. Member	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
TURNER	James H.	TURN#1	Son	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
TURNER	Louisa J.	TURN#1	Daughter	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
TURNER	Mary	TURN#1	Wife	Primitive Methodist	Annie Wilson	Yorkshire
UNTHANK	Fanny	UNTH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Tyburnia	Cambridgeshire
URWIN	Thomas	URWI#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	William Miles	Northumberland
VICKERY	William	VICK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican/Church of Christ	Hanover	Devon
WAINWRIGHT	Mary-Ann	WAIN#1	Senior Fam. Member	New Methodist	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
WAKEFORD	Henry John	WAKE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Surrey
WALKER	Joseph P.	WALK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Devon
WARD	Sarah	WARD#1	Wife	Church of Christ	Hanover	Lancashire

WARD	William	WARD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Church of Christ	Hanover	Lancashire
WARDLE	Alfred	WARD#2	Son	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Warwickshire
WARDLE	Benjamin	WARD#2	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Warwickshire
WARDLE	Ellen	WARD#2	Wife	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Warwickshire
WARDLE	William	WARD#2	Son	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Warwickshire
WARMINGTON	James Albert	WARM#1	??	Independent	William Miles	London
WARMINGTON	Ernest	WARM#1	??	Independent	Gertrude	London
WATKIN	Anne M.	WATK#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Warwickshire
WATKIN	Joseph	WATK#1	Son	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Warwickshire
WATKIN	Sarah J.	WATK#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Warwickshire
WATKIN	William	WATK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Warwickshire
WATSON	Grace	WATS#3	Wife	Anglican	Hanover	Lancashire
WATSON	James	WATS#3	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Hanover	Lancashire
WATSON	Jane Ann	WATS#3	Daughter	Anglican	Hanover	Lancashire
WEBB	Alfred	WEBB#1	Son	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WEBB	Charlotte	WEBB#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WEBB	Emily	WEBB#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WEBB	Mary-Jane	WEBB#1	Daughter	Methodist	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WEBB	Mary-Ann	WEBB#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WEBB	Samuel	WEBB#1	Son	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WEBB	Sarah Jane	WEBB#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WEBB	Thomas	WEBB#1	Son	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WEBB	Thomas Stirrup	WEBB#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Staffordshire
WELLS	Celia Anne	WELL#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Suffolk
WELLS	Ellen Lydia	WELL#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Suffolk
WELLS	Frances	WELL#1	Wife	Unknown	Hanover	Suffolk
WELLS	James	WELL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Hanover	Suffolk
WELLS	Jane Amelia	WELL#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Suffolk
WELLS	Samuel	WELL#1	Son	Unknown	Hanover	
WELLS	Louisa	WELL#1	Daughter	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Suffolk
WELLS	Sarah Hepzibah	WELL#1	Daughter	Unknown	Maxwell	Suffolk
WELLS	James (Jnr)	WELL#1	Son	Unknown	Andrew Jackson	Unknown
WELLS	Frances Kate	WELL#1	Daughter	Unknown	Maxwell	Unknown
WELLS	Rachel Emma	WELL#1	Daughter	Unknown	Hanover	Unknown
WHEAT	Thomas	WHEA#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
WHEATCROFT	Frederick	WHEA#1.	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
WHITE	Henry			Not Stated	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
WHITTLE	Charles	WHIT#2	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
WIDOWSON	Ann	WIDO#1	Wife	Christian Brethren	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
WIDOWSON	Samuel	WIDO#1	Senior Fam. Member	Christian Brethren	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire

WIDOWSON	Thomas	WIDO#1	Son	Christian Brethren	Tyburnia	Nottinghamshire
WILCOCKSON	George	WILC#1	Husband	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
WILCOCKSON	Mrs. Sarah	WILC#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
WILLIAMS	Rice	WILL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	Warwickshire
WILLIAMS	Susan	WILL#1	Wife	Baptist	William Miles	Warwickshire
WILLIAMS	Ann	WILL#1	Wife	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
WILLIAMS	William	WILL#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Annie Wilson	Northamptonshire
WILSON	James R. S.	WILS#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Herefordshire
WILSON	John	WILS#4	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Annie Wilson	Lincolnshire
WILSON	Frederick	WILS#2	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	Tyburnia	London
WILSON	Samuel	WILS#3	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Tyburnia	Warwickshire
WINTLE	Charlotte	WINT#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	London
WITHEFORD	Clement	WITH#1	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	Gertrude	Worcestershire
WITHEFORD	Clement	WITH#1	Son	Independent	Gertrude	Worcestershire
WITHEFORD	Edward	WITH#1	Son	Independent	Gertrude	Worcestershire
WITHEFORD	Elizabeth	WITH#1	Wife	Independent	Gertrude	Worcestershire
WITHEFORD	Joseph Howard	WITH#1	Son	Independent	Gertrude	Worcestershire
WITHEFORD	Walter Henry	WITH#1	Son	Independent	Gertrude	Worcestershire
WOOD	John	WOOD#1	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
WOOD	Sarah	WOOD#1	Wife	Anglican	Gertrude	Nottinghamshire
WOODCOCK	Alfred	WOOD#4	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODCOCK	Mary Ann	WOOD#4	Wife	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODCOCK	Alfred "Fred" Edward Warren	WOOD#4	Son	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODCOCK	George	WOOD#4	Son	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODCOCK	Mary Ann	WOOD#4	Daughter	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODCOCK	Louis	WOOD#4	Son	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODCOCK	Walter	WOOD#4	Son	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODCOCK	Herbert	WOOD#4	Son	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODCOCK	Pelham	WOOD#4	Son	Unknown	John Duncan	Staffordshire
WOODLAND	Charles	WOOD#2	Senior Fam. Member	Independent	William Miles	Warwickshire
WOODLAND	Sarah	WOOD#2	Wife	Independent	William Miles	Warwickshire
WOODMAN	Mary	WOOD#3	Senior Fam. Member	Anglican	Gertrude	London
WORKER	Frederick George	WORK#1	Son	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Kent
WORKER	Jane Emmeline	WORK#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Kent
WORKER	Jane Esther	WORK#1	Wife	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Kent
WORKER	Newton Arthur	WORK#1	Son	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Kent

WORKER	Mary Nina	WORK#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Kent
WORKER	Susie Gertrude	WORK#1	Daughter	Wesleyan	Gertrude	N/A
WORKER	William	WORK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Kent
WORKER	William Howse	WORK#1	Son	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Kent
WORRALL	William Henry	WORR#1	Senior Fam. Member	Baptist	William Miles	London
WRIGHT	Edwin	WRIG#2	Son	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
WRIGHT	Eleanor	WRIG#2	Daughter	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
WRIGHT	James	WRIG#2	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
WRIGHT	James	WRIG#2	Son	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
WRIGHT	John	WRIG#2	Son	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
WRIGHT	Mary	WRIG#2	Wife	Wesleyan	Annie Wilson	Staffordshire
WRIGLEY	John	WRIG#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Gertrude	Yorkshire
YATES	Benjamin	YATE#1	Senior Fam. Member	Unknown	Matilda Wattenbach	Nottinghamshire
YORKE	Annie	YORK#1	Senior Fam. Member	Wesleyan	Tyburnia	Northamptonshire