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# 'A Bright Eye to the Main Chance'

Brogdens' Navvies - British labourers building New Zealand's Railways

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Delwyn Blondell

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## Abstract

Historians have generally regarded the group known as Brogdens' Navvies as a special settlement scheme, induced to migrate to provide essential labour. In 1872 British labourers were recruited to construct New Zealand's railway network. The contracting firm John Brogden and Sons became reluctant immigration agents so they could fulfil their agreement with the New Zealand Government for the massive and costly public works undertaking. Rollo Arnold, when studying English immigrants of the 1870s, argued that the navvies were largely from rural backgrounds thus desirable potential settlers. However, history has largely ignored their contribution to settlement as it was engulfed by the government assisted immigrants. Additionally, as their immigration was privately funded, there has been an information deficit about these men and their backgrounds.

The investigation collected data on the lives of just over 1,000 men, and the families that accompanied them. The approach combines conventional historical archival research with genealogical methodology, making use of commercial websites like Ancestry and Findmypast. Quantitative research was supplemented by qualitative case studies to determine if Brogden's navvies showed any enduring distinctive identity. This thesis compares Brogdens' Navvies to typical British navvies. It investigates the progress of members of the Brogdens' Navvies group to determine if the cultural narrative that expected immigrants would easily make economic and social advancements was correct in this case.

British and New Zealand navy groups included both labourers and tradesmen. Those recruited were some of the poorest in their communities and there was more diversity in their backgrounds than is seen in official records. Navy culture had much in common with labouring culture generally and railway camps were not exclusively male. Much of the evidence in primary sources focuses on periods when navvies displayed socially undesirable behaviours, usually coinciding with periodic access to money and alcohol. Key findings were their significant contribution to railways, not only in construction but in maintenance, and that a substantial proportion was absorbed quickly and successfully into New Zealand society. Additionally, this study uncovered a greater range of life-paths than was expected from the existing historiography.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

Samuel Olive should be an example of a typical railway navvy. Samuel was one of the many young men who contracted to the English railway construction firm John Brogden and Sons to build rail-lines in New Zealand. He was an unmarried 21-year-old with experience in railway labouring. Samuel's family had a background as agricultural labourers in Lancashire. His father Jeremiah had worked on the railways from the late 1840s, shifting the family as they followed the work to Yorkshire and then Cumberland. Less typically, Samuel arrived in New Zealand with his parents and siblings. Was there a typical Brogdens' navvy and how did they differ from the British model of railway labourers?

Samuel and 1297 other men were dispatched from England in 1872. They were enticed with the offer of well-paid work building rail-lines, guaranteed for two years. In New Zealand, they were called Brogdens' Navvies. Navvy is not a term commonly used today, but it came from shortening navigator, applied to eighteenth-century labourers building Britain's navigational canals. The word was commonly used to describe those regularly employed in railway building.<sup>1</sup> English firm John Brogden and Sons recruited them to fulfil contracts promised under the Immigration & Public Works Act 1870 for a railway network that would link the colony. Brogdens' Navvies came, single men and married ones with families, in debt for their passage and expenses. Navvies had a poor reputation, one for hard living - with stories about a culture of conflict and copious consumption. But they were also known for their hard work, shovelling and relocating tonnes of earth with basic tools. Brogdens' Navvies labour was considered essential for the progress of the disjointed colony. The group selected included not only experienced navvies, but also skilled tradesmen needed in railway construction and unskilled labourers expected to learn on the job.

In his 1981 account of rural migration to New Zealand during the 1870s, Rollo Arnold suggested that the background of most of Brogdens' Navvies was in farming. Further, it was their ties with England's midland counties which fuelled the success of the Government-assisted immigration drive. Accounts of the period reflect an initial enthusiasm for this cohort of immigrants, which was then replaced by disparagement. Subsequent histories reflect that distaste.

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<sup>1</sup>Howard T.S. Baldwin, "Labour groups and railway construction in Otago, 1869-1873" (Bachelor of Arts with Honours University of Otago, 1976).



Arnold attempted a rehabilitation, arguing most were from rural backgrounds thus by implication made suitable settlers. In contrast, James Belich includes navvies in his assessment of work-gangs noting their rather separate existence from mainstream society.<sup>2</sup> This study has its origin in Arnold's work. His writing reflects the theory that migration to New Zealand provided the opportunity for upward mobility, increasing respectability and eventual land-ownership. He has proposed the gaps created by the incomplete record of the men recruited warrants further investigation.

Brogdens' Navvies were part of the history of the New Zealand labourer, a history which is still patchy. While E.P. Thompson's *Making of the Working Class* helped to focus historians' consideration on the workings of the British lower classes, historians have not directed the same attention towards New Zealand's labourers, with their largely British origins and culture. A recurring theme in New Zealand's social history is the origins of its inhabitants. Understanding origins increases perceptions of culture and identity and contributes to the understanding of labourers' culture. Erik Olssen took up the working-class cause in the 1970s, culminating in the long-term and wide-ranging Caversham Project, focusing on the importance of place. In 1990, Jock Phillips noted that histories of labour unions had been written, but nothing of the labourer's life or culture.<sup>3</sup> Others, including John Martin, have moved beyond urban environments to examine other kinds of labourers like those in rural settings.<sup>4</sup>

With New Zealand's tiny and widespread population numbering just over 256,000 in February 1871, railways fulfilled a vision rather than an immediate economic need.<sup>5</sup> Travel was challenging. European settlers relied on shipping to close the distance between major settlements. Most had experienced the efficiency of rail transport in Britain, as its construction had dominated the provision of infrastructure in the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, most had probably travelled by train from their home-place to their migrant ship. By 1870 in Britain, trains linked even minor towns to cities and ports, carrying freight and passengers. New

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<sup>2</sup>James Belich, *Making Peoples: a History of the New Zealanders: from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), 436.

<sup>3</sup>Jock Phillips, "Of verandahs and fish and chips and footie on Saturday afternoon: reflections on 100 years of New Zealand historiography," in *The Shaping of History: essays from The New Zealand Journal of History*, ed. Judith Binney (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 333.

<sup>4</sup>John E. Martin, *The forgotten worker: the rural wage earner in nineteenth-century New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Trade Union History Project, 1990).

<sup>5</sup>"Census of New Zealand, February 1871", Statistics New Zealand, [https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic\\_publications/1871-census/1871-results-census.html#idchapter\\_1\\_3712](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1871-census/1871-results-census.html#idchapter_1_3712)

Zealand's settlers could imagine the difference rail transportation would make. Isolated towns would be connected, so business and community links would strengthen. Towns and farms could establish further inland. Export goods would reach ports resulting in economic growth. Quick troop movement would be possible, thus deterring Māori military action. New Zealand would become the civilised progressive colony settlers believed it was destined to be, participating fully in the British Empire.

Through the 1860s, provinces had rushed to provide local rail-lines with little apparent concern for economic viability.<sup>6</sup> A railway was a demonstration of progressiveness and seen as an enticement for new settlers. British railways had enriched those involved which inspired colonial visionaries to speculate on potential profits. The primary motive was linking ports to the main provincial settlement, mostly to improve distribution of imported goods. Canterbury was the most successful with a railway from Ferrymead to Christchurch which opened in 1863 and then an ambitious rail tunnel connecting harbour to the urban centre and rural environs. They used the Irish standard 5ft 3in gauge. Southland invested in an optimistic wooden railway to cater for a gold-field rush that did not eventuate.<sup>7</sup> They had greater success laying iron rails to link harbour and major town, using the British standard 4ft 8½in gauge. Auckland's attempted line to Drury was another failure. They managed to lay only a few kilometres of track before the money disappeared, and those involved rushed to place blame.<sup>8</sup> Further provincial projects were stalled by the central government's control over infrastructure finance, which ensured financial security for the colony. Economic realities and a downturn bought public works, including railways, to a halt by the late 1860s. Provinces had proven poor custodians of what was intended as a national network.

The Immigration and Public Works Act 1870 was the initiative of Julius Vogel. Vogel, born in London of Jewish stock, was drawn to the antipodean goldfields in the 1850s.<sup>9</sup> He became a journalist and entered local politics in Victoria before following gold diggers to Otago.

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<sup>6</sup>André Brett, "Dreaming on a railway track: public works and the demise of New Zealand's provinces," *Journal of Transport History* 36, no. 1 (2015): 84, <https://doi.org/10.7227/TJTH.36.1.6>.

<sup>7</sup>K.C. McDonald, "Southland's Wooden Railway: An Experiment of the 'Sixties'", *The New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 13, 9, December 1938, 16.

<sup>8</sup>Geoffrey B. Churchman and Tony Hurst, *The Railways of New Zealand: A Journey Through History*, 2nd ed. (Transpress New Zealand, 2001), 99.

<sup>9</sup>Raewyn Dalziel, "Vogel, Julius," in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (17 September 2019 1990, updated April 2013). <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1v4/vogel-julius>.

He used the combination of press and politics to attain power and became the colony's treasurer in 1869. Vogel wanted to stimulate economic growth through constructing infrastructure, introducing assisted immigrants and purchasing Māori land for further settlement. The New Zealand European population had grown during the 1860s from 83,919 to about 219,500 in 1870, but women were outnumbered, and to forge ahead the colony needed more people.<sup>10</sup> By this time, local gold fever was waning, and Māori affairs less volatile. As the most distant, the most expensive to get to, and one of the most recently settled of the Empire's colonies migration to New Zealand required incentives. For most potential migrants this was via an assisted immigration scheme and for some an offer of free land or the lure of gold.

Infrastructure building needed labourers, and an increased population justified expenditure on infrastructure. Vogel introduced his plan to the House of Representatives on 28 June 1870. Initially, the vision was to create roading for the North Island and rail for the South.<sup>11</sup> Nationalisation allowed conformity and coordination of effort. The Railways Act 1871 set the national standard gauge at 3ft 6in or 1,067 mm.<sup>12</sup> The narrow gauge and lightweight rails were chosen for economy and to accommodate the challenging terrain.<sup>13</sup> A British contractor was preferred as it was they who had the experience in construction, the contacts to recruit suitable workers and ability to supply the plant and equipment required. Vogel's vision provoked posturing by the provincial councils as they pushed forward their area's preferences. The smaller newer provinces were insistent on their needs. All were quick to focus on the benefits of opening their own region for land sales and further settlement but objected to some of the contract's provisions.

John Brogden and Sons became involved in the story of New Zealand's grand plans when Colonial Treasurer Julius Vogel visited London in 1871 to enlist support for his scheme. The original proposal was to engage an experienced European railway construction contracting company for eight years to construct a network to the value of £4,000,000, with a 3,000,000

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<sup>10</sup>*Statistics of New Zealand for 1860*, [https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic\\_publications/1860-statistics-nz/1860-statistics-nz.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1860-statistics-nz/1860-statistics-nz.html); "Return of Population and Revenue of the Several Provinces for the last five years," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1870 Session I, 4.

<sup>11</sup>*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 7 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1870), 102-08.

<sup>12</sup>Churchman and Hurst, *Railways of New Zealand*, 16.

<sup>13</sup>Department of Statistics, *The New Zealand Official Year-Book* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1963), 1176.

acres land grant and the government would pay £100,000 to bring in workers.<sup>14</sup> The London money market favoured the involvement of an English company as they expected experience would produce positive results. From 1838 John Brogden's firm had been a small player in the lucrative railway building industry that saw Great Britain crisscrossed with rail-lines. In 1871 John Brogden's four sons ran the business. They were one of the railway contractors looking overseas for further opportunities. The firm expressed interest after the Public Works Act was announced. While in London, Vogel met with Alexander Brogden to begin negotiations. Unlike Britain where contractors bid for lines backed by private capital, New Zealand lines were to be built with government raised and guaranteed funds. It was this enticing prospect that tempted the Brogden brothers into their fateful arrangement in New Zealand. There was an agreement in place by the time Vogel left England for which he had to seek government approval.

When it was known in New Zealand that a British firm was being engaged there was considerable opposition.<sup>15</sup> Some rightly felt the government was exercising power at the expense of the provincial governments.<sup>16</sup> Southern provinces rejected the land grants of three-quarters of an acre for every pound the contractor spent, thus upsetting Vogel's plan to use reserved land as security. Another objection was the use of an overseas firm, removing opportunities for local contractors. Political and business interest condemned the profits going off-shore when the government was borrowing to pay for the project, calling it a monopoly with a foreign capitalist, and 'flagrant jobbery'.<sup>17</sup> Much was made of the private nature of the arrangement when, it was asserted, a better and fairer course of action was the public tender of small sections of rail-line which would produce a fairer price.<sup>18</sup> They cited this as generally practised in the colonies, however, in Britain the tendered contract had been overtaken by contractors who led railway building and took charge of promotion and finance.<sup>19</sup> Outside of Britain, it was the contractors' practice to approach government leaders with advice, suggestions for finance and the type of

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<sup>14</sup>"The Press," *Press*, Volume XVIII, Issue 2654, 1 November 1871, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18711101.2.7>.

<sup>15</sup>*Southland Times*, Issue 1574, 7 May 1872, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ST18720507.2.11>.

<sup>16</sup>Brett, "Dreaming on a railway track: public works and the demise of New Zealand's provinces," 89.

<sup>17</sup>"The Evening Post," *Evening Post*, Volume VII, Issue 301, 5 February 1872, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18720205.2.8>.

<sup>18</sup>"The Press," *Press*, Volume XVIII, Issue 2654, 1 November 1871, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18711101.2.7>

<sup>19</sup>R.S Joby, *The Railway Builders: Lives and Works of the Victorian Railway Contractors* (Newton Abbot: David Charles, 1983), 54.

concessions arranged by Vogel. Ultimately, provincial councils forced Vogel out of specifying routes and into a fragmented approach. The need to bring in labour was even questioned.<sup>20</sup> Using imported (even British) labour contradicted the widely held view that the physical superiority of New Zealanders made them better workers.<sup>21</sup> The contracts were also condemned for importing resources, like iron, from 'Home' instead of using that which was thought to be available in the colony.<sup>22</sup> Following much debate, and condemnation in the press, the government amended the scheme. It is unclear if they informed their contractor.

Based on their arrangement with Vogel, the Brogden firm made preparations. James Brogden, one of the four partners, was dispatched to New Zealand to conclude negotiations. Recruitment of workers prepared to migrate began. While Brogdens believed they would only require 500 to 600 skilled men who could be sourced from anywhere, Government provisions led them to recruit their men from England.<sup>23</sup> Vogel's initial approach had suggested that up to 10,000 immigrants would be part of the deal.<sup>24</sup> They started by recruiting single men and those prepared to leave family behind but were soon including those wanting wives and children to accompany them, so Brogdens' Navvies included married couples and families as well as single men.<sup>25</sup> The task needed a percentage of skilled navvies for the groundwork in addition to associated tradesmen, masons, brick-workers, carpenters, miners and smiths. Agricultural labourers and those used to heavy outdoor work made up the numbers, expected to learn on the job.<sup>26</sup>

The receiving communities wanted more workers but had fixed ideas about acceptable migrants. Navvies were regarded as outsiders and were both literally and metaphorically located outside the community, as they lived in isolated camps. While they were there, they could be

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<sup>20</sup>"The Evening Post," *Evening Post*, Volume VII, Issue 197, 26 September 1871, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18710926.2.7>

<sup>21</sup>James Bennett, "The Contamination of Arcadia? Class, Trans-national Interactions and the Construction of Identity, 1890-1913," *New Zealand Journal of History* 33, no. 1 (1999): 35.

<sup>22</sup>"The Brogden Contracts," *Evening Post*, Volume VII, Issue 305, 6 February 1872, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18720206.2.7>

<sup>23</sup>"I-01A Public Petitions Committee. Report on the Petition of Messrs. Brogden," in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1881), 14. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/appendix-to-the-journals-of-the-house-of-representatives/1881/I/2299>

<sup>24</sup>Matthew Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994), 110.

<sup>25</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 20.

<sup>26</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 14.

regarded as labouring to build a community asset. However, when a section of work was complete the navvies celebrated by spending their wages in the nearest town. The community was as quick to condemn their uncivilized ways as they were to take their money.

Historians have not studied the origins of this immigrant group due to insufficient evidence. Unlike other settlement schemes, there was no central destination and few surviving records from the major contractor John Brogden and Sons. Therefore, these workers did not leave an obvious trail of primary sources. As those who began to write British 'history from below' from the 1960s noted, it is the elite who leave the most voluminous records about their existence. Those workers recruited were far from elite. Lacking alternative primary sources historians have therefore principally relied on the contemporary accounts of observers with sometimes questionable motives. Technology now allows access to a greater range of primary sources via websites from government and private providers which, used together, can compensate for some of the deficit. There is an increasing convergence between historical research and the methods used by the experienced family historian. Websites catering to family historians have made research into the origins and outcomes for the Brogden group possible. Shipping registers provide minimal data on most migrants. The Brogden group suffers from a particular lack of information. Rollo Arnold collated a list drawn from the passenger lists he found while researching for his book on English migrants. Passenger lists for eleven of the fifteen ships that transported the group have now been located, with an alternative source for most of the passengers of another ship. Of the eleven, two listings are from newspapers and one from the *Otago Provincial Gazette*, thus contain less detail than official lists. The information recorded in passenger lists varies from relatively full, for the *City of Auckland's* 242 passengers, including place born and where recruited, to the minimal, sometimes only the surname. Using genealogical tools, a database of information about these immigrants was created, thus enabling generalisations to be tested and individual experiences to be explored.

This thesis aims to test the existing characterisation of a group of nineteenth-century migrants depicted as stereotypical 'British navvies' by analysing the New Zealand reality. Specifically, it examines their origins and life paths to determine whether they remained in labouring roles or if they could take advantage of the opportunities for social and economic advancement that historian Rollo Arnold foresaw for them.

Chapter Two reviews the literature around New Zealand's settlers and its labourers. It also examines that written about navvies, particularly the British. Chapter Three looks closely at the tools used to research Brogdens' Navvies in Britain, New Zealand and beyond. Chapter Four describes the recruiting phase and the Brogden firm's expectations. The navvies are central in Chapter Five, which looks at their arrival and how they were characterised. Chapter Six examines navy life in New Zealand, while Chapter Seven focuses on the group's involvement in railways and unions. Chapter Eight surveys their experiences in settling and assimilating. Finally, Chapter Nine investigates the navvies' social mobility in New Zealand and factors that affected this.

## Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the historiography of New Zealand's labourers and British navvies. In most traditional histories, there is little interest in the origins of the ordinary man or woman. In New Zealand, the established view is seen in the works of W. D. Borrie and James Cowan. W. D. Borrie, an Australian demographer writing in the late 1930s, provided a solid foundation in *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938* to the study of migration to the colony and the policies that influenced it. Ongoing interest in this work is evident from its re-publication in 1991. Chapter Eight, "The Immigration and Public Works Act," is of the most relevance here. Borrie focused on Vogel's role in igniting population growth and developing the infrastructure that would attract immigrants. The Brogden contracts are mentioned in relation to public works. *Settlers and Pioneers* by James Cowan, published by the Department of Internal Affairs in 1940, celebrated the story of farm settlers who through hard work had tamed the land. It builds on the myths that New Zealand had of its colonial heritage, but Cowan's background added a sympathetic tone to his writing about Māori-Pakeha interactions. Cowan did not question the origins of the settler population, just describing it as largely 'Anglo-Celtic'.<sup>27</sup>

Historians in the 1960s and 1970s began to scrutinize the unexamined lives of ordinary people. Their history was absent in the established narrative which focused on the influential and important. The new focus attempted to re-balance the narrative by examining the lives of working men and, increasingly, included women. Rollo Arnold was part of this movement of historians challenging the traditional. He suggests that the working-class immigrants of the 1870s deserve closer examination and his 1981 book *The Farthest Promised Land* contributed to this process. Brogdens' navvies were part of his interest group as they were not only to build the railways; they were also to boost the New Zealand population. He reviewed the circumstances of the recruitment, arrival and treatment of the Brogden firm and its employees. Arnold's chief interest was in the English origins of the navvies but without easy access to British census records indexes finding accurate information about their origins was impossible. Arnold interacted with the community of genealogists in his research, presenting conference papers and publishing

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<sup>27</sup>James Cowan, *Settlers and pioneers*, New Zealand centennial surveys ; 4., (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), 36.



articles as he drew on their knowledge of their ancestors. His work continues to be cited as the definitive writing on Brogdens' Navvies.

This thesis asks whether Brogdens' Navvies were representative of the type, or if the men selected as immigrants were somehow different from those employed in Britain and elsewhere. Arnold argued that most of the men were not typical navvies as most recruited were agricultural labourers.<sup>28</sup> His sources on Brogdens' men included the *Appendices of the Journals of the House of Representatives* and newspapers of the time.<sup>29</sup> Arnold found Government assisted immigrants were not difficult to locate in the British censuses as their home county and occupation was recorded.<sup>30</sup> However, passenger lists for Brogdens' navvies lack these details, which prevented Arnold from undertaking further investigation as there was no indexed entry into the enumerators' records. Likewise, New Zealand in the 1980s had country-wide electoral rolls, but each had to be searched for every individual sought. Arnold used nomination records of family migration, searched a year of the *Marlborough Press* newspaper for inquests and court cases, and extracted information from the 1882 *Return of Freeholders*, and the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*.<sup>31</sup> He called on genealogists to join his search and locate their families in the Brogden immigration. In 1981, the traditional research methods of the historian failed to locate any significant detail about this group of immigrants.

Arnold's research concentrated on the origins of English settlers, and his research into their lives in New Zealand was necessarily limited. This approach left the numbers and origins of the handful of non-English in Brogden's men unexamined. Arnold's interest was consistent with the closer examination of origins investigated by the likes of Erik Olssen from the 1970s and Jock Phillips beginning in the 1990s. In the 1970s, Erik Olssen began emphasising the lack of knowledge about the origins and occupations of immigrants, as well as their aspirations and outcomes. However, it was not until the 1990s that historians began to correct the lack of information about New Zealanders' variety of British origins. More recently, the focus has shifted from origins to uncovering a more complete and complex picture of New Zealand's

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<sup>28</sup>Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press: Price Milburn, 1981), 16-17.

<sup>29</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 359-60.

<sup>30</sup>Rollo Arnold, "Brogden's Navvies" (paper presented at the Landfall in Southern Seas: 8th Australasian Congress on Genealogy and Heraldry, Lincoln University, Christchurch, 1997), 111.

<sup>31</sup>Arnold, "Brogden's Navvies," 111.

immigrants. In 2001, Phillips elaborated on his earlier comments in his 1990 essay on New Zealand historiography, saying the area of cultural transfer was still unexamined, and the first step was to explore the occupations and regional origins of New Zealand immigrants.<sup>32</sup>

The little that has been written about railway navvies is as limited and fragmented as the evidence of the navvies' own origins. Academic writing on railway navvies has been scarce. In Britain, many of the myths of navy life were recorded in *Life and Work Among the Navvies* by Daniel William Barrett. Barrett was a clergyman working with the Navy Mission Society in railway camps to provide religious services. Barrett's 1879 work is the primary source for some later writers. He estimated thirty gallons of beer and half a gallon of spirits were consumed per hut per week, with each hut containing seven men and an average of one and a half women.<sup>33</sup> Barrett did not, however, state what he based his figures on, so are likely his conjecture. Again, without any evidence to justify his numbers, he also estimated each person living on the site ate three-quarters of a pound of fresh meat per day.<sup>34</sup> Barrett's work as a pastor for the Navy Mission Society gave him access to the men, and his chapters on navy slang and nicknames are reasonably convincing. He is also the source of a much-repeated tale of the raffling of the corpse of a dead navy to fund a drinking session.<sup>35</sup> As Barrett attempted to persuade navvies to reform and improve their reputation, he was an able observer, but perhaps not an impartial one. Terry Coleman's 1965 popular book, *The Railway Navvies* has proven influential and drew heavily on Barrett's earlier effort, repeating many of his stories and creating vivid stereotypes of conflict and consumption that persist in more recent works. Most literature that mentions navvies cites the readily accessible Coleman, so his book's influence continues despite its shortcomings.

Around the same time, A.J.M. Sykes produced a sociological study of British navy work attitudes and outlook. Through an observer study undertaken in 1953, he found navvies valued individual independence over any common interest and preferred to evade relationships with their employers. High turn-over on job-sites, primitive living conditions, hostile attitudes towards all industry employers, dangerous work practices and disregard for safety by both

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<sup>32</sup>Phillips, "Of verandahs and fish and chips," 336.

<sup>33</sup>Daniel William Barrett, *Life and Work among the Navvies*, 3rd ed. (Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, 1883), 15, 17.

<sup>34</sup>Barrett, *Life and Work among the Navvies*, 18.

<sup>35</sup>Barrett, *Life and Work among the Navvies*, 80.

workers and management were some characteristics identified.<sup>36</sup> A belief that no man should 'belong' to an employer by staying with one for an extended period, the tendency to 'jack' any job—leave dramatically at two hours' notice, a distrust of trade unions and any dependence on them, together with pride in hard work and in generous spending on drinking were also described.<sup>37</sup> Many of these cultural manifestations were present in the navy environment in New Zealand of the 1870s.

Writing twenty years after Coleman, David Brooke reassessed railway building history in *The Railway Navy*. Brooke's purpose was to rehabilitate the navy's reputation from what he described as Coleman's 'caricature.' While acknowledging the lack of primary sources, he successfully used evidence from census returns and company records to counter some of the myths. He refuted many of Coleman's better-known allegations, particularly that of early death, and an inability of Irish and British to work together. Brooke drew attention to the prejudices of sources Coleman's colourful characterisations relied on. Brooke continued to study and write about navvies, publishing "The 'Lawless' Navy: A Study of the Crime Associated with Railway Building" in 1989.<sup>38</sup> In this piece, he questioned the clichéd view of the navy's antagonistic relationship with the law. He found little evidence that railway works increased crime in their vicinity. Brooke's work remains the leading academic literature on British navy history and it is his interpretation of navy characteristics that is the most convincing.

The labour history of other countries contains references to the role of navvies. As early as the 1970s, some countries were producing work about labourers, such as *The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Irving Abella and David Millar. Their work mentions the benefits of navy productivity, as well as links to a background in farm labouring.<sup>39</sup> In Australia, "The Robust Navy: The Railway Construction Worker in Northern New South Wales, 1854-1894" written by Denis Rowe provides an account of railway building there, including worker movement between New Zealand and locations around Australia in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>40</sup> Rowe also noted the dearth of navy literature, as in 1980 he found no academic secondary

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<sup>36</sup>A.J.M. Sykes, "Navvies: Their Work Attitudes," *Sociology* 3, no. 1 (1969): 22-24.

<sup>37</sup>Sykes, "Navvies: Their Work Attitudes," 25-28, 32.

<sup>38</sup>David Brooke, "The Lawless Navy: A Study of the Crime Associated with Railway Building," Article, *Journal of Transport History* 10, no. 2 (1989).

<sup>39</sup>Irving Abella, *The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 57.

<sup>40</sup>Denis Rowe, "The Robust Navy: The Railway Construction Worker in Northern New South Wales, 1854-1894," *Labour History*, no. 39 (1980): 31, <https://doi.org/10.2307/27508435>.

sources.<sup>41</sup> Rowe relates evidence that the Australian navy was far from happy in his labours, resenting his employer, working in fear for his life, with many drinking away the monthly wage.<sup>42</sup> Rowe found evidence of the New South Wales navvies' life in newspaper reports, memories of those living in the camps, poetry, folklore and the relics of worksites.<sup>43</sup> *Canadian Working-Class History: Selected Readings* discusses conflict in navy ranks and a lack of union organisation.<sup>44</sup> First published in 1996, this book is on its third edition, reflecting an ongoing interest in its subject matter.



Figure 1: Man-power. Railway construction workers pictured at their work-site about 1910 (location unknown). The basics of tools and equipment reminded the same - shovels and carts for moving tonnes of earth to create the flattest course for the rail-line. Photograph. *Railway Construction Workers*. Making New Zealand: Negatives and prints from the Making New Zealand Centennial collection. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: PAColl-3060-016.. [/records/23108227](#)

During a similar period to Rowe's work, P.J. Gibbons produced "Some New Zealand Navvies: Co-operative workers 1891-1912" in 1977.<sup>45</sup> He examined the effects of a somewhat radical co-operative work system used by the Public Works Department. Gibbons reiterated many of the traditions about navy life and expanded upon them, drawing from contemporary

<sup>41</sup>Rowe, "The Robust Navy," 28.

<sup>42</sup>Rowe, "The Robust Navy," 33-34.

<sup>43</sup>Rowe, "The Robust Navy," 28.

<sup>44</sup>Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the canals of Upper Canada in the 1840s," in *Canadian Working-class History: Selected Readings*, ed. Laurel Sefton MacDowell and Ian Walter Radforth (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006), 36, 39.

<sup>45</sup>P. J. Gibbons, "Some New Zealand Navvies: Co-operative Workers, 1891-1912," *New Zealand Journal of History* 11, no. 1 (1977).

newspaper articles and Parliamentary debates. Howard T.S. Baldwin's 1975 thesis 'Labour Groups and Railway Construction in Otago, 1869–73' also looked at the navy stereotype to determine if Otago's railway labourers fitted the label. He determined they did not until the arrival of the Brogden immigrants. His description of the navy stereotype was drawn from Coleman's work. In the rural sector, Graeme Steven's 1979 thesis examines the New Zealand swagger and his place in society around the turn of the nineteenth century. His work emphasises a difference in values between a respectable but materialistic society and the independent outlook of some itinerant workers. This independent outlook seems to correspond with that found in studies of navvies by Sykes and Brooke, suggesting a commonality in the lower section of society. Later, John E. Martin's book, *The Forgotten Worker: The Rural Wage Earner in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, reflected the continuing interest in the ordinary man. Martin noted Arnold's argument that New Zealand's rural workers could achieve land-ownership, but questioned the extent to which this was true.<sup>46</sup> He found evidence of unemployment and under-employment of rural working men that had lacked serious attention.<sup>47</sup> Movement by labourers (including navvies) between rural and urban work has been noted.

Researching railway labourers has meant researching the railways they constructed. While there is plenty of literature on New Zealand railways, little has related to the workers creating them. General histories like Geoffrey B. Churchman and Tony Hurst's *The Railways of New Zealand: A Journey through History* and *Links: A History of Transport and New Zealand Society* by James Watson provide excellent background and an overview of the early years of the rail-lines. The New Zealand Official Yearbooks have included a summary of railway construction history, and they have been a cited source in later works. John Yonge's *New Zealand Railway and Tramway Atlas* (fourth edition) has been updated since first published in 1965. It is a useful concise visual record of the country's rail system. Work has started in Otago to study the archaeological remains of workers camps on the Otago Central Railway that connected the isolated sections of railway begun in the 1870s. Peter Mitchell's 2012 thesis identified the dearth of work done in this regard in New Zealand. He described the central components of the

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<sup>46</sup>Martin, *The forgotten worker: the rural wage earner in nineteenth-century New Zealand*, ix.

<sup>47</sup>Martin, *The forgotten worker: the rural wage earner in nineteenth-century New Zealand*, xi.

camps.<sup>48</sup> He found private contractors often sited their camps close to their worksite while Public Works camps were larger and might, therefore, be located at a distance from the line.<sup>49</sup> Some camps were situated on the work site due to lack of suitable alternatives.<sup>50</sup> A few tins and glass remnants were found on surface observations of camp sites but excavations had not been undertaken at the time of his report.<sup>51</sup> Mitchell also noted the contribution navvies made to the infrastructure but that they worked on whichever projects were available. Otago is also well covered by *Over the Garden Wall: Story of the Otago Central Railway*, by Jim Dangerfield and George Emerson and by W.J Cowan in his books *Rails to Roxburgh* and *Rails to Cromwell*. Local histories are generally likely to include some mention of railways in the area, but this varies considerably in detail.

Landholding is considered a step towards social advancement, particularly for the labourer. Oliver noted the prevailing view of historians had been that nineteenth-century men and women were comfortable working in the established system to advance upwards, using land ownership and education to advance in social position.<sup>52</sup> We find an example in Miles Fairburn's *The ideal society and its enemies: Foundations of modern New Zealand society, 1850-1900*, where he presented evidence suggesting labourers aimed to improve their situation gradually through paid employment, then contracting work, owning freehold land and finally achieving self-sufficiency.<sup>53</sup> In his 1974 article "The 'Working Class' in New Zealand," Olssen offered an alternative, citing evidence that as a working-class consciousness developed the fear of falling rather than the desire to rise drove its members.<sup>54</sup> In later work, Olssen notes the mobility of infrastructure labourers and repeats the popular perception that many of the men never married.<sup>55</sup> Navy mobility may have limited their ability to access this path to acceptance and advancement.

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<sup>48</sup>Peter Mitchell, "Tracks and Traces: an archaeological survey of railway construction related sites on the Otago Central Railway" (Master of Arts University of Otago, 2012), 31.

<sup>49</sup>Mitchell, "Tracks and Traces," 32, 81.

<sup>50</sup>Mitchell, "Tracks and Traces," 47.

<sup>51</sup>Mitchell, "Tracks and Traces," 75.

<sup>52</sup>W. H. Oliver, *Towards a new history?*, Hocken lecture: 1969, (Dunedin: Hocken Library, University of Otago, 1971), 20.

<sup>53</sup>Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), 57.

<sup>54</sup>Erik Olssen, "The 'Working Class' in New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History* 8, no. 1 (1974): 55.

<sup>55</sup>Erik Olssen, "Movement and Persistence: A Case Study of Southern Dunedin in Global Context," *Dynamics of Residential Movement and Attachment in New Zealand: Collected Papers from the FRST-funded research programme*

Fairburn discusses the question of motivation for migration in *The ideal society*. He raises issues of spatial mobility and social connection and emphasises the role of transients like railway workers in disrupting the established community. Fairburn deliberately challenged the accepted narrative and argued a social atomisation model would account for the state of New Zealand society.<sup>56</sup> James Belich rejects Fairburn's theory of atomisation in *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. Chapter Sixteen is titled "Lumped, Split and Bound", and in it Belich systematically counters Fairburn's theory, presenting evidence of bonds and connections. Belich writes about gangs of transitory male labourers, which he labels 'crews' and argues transient labourers made up the work-gangs of the 'progress industries,' like public works and war.<sup>57</sup> Olssen would seem to concur with the work-gang concept, acknowledging a distinct culture in the male populations extracting gold and gum.<sup>58</sup> Belich characterises the men that made up work-gangs.<sup>59</sup> Their attributes included a tendency towards single versus married living, a rough lifestyle rejecting comforts, group conformity that valued mate-ship, and a semi-itinerant pattern of moving to a new location following work. In common with other sources about navvies, work-gangs consumed large quantities of meat, adopted nicknames, and displayed generally disreputable off-duty behaviour. Belich notes they had a social 'hero/villain' status as the benefit of the work they undertook was balanced against the disorder they created.<sup>60</sup> Jock Phillips adds a cultural interpretation, reminding that these were British males, behaving as British males were expected and habituated to do.<sup>61</sup>

Marjory Harper, writing about English immigrants, joined in encouraging historians to find the people beyond the statistics.<sup>62</sup> Historians like Angela McCarthy have attempted to fill the gap following recent research concentrated on some distinct cultural groupings, while others,

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*Building Attachment in Families and Communities Affected by Transience and Residential Mobility* (2011): 5. <https://cresa.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/transience-and-persistence-olsen-final.pdf>.

<sup>56</sup>Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900*, 10-12,14.

<sup>57</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 349.

<sup>58</sup>Erik Olssen, "Social class in nineteenth century New Zealand," in *Social class in New Zealand*, ed. David Pitt (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1977). [page ref?]

<sup>59</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 429.

<sup>60</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 433.

<sup>61</sup>Phillips, "Of verandahs and fish and chips," 334.

<sup>62</sup>Marjory Harper, "'Everything is English': expectations, experiences and impacts of English immigrants to New Zealand, 1840-1970," in *Far from 'Home': The English in New Zealand*, ed. Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012).

including Charlotte Macdonald, examined women, traditionally absent from historical narratives. Scottish and Irish portions of the population have attracted considerable focus. Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn's 2008 book, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1845*, surveyed New Zealand's settlers in the most comprehensive manner thus far. The authors drew on Rollo Arnold's work for their comments on Brogdens' scheme to conclude most recruits were from England's southern counties.<sup>63</sup> Phillips and Hearn note a lack of examination of occupational groups, like navvies, and imply these types of studies aid understanding of the complexities of the New Zealand story.<sup>64</sup> In 2012, Lyndon Fraser and McCarthy identified Arnold's work as the sole study of English immigrants.<sup>65</sup> They called for further studies that compared the experiences of English migrants with others.<sup>66</sup> This type of comparative study seems to be one that historians are embracing. An associated avenue being explored is the quality of the migrants. In 2005, Robert Grant produced an article looking at the attractions of colonial life and the settlers this environment drew in.<sup>67</sup>

Some found social history's approach increasingly quantitative and distant from its subjects. Attempts to find ways to counteract this led to micro-history. Micro-history is now the term used to describe what in the past was perhaps presented as a case study of a particular community, often tied to a single source. Micro-history suggests the close examination of a subject reveals greater complexities and allows a new understanding. Olssen notes that such studies can challenge macro-histories assumptions.<sup>68</sup> However, a prominent theorist Gylfi Magnusson challenged this view, preferring instead to see micro-histories as inherently valuable, whether or not they contributed to macro-historical understanding.<sup>69</sup> One study that reflects this kind of work was by Reimund Kvideland and Gerald Porter in 2001. They produced a chapter about the Norwegian navy based on a collection of railway songs, in which they found evidence

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<sup>63</sup>Jock Phillips and T. J. Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), 44.

<sup>64</sup>Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers*, 13.

<sup>65</sup>Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy, "The English diaspora in New Zealand: new perspectives," in *Far from 'home': the English in New Zealand*, ed. Lyndon Fraser & Angela McCarthy (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012), 7.

<sup>66</sup>Fraser and McCarthy, "The English diaspora in New Zealand: new perspectives," 14.

<sup>67</sup>Robert Grant, "'The Fit and Unfit': Suitable Settlers for Britain's Mid-Nineteenth Century Colonial Possessions," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 33, no. 1 (2005), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25058701>.

<sup>68</sup>Erik Olssen, Clyde Griffen, and Frank Jones, *An Accidental Utopia?: Social Mobility & the Foundations of an Egalitarian Society, 1880-1940* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011), 18.

<sup>69</sup>Anne Patterson Rodda, *Trespassers in Time: Genealogists and Microhistorians* (Anne Patterson Rodda, 2012), 61.



of a distinctive Nordic navy worldview.<sup>70</sup> Kvideland and Porter compare the Nordic collection with songs of navies in England and America.<sup>71</sup>

Recent additions to the navy research field include Clive Leivers' 2006 article "The Modern Ishmaels? Navy Communities in the High Peak." He notes the opposing views of authors in presenting navies as either outsiders or integrated into society.<sup>72</sup> Leivers utilised British census data from 1841 onwards to track some career navies as well as study the interaction of a localised community of navies with their wider society.<sup>73</sup> Other similar works since 1980 have studied small communities of navies as they built a railway line, with examples from Shropshire, Yorkshire and the Midlands. These works utilise similar sources to those this study uses to draw a picture of navies and their lives.

Technology has played a large part in studying formerly difficult-to-find groups. Tanya Evans put it well when she wrote, 'technology allowed her to find and knot her narrative threads.'<sup>74</sup> Many previously unindexed records and less accessible sources have become increasingly searchable through advances in computer technology with digital finding aids and online indexes. The ability to search digitised newspapers, previously only available on microfilm or hard copy, almost deserves the term revolutionary. Optical character recognition has vastly improved searching for specific terms but has limitations due to the sometimes poor quality of the original image. This deficiency has encouraged some repositories to open their sites to customer editing of the transcription. Improved accessibility to primary sources benefits the historian in their search for the detail to support or challenge established history.

Genealogists have, largely voluntarily, undertaken projects to preserve and increase the accessibility of primary sources. Some are materials that were previously available, like births, marriage and death indices that are now in a more searchable online form. Collaborations like that between Archives New Zealand and FamilySearch have allowed valuable records, like indexed images of probate and passenger records to be viewable to any researcher with a

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<sup>70</sup>Reimund Kvideland and Gerald Porter, "Working the Railway, Constructing Navy Identity," in *Imagined states : nationalism, utopia, and longing in oral cultures*, ed. Luisa Del Giudice and Gerald Porter (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2001), 80.

<sup>71</sup>Kvideland and Porter, "Working the Railway, Constructing Navy Identity," 89-96.

<sup>72</sup>Clive Leivers, "The Modern Ishmaels? Navy Communities in the High Peak," *Family & Community History* 9, no. 2 (2006): 141, <https://doi.org/10.1179/175138106X146151>.

<sup>73</sup>Leivers, "Modern Ishmaels?," 142.

<sup>74</sup>Tanya Evans, "Secrets and Lies: the Radical Potential of Family History," *History Workshop Journal* 71, no. 1 (2011): 53, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbq065>.

computer or device and internet connection. Historians can benefit from sources largely produced for the demands of genealogical research. Previously academic historians dismissed genealogists and their work, perhaps seeing them as pretentious and falling short of academic standards in their research.<sup>75</sup> Professional and well-trained amateur genealogists and family historians accept standards of proof must be met for their work to be viewed as reliable. Experienced family historians have been taught to go back to the original source whenever possible. Those who advocate for a reconsideration of family historians' findings point to the ability to challenge traditional narratives through the examination of ordinary lives.<sup>76</sup> Family historians have a particular focus on family as part of a wider network of global connection and as a fundamental social unit. New Zealand history now has a cadre of historians using established genealogical research methods and resources to find information on migrants and settlers. Some, like Jock Phillips and T.J. Hearn, have examined nationality, while Charlotte Macdonald and Carolyn Daley emphasised gender and gendered experience, and Erik Olssen and David Pearson focused on location. In creating databases of their target populations, they have drawn on standard genealogical tools to access primary records created by government and official organisations - records of birth, deaths, marriages, burial and probate, data from censuses, electoral rolls and postal directories. Some, like Rebecca Lenihan, have approached genealogy societies with requests to their members to supply information which then forms a major part of their study.

The proliferation of commercial genealogical websites demonstrates it is profitable to cater to family history researchers. Many primary sources are accessible through websites such as Ancestry, FamilySearch and Findmypast. It appears that some websites enable a less rigorous approach, leading to searchers cobbling together records of individuals without much thought or source verification. At the same time, they offer access to indices and archived records with which the material can be checked. Andrew Prescott points out that we do not know what effect records accessible only via subscription is going to have as these are generally less routinely available to academics.<sup>77</sup> He has warned about the lack of debate around the financial decisions being made

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<sup>75</sup>Evans, "Secrets and Lies," 49.

<sup>76</sup>Evans, "Secrets and Lies," 52.

<sup>77</sup>Andrew Prescott, "I'd Rather be a Librarian: A Response to Tim Hitchcock, 'Confronting the Digital'," *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 3 (2014): 339, <https://doi.org/10.2752/147800414X13983595303192>.

which privatise and commercialise access to records of public interest.<sup>78</sup> Lara Putnam notes that digitisation of material must also influence our study of those who did not appear in the published record.<sup>79</sup> Also, the reach of digitisation of records is uneven. Records of Asian and African countries and for Latin America, as well as others, are not accessible in the same way, although that is changing.<sup>80</sup> The records of the British Empire and the United States have been prioritised as the largest market exists for their consumption. Additionally, relying only on online sources can be a problem. Lesser known and specific sources are less likely to be digitised, thus the very source that may be of most use may remain inaccessible to distant researchers.

Genealogical sources are the best tools for researching those who evade the written historical record. The wealth of detailed information made a database of Brogden's navies necessary to keep it together in a readily searchable form. Advances in computer technology since Arnold's research into the group in the early 1980s have improved storage and access, allowing both quantitative evaluations and qualitative individual studies drawn from the same database. Everyone who can be identified as travelling as part of the navy group has been included with searches conducted to find as much information about them as is possible to find, within time and financial limits. Many of the individuals remained elusive, proving even the best methods are not effective for all subjects. Many women, traditionally difficult to locate in the historical record, left good evidence of their lives in official records and in the newspapers. Children aided research into families when enrolled in state schools or placed in the Industrial School system. A cautious approach to family trees has proven their value in providing helpful links for both those who settled and those who moved on to Australian states. The resultant data allows some analysis of origins and life-paths to be undertaken.

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<sup>78</sup>Prescott, "I'd Rather be a Librarian," 340.

<sup>79</sup>Lara Putnam, "The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadow They Cast," *American Historical Review* (April 2016): 391.

<sup>80</sup>Putnam, "The Transnational and the Text-Searchable," 389-90.

## Chapter Three: Finding Brogdens' Navvies

To study Brogdens' navvies and determine both their origins and what became of them, the individuals have to be identified. This study includes the passengers of twelve of the fifteen ships sent, as listed on passenger lists or other reports, as well as a handful from the other three ships without listings of the Brogden group. Suitable migrants were found for ships which left between April and December 1872. The group was sent to all major ports, Auckland, Wellington, Lyttleton and Port Chalmers, with some ships disembarking passengers at Napier and Bluff. Many workers were employed where they landed, but several ships-loads were transferred to other ports. Unlike some other distinct immigrant groups, Brogden's navvies were from a range of home places and from different occupation backgrounds. They shared an employer but were widely spread once in New Zealand. Some were transferred from Wellington to Picton and Bluff. Those at Lyttleton were likewise sent to Bluff, while some from Dunedin went north to Oamaru and Moeraki. Thus, the group was never a single community; they never all assembled together and were dispersed around the two major islands. They may have developed a cultural community if they worked together for a length of time, but evidence suggests most scattered and assimilated into growing communities. They did not form an obvious society of their own, nor continue to identify as Brogdens' navvies.

Rollo Arnold created a list of these men and their families, taken from passenger shipping lists. Some were official listings, and some from newspapers or gazettes. Some newspaper lists are more detailed than others. In the worst cases, the list shows only the passenger's initial and surname. This study checked Arnold's list and built it into a database supplemented with information from censuses, electoral rolls, land records, police gazettes, registration of births, deaths and marriage, newspaper articles and family trees to create a detailed picture of the people in the group. Some passenger lists for the navvies have not survived. Thus, alternative sources for the information had to be found. This study has identified sources for two of the previously unlisted ships. The *Halcione* had a passenger list printed in the *Wellington Independent* newspaper. This was checked against the list of government-assisted immigrants travelling on the same ship. Those contracted to Brogdens were found by eliminating the assisted travellers. The second list was compiled from the entries in the journal of the ship's doctor. Dr Yorth's journal

for the 1872/73 voyage of the *Zealandia* is held by the Otago Settlers Museum. It listed all the passengers he treated. However, several pages have been removed so it is less complete than it could be. As with the *Halcione* list, the Brogden people had to be separated from the assisted to create a listing.

The effect of the three missing passenger lists is difficult to assess. The ships carried a total of 303 men, at least 70 women and 93 children. Diligent searching of archives has failed to locate any significant replacement source. Some individuals' names have been found. The *Charlotte Gladstone's* arrival generated a lengthy sick list due to scarlet fever and typhoid on-board. Newspaper reports identify a few recent immigrants from the ships in court reports. The lack of passenger lists may skew the data in favour of those who settled as they are going to be the main ones found for those ships.

One difficulty in using sometimes poor quality passenger lists has been spelling and transcription errors. Some names have been easily resolved, but some have proven more difficult. Henry Watling was incorrectly listed as Wadling. Vincent Roulter on the *Schiehallion*, Walter Peguar on the *Christian McAusland*, and Patrick Koul, or possibly Kout, on the *City of Auckland*, are all men that should be relatively easily found, but their names do not appear either in New Zealand or back in England. It is, therefore, most likely their names have been recorded incorrectly. If they were travelling under a new name, this would have been used in their new location. Another issue is a lack of information included on the lists. In most cases, the passenger lists show first and last names, age, and occupation. Place of birth is usually, unhelpfully, listed as England. The *City of Auckland* is a notable exception, with two official listings remaining. One of these shows where the employed man was born, and place he was engaged as well as any family members who accompanied him. For example, George Jones was 29, born in Cornwall, engaged at Falmouth, and travelling with his 30-year-old wife. Jones is also an example of another difficulty, that of the common name. New Zealand had numerous George Jones's by the 1870s and even more lived in England. The passenger lists include some people like this, one ship carried three men named James Baker of varying ages who become indistinguishable in newspaper reports, and indices to life events. Likewise, a man called William Smith is unlikely to be traceable. It is impossible to follow the correct person without further identifying features. A further unexpected issue was that some people appear on two passenger lists, such as Edwin &

Mary Tantrum. They were listed on the *Durham* which sailed on 29 November 1872 but travelled on the *Lutterworth*. The Janken or Jenkins family of Edward, his wife who died on the voyage and an infant took their place. The Janken or Jenkins family show another potential permutation of errors, that of the incorrectly recorded name. An added difficulty was children from a woman's first marriage travelled under their stepfather's surname. An error noted was girl children recorded as boys and vice versa.

If Brogdens' navvies stayed in New Zealand they had their life-events recorded. New Zealand birth, death and marriage registration indices are searchable through Births, Deaths and Marriages Online. This was first searched for marriages for men who arrived without a family, and then for death events of settlers between their arrival and 1950. The official website requires exact matching of names, with no search wildcards. Some known events do not appear to be registered or have been misspelt, poorly transcribed or indexed incorrectly. Newspapers report Edward Barnett, a band cutter at a threshing mill at Arrow, died after cutting the main artery in his arm while working. There is no registered entry for his 13 April 1895 death. Ancestry and Findmypast both search New Zealand births, deaths and marriages indexes. Their indices were compiled from different sources so can give different results, potentially leading to the identification of an event. Ancestry usefully gives a location for most births and deaths, but only has indexes for births from 1840 to 1950 and deaths 1848 to 1966. Findmypast shows the calculated birth year for deaths registrations, which simplifies the process of identifying possible matches.

Those who settled and died in New Zealand might have had a headstone or left a burial record. Many New Zealand cemeteries now have online search facilities through local council websites. They can provide valuable information allowing identification of the correct individual. Dunedin is particularly comprehensive as it includes information from the burial register, such as where they were born and length of time in the province. Few others are as thorough, but most are user-friendly and quick to search. The Auckland City Council cemetery search has been upgraded recently; however, searches for individuals known to be buried in its cemeteries often produced negative results.

The newspapers accessible through the New Zealand site PapersPast provides valuable insights into ordinary lives. For this project, it mostly captures those in conflict with others or the

law, some land ownership events, and bankruptcy reports. Relatively few of the Brogdens group generated obituaries, as the deceased had to be well established in their community. Newspapers reported some deaths, particularly those requiring an inquest. Very few of the group paid to announce births in newspapers, and likewise death notices, while more numerous than birth notices for the group, were not particularly common.

It is possible to trace the assorted escapades of the law-breakers. *New Zealand Police Gazettes* 1878-1945 were examined to determine how law-abiding the group was. The gazettes do not capture the first years of their presence in the colony in this series but provide information about some of those who remained. Ancestry hosts an index to the gazettes with access to digitised images of the gazette pages. This source provides valuable information including the place (usually country) and year of birth, occupation, physical description (sometimes very detailed) and number of previous convictions. The information in the gazettes allows searching of newspapers for further confirmation and elaboration of the court case. PapersPast has recently begun hosting a similar service for the police gazettes. The different search engines do not always produce the same results.

Landownership was a measure of success for migrants. The 1882 *Return of Freeholders* was an obvious source to examine. With approximately fifty percent of the population owning land in the early 1880s this source was one which Arnold used as evidence that the 1870s immigrants had settled in well. It captures landowners in both rural and urban settings. Those owning a house and section in town were usually listed as owning less than an acre. Additionally, it includes both men and women. The Brogden group was not well represented in this source.

Next, the 1890 electoral roll was searched for evidence of settlement. New Zealand lacks accessible historical census material, as the papers were routinely destroyed after statistical data was extracted. Census substitutes in the form of electoral rolls thus allow reconstruction of an individual's work and location history. The earlier restrictions excluded the transient and less established residents for many years. The 1890 electoral roll captured those men over 21 who had been in the area for at least six months and enrolled to vote. Olssen notes that most enrolled despite a lack of compulsion, but tempers this with a caution about inaccuracy caused by the continued appearances of those who had moved on.<sup>81</sup> Once an individual was located in 1890,

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<sup>81</sup>Olssen, Griffen, and Jones, *An Accidental Utopia?* 24

their career and any movements could be established in subsequent electoral rolls. Women were not enfranchised in 1890. They need to be sought in 1893 and following electoral rolls. This early enfranchisement has made electoral rolls a valuable resource with which to study women.

Searching for life-events back in England could narrow the search area for the navy's place of origin. United Kingdom births, deaths and marriages are accessible via a variety of online sources. This project's most useful combination was FreeBDM and the official website for the General Register Office (GRO Online Index). FreeBDM has a useful phonetic search option and allows a search by registration county or district in addition to a general search, and over a user-selected period. The Registrar General's site requires a maximum four year period per search and uses a different phonetic search engine, which was found to be less helpful. However, it gives the maiden name of the mother as recorded for births, so enables searches for siblings on the same site and the parents' marriage on FreeBDM. GRO Online Index lists the deceased's age when known, thus eliminating many irrelevant options.

The British census for 1871 was used to provide background for as many of the Brogdens group as could be identified. British census records in the form of the enumerators' books give the location, occupation, age, marital status and birthplace of most of the country's residents. Indexed access is available through websites, taking the viewer to digitised images of the original material as well as providing a transcript of the entry. Some of the group could not be found in 1871, but searching earlier censuses located some in their hometowns. Transcription of the original entry can differ across the providers. One man recorded in New Zealand as Stephen Sedgeman is transcribed from the same 1871 census entry as Stephen Sidgman, Stephen Sideman and Stephen Lillyman. Census returns might record railway builders as 'navvy', 'excavator' or 'railway labourer', or simply 'labourer'. Those involved would have understood the distinctions, but these were unimportant to the enumerators.<sup>82</sup> In searching the census, it was generally assumed that single male passengers were probably unmarried in 1871. Likewise, the most likely occupations for Brogdens' navvies would be in labouring or unskilled manual work. The person found with the right name had to fit the known details - age, married or single, family size, and be in a compatible occupation. Those that settled in New Zealand could also be checked against potential matches in the 1881 census to eliminate people of the same name remaining in

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<sup>82</sup>David Brooke, *The Railway Navy: that Despicable Race of Men* (Newton Abbot: David & Clark, 1983). 50-52



England. This may have inadvertently excluded some of those who returned to England from being correctly identified.

Numbers do not show how many 'single' men left wives behind in England. A few, such as the Hurrell brothers, did this. The Hurrells and others in their situation returned to their families after just a few years. This would account for some of the difficulty in identifying some of the so-called single men. In 1871, they would be found in England as a married man while they shipped as 'single'. Then they would have returned in time for the 1881 census, thus appear to have remained in England with no evidence of their time away.

Family trees created by genealogists have been used as a tool to identify some people and families. A major consideration when using family trees is that of the creator and their intended purpose. Family trees, for example, those found on Ancestry, are made by a wide variety of people with vastly different levels of expertise and intentions. Some are new to genealogy research. They may be dabbling for a few hours and create a tree cobbled together from automated suggestions with no intention to continue into serious research. Other beginners approach interested in DNA testing and may typically be interested in finding relative matches without interest in conducting primary research into original records. Others are beginning a hobby of family history with few research skills but the intention of creating a family tree and developing expertise over time. At the other extreme are dedicated genealogists or family historians producing reliable family trees with extensive links to the website's digitised records or transcriptions. They might link to additional material, such as family photographs or marriage and birth certificates. Some people are selective in the material they include in publicly viewable trees. They may limit links to maintain a degree of privacy or to prevent others from lifting the results of extensive research without any acknowledgment of its source. Most users will fall between the extremes, hopefully tending to follow best practice as promoted by organisations like the New Zealand Society of Genealogists.

The quality of online family trees is extremely variable. Therefore, the material found has been regarded as a clue rather than conclusive proof. In practice differentiating between reliable and unreliable trees was relatively straightforward. On Ancestry, family trees copied directly from others generally have no records connected to them. The information may be correct, but the original tree is usually also available with verifiable links to the records on which it is based. This

does not mean all trees with records are reliable as it is possible to link to an available record without the information applying to the connected individual. For example, some trees found show an individual linked to a death record in England when evidence shows they were in New Zealand, appearing in electoral rolls and death records. The tree's creator was unaware of the migration thus made an incorrect assumption. Other trees show a mix of related and unrelated records. This might be caused by the researcher attaching records suggested by the automated 'hints' feature without considering their relevance to the individual's life path. One tree found for Joseph Jordan showed him marrying in 1875 in New Zealand with children born in Auckland but also linked to the record of an unmarried man living in Yorkshire in 1881. Many trees found did not include all the children belonging to the family.

Additionally, family trees tend to be created by descendants. Those men who arrived single and never married and those who married but did not have children or grandchildren are seldom found via this method. Some people are found in English family trees, where they appear as a bachelor uncle without any detail beyond birth and possible census entries. There is rarely any indication the tree's creator knows the individual migrated to New Zealand or where they may have moved on to. However, sometimes, a family tree has been the link between the name on the passenger list and a person or family that changed name. Without the links that these trees provide, these people would not have been identified. Family trees have proven individuals were not part of the Brogdens group, usually by either being born in New Zealand or through evidence of arrival prior to the Brogden ships.

Despite this lack of family trees for single men, it would be incorrect to assume nothing can be found about those who settled in New Zealand. In most cases, they still generated a death registration and long-term residence was generally reflected in their inclusion in electoral rolls. The exceptions were likely to be men whose death was registered as an unknown person. This possibility increased if they lived solitary lives as rural workers or miners, or were only known by a nickname. Thus, this is a very real prospect for a portion of this group.

An additional point is that family ties and community bonds are not always obvious on a passenger list. It is not easy to identify married sisters in the names of the wives. Without a recorded home-place there is no sign of ties between men from the same village. Likewise, there might be unidentified bonds between former workmates. Another potential bond was that

formed through the shared hardships during the migration voyage. These types of bonds only become apparent by researching the individuals and their lives before and after migration. Some family relationships were through the wives. Many migrants came from specific small areas. Some bonds endured beyond the voyage between people who seem to have had no other connection. Marriages occurred between men and shipmates' widows or with daughters. Family trees can aid in the search for communities of family networks and invisible bonds. Ties were present, even for single men.

New Zealand may be unusually suited to this type of study due to the small population size and links to the British Empire which encouraged the early adoption of centralised record-keeping. Some matches are straight forward. The small population before 1900 means that in many cases the individual sought was the only one of that name in the colony, so his or her presence or absence was obvious. William and Isaac Carne arrived on the *City of Auckland*. Isaac settled, marrying in 1889 and living in the Bay of Islands. He had trouble with the law when he assaulted his wife, and whilst serving in a prison labour gang he escaped. He probably died in New Zealand, but there is no record. William was probably Isaac's father. He settled in Thames, working as mine manager and later as an engineer. Henry and William Tame, from the *Forfarshire*, do not seem to have remained in New Zealand. They do not appear in the 1882 *Return of Freeholders*, the 1890 census or PapersPast. Henry was in England with a wife in the 1871 census, so may have returned there, or moved on and had her join him at another destination. Alternatively, the men could have stayed in New Zealand under another name, which was simple to do and impossible to trace.

Some individuals shared their name with a few others but could be identified by their age at death and a calculated birth-date derived from their age at arrival. John Martin arrived in Southland on the *Zealandia*. He died in 1915 aged 66 and was buried at Bluff. A substantial number of the Brogden group have common names and have proven to be impossible to distinguish in New Zealand. Couples and families were also more easily identified as present or not. Thomas and Hannah Jones had four children with them onboard the *City of Auckland*. They had another six born in New Zealand. The couple were buried together in the Waikumete cemetery so were confirmed as settling despite their common names. However, in some cases, even those with relatively uncommon names had a same-name counterpart couple. Names of

offspring could be useful in these situations as well as identifying details from death date or cemetery records.

When examining a record, such as the 1882 *Return of Freeholders*, some assumptions were made to eliminate unlikely matches. Occupations and locations had to be compatible. An 1871 labourer was unlikely to be an accountant in 1890. However, those working as engine-drivers sometimes called themselves engineers in later years. Many in the group remained in the area they landed in. Miners were especially likely to move on, particularly to mining areas like Thames and the West Coast of the South Island.

As previously noted, finding whether navvies stayed or moved on is complicated by their inclination to change their name. Charles 'Chalky' Malloves was identified by the Brogden firm despite having used another name. Brogdens' legal team presented this as an attempt to evade paying his promissory note.<sup>83</sup> Robert Lusted used his mother's maiden name to become Robert Collins. Some had other logical, if less ethical, reasons for using another name. John Henry Deeble was listed as a military deserter after he had sailed on the *Bebington* under the name Samuel Deeble. Jessie Cheriton used her husband's nickname of 'Candy' as her surname when charged by police. Joseph Brennan used a variety of aliases in his many encounters with the law.

The database of information collected allows some assertions to be made about the group. However, the figures arrived at are conservative ones. Those who settled are only categorised as doing so if they can be found to have died in New Zealand. If they lived in New Zealand into the 1890s then disappeared without a confirmed death they were classified as staying, not settling. Numerous individuals had to be classed as indistinguishable from others of the same name. It is probable a substantial proportion settled but this cannot be confirmed. The resulting lack of information leads to potential underestimation of those who settled. The only ones we can be certain about are those who can be located. Those who arrived but cannot be found in New Zealand or elsewhere could have left shortly after arrival, or, equally, could have assumed another name and remained.

The location of additional passenger lists has been a significant finding for the study of this group. However, chances of finding alternatives for the final three ships appear small. In studying those on the lists the mis-recording of names is a considerable obstacle in locating the

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<sup>83</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 26.

correct individual. In New Zealand, life events like deaths and burials, notoriety or acclaim in newspapers, encounters with the legal system through law-breaking or landownership, and participation in the electoral system can lead to linking an arrival with a life being lived as part of the community. Care must be taken to locate the correct individual and his or her family. Some of the easily identified have unusual names or arrived with a more readily recognised family. Close research has shown unexpected bonds between the migrants. Family trees, usually created by descendants, can be a tremendous help in locating the records of the Brogden immigrants. However, this source is less likely for the single men who were predominant in the group and prove to be the most difficult to trace with certainty. A desire to avoid false positives and lack of information about some immigrants led to a potential underestimation of those who settled.

## Chapter Four: Recruiting Navvies

This chapter explores the make-up of the selected group, where they came from, where they were born, and their occupations in England in 1871, to determine if they are typical British navvies or if the firm were influenced to import something other than navvies. The Brogden firm was encouraged into an immigration agent role by the New Zealand Government's policy linking public works with immigration. Teams involved in railway construction included men described as navy, excavator and labourer as well as supplementary skilled trades. Arnold emphasised an applicant's agricultural background was of primary importance to those recruiting workers for the Brogden group.<sup>84</sup> This study found official records suggest that the composition of the group mixed specialised navvies with labourers, largely from a rural background, and trades so was very similar to the British model.

The British navy was essentially a skilled labourer. Teams of navvies levelled the landscape, enabling the laying of the rails for the steam trains that connected Britain. With origins building navigational canals in the eighteenth century, they earned the shortened title of navy. They developed a particular reputation for hard work and hard living and were generally not well regarded by their social superiors. The stereotypical navy was Irish, big and brawny, boozy, belligerent, and endlessly shifting from one construction site to another. Newspaper reports influenced public perception by reporting drunkenness and disorder rather than daily toil and dramatic changes wrought on the landscape.<sup>85</sup> Even a somewhat sympathetic observer like that of the *Illustrated Times*, who called the navy 'a skilled workman in his way' and 'a model of strength and endurance', would also describe him a 'big blockhead' and in ways that invite comparison with animals rather than other men: brown, hairy, muscular with 'mighty calves' and as a 'big-limbed' giant.<sup>86</sup> The other prolific, thus influential, source informing views was mission society literature. Navy mission societies aimed to alter navy behaviour to more closely conform to core Christian values that determined acceptable conduct.<sup>87</sup> Navvies enjoyed a brief period of adulation for their role in rescuing the British army in the Crimean War in 1855 by

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<sup>84</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 16,17.

<sup>85</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navy*, 7.

<sup>86</sup>*Illustrated Times*, 12 Nov 1864, 11.

<sup>87</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navy*, 7.

building a supply line from port to front.<sup>88</sup> However, those in closer contact with the British public tended to elicit less favourable reactions. David Brooke sought to re-examine the navy life and character. He countered the lack of official records by seeking information about origins, ages and residences in the 1841 to 1871 census enumerators' books. He found the Irish on railway construction sites all over Britain, where they undertook some of the least skilled tasks.<sup>89</sup> However, they were predominantly located in Northern England, the Scottish borders and West Midlands where they were up to half the workforce. These areas were popular destinations for Irish immigrants at the time. The Irish were less likely to work on contracts further south.<sup>90</sup> Both J.H. Treble, who studied Scottish navvies, and Brooke noted mobility in search of work as a defining characteristic. Navvies actively sought work when the contract was complete or moved to find better working conditions.<sup>91</sup> Additionally, they moved along the same rail-line as work progressed.

The characteristics of size, strength and stamina resulted from the heavy work involved in relocating tonnes of earth with basic tools: picks, shovels, wheelbarrows and rail wagons.<sup>92</sup> New navvies served an apprenticeship of sorts, taking up to two years to reach peak condition. Contemporary sources like Barrett noted the ample appetites for beef and beer. Coleman made this one of his defining characteristics for the group. Treble questioned the grounds for this, noting drinking was common in the working-class, not unique to navvies. Further, he argued that Scottish and Irish navvies followed their cultural eating patterns even if English navvies ate more beef than their general populations.<sup>93</sup> Brooke discounted consumption habits as 'trivial or misleading.'<sup>94</sup> Enumerators and railway administrators used the terms "railway labourer", "navvy" and "excavator" inconsistently in both railway and census records.<sup>95</sup> However, for the workers, there was a differentiation between the roles. Excavators identified as such into retirement; retired excavators appear in census returns aged in their 80s and 90s while no railway labourers, retired or not, appear for the same age group. Navvies expected employers to pay good money for

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<sup>88</sup>Terry Coleman, *The Railway Navvies: A History of the Men who made the Railways* (London: Hutchinson, 1965), 184-91.

<sup>89</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 28.

<sup>90</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 26.

<sup>91</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 24.

<sup>92</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 22.

<sup>93</sup>J.H.Treble, "The Navvies," *The Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society* 5 (Mar 1972): 37.

<sup>94</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 52.

<sup>95</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 52-53.

their expertise and stamina. In addition to the nomadic search for work, other characteristics which seem to mark them out were an unpredictable tendency to take offence and immediately depart for other work and financial generosity, both towards ill or destitute workmates and in drinking situations.<sup>96</sup>

Navvies were never the sole workers on the construction site. Labourers lured by comparatively high wages joined them. These men were mostly local farmworkers from the surrounding countryside.<sup>97</sup> This led to labour shortages on the works when higher wages for harvesting were available. In urban areas, the work drew labourers who had previously moved in search of employment.<sup>98</sup> Labourers, in contrast to navvies, returned to their prior line of work when the contract finished as they often lived close by. A combination of navvies and labourers generally made up sixty to eighty percent of the railway construction workforce. Skilled trades were usually up to twenty per cent.<sup>99</sup> Brickmakers and layers tended to travel in groups and were often from the same location.<sup>100</sup> Tunnelling needed specialists. Masons, miners, brick-workers and carpenters made up a diverse work-force. Brooke found they were often from the southern counties of Devon, Cornwall and Somerset.<sup>101</sup> The railway construction team was more complex than the simple "navvy" label implies.

### **The Recruitment**

The New Zealand government persuaded the Brogden firm to import men to work on public works.<sup>102</sup> The firm worked with Isaac Featherston in his role as the New Zealand Government's Agent General for immigration in London. Featherston was able to take advantage of the firm's experience in recruiting English labourers and agricultural workers to boost New Zealand's reputation as a desirable place to settle. Brogdens undertook to send men and their families out before they finalised contracts, relying on a gentlemen's agreement first with Vogel and then with Featherston as agent-general. A draft contract was agreed on but required parliamentary approval. The figure contained in a draft agreement in November 1871 was 2,000 men with up

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<sup>96</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 51.

<sup>97</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 20.

<sup>98</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 19.

<sup>99</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 54.

<sup>100</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 54.

<sup>101</sup>Brooke, *Railway Navvy*, 63.

<sup>102</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 52.



to 6,000 women and children.<sup>103</sup> The Brogden firm sent James Brogden, one of the partners, to New Zealand to conclude negotiations and to ensure arrangements were in place. Contracts were not signed until August 1872, at which point the firm had contracted men and dispatched six ships with 707 immigrants.

The Brogden recruitment campaign began with advertisements in British newspapers that asked for navvies and labourers used to 'rough, out-of-door work'.<sup>104</sup> The firm calculated they would need to send 500-600 British railway building specialists to New Zealand: navvies and skilled tradesmen. Because of their agreement, they recruited agricultural labourers and miners that they would typically draw from the local population to provide the additional manpower. Government advice in New Zealand was that Brogdens should limit payments to 6s per day for an eight-hour day.<sup>105</sup> The minimum wage offered to those interested in the work was 5s a day and guaranteed two years employment on Public Works. Those recruited believed wages would start from the day they landed with Brogdens led to understand contracts would be ready to begin as the men arrived. Brogdens sent out 364 married men with wives and families when they might have preferred to send single men or those willing to leave their dependents behind for the duration of their contracts. An unrecorded number of men left wives and families at home, with an arrangement for a weekly allowance. The first ship sent, the *Schieballion*, included a portion that left their families behind intending to return. By 1881, the government position was that the firm had preferred to send single navvies which had not been the government's preferred immigrants.<sup>106</sup> However, the numbers recruited show those selected included many families and those with a rural background, the kind of immigrants preferred as settlers.

New Zealand's central and provincial government preferences may have overridden those of the Brogden company. New Zealand had experienced trouble enticing the rural workforce it supposed would most benefit the colony.<sup>107</sup> Provincial governments struggled to reach and persuade agricultural labourers in their efforts in the 1850s and 1860s. Oppressive social and

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<sup>103</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 52.

<sup>104</sup>*Northampton Mercury*, 30 Mar 1872.

<sup>105</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 52.

<sup>106</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 39.

<sup>107</sup>Rollo Arnold, "English Rural Unionism & Taranaki Immigration, 1871-1876," *New Zealand Journal of History* 6, no. 1 (1972): 21.

economic conditions had created a cohort described as 'servile, demoralised men.'<sup>108</sup> Agricultural labourers were resigned to their position in the social hierarchy.<sup>109</sup> Rollo Arnold described their background: the loss of traditional communal land through its enclosure, effects of industrialisation on craft industries, and growing under-employment of an oversupply of rural workers.<sup>110</sup> The combination of these factors produced a level of poverty that prevented migration by the very people that would have most benefited. In desperation, agricultural labourers began demanding wage increases reflecting the increased cost of living. They formed local unions under the direction and encouragement of Joseph Arch, a fellow-labourer. Union members were threatened with dismissal and eviction as they asked for increases of up to 4s per week and fewer hours. Arch eventually accepted that emigration could improve the situation of labourers and their families, both the ones who left and those who stayed.<sup>111</sup> Brogden immigrants signed up believing they would improve their lives by undertaking well-paid work, guaranteed for two years, with the potential to own their own land. This must have been particularly appealing to the agricultural labourers who commonly spent the winter months without paid work or at lower rates.<sup>112</sup> Newspaper reports alleged Brogdens signed up agricultural workers with union affinities at Uxbridge, Banbury, Wallingford, Hungerford, Marlborough, Leamington, Swindon, and Witney as winter drew near.<sup>113</sup> A greater proportion of agricultural labourers may have been recruited due to government policies and the involvement of Featherston's agency.

Featherston and his assistant, Charles Rooking Carter, may have also had a strong influence on the selected mix. Featherston and the government seem to have had differing ideas on the role of both the Brogden recruitment and Featherston's agency's role in it. Featherston's priority was recruiting settler immigrants, and he felt that the Brogden effort was undermining his ability to persuade the rural families he needed. The government criticised the numbers he had recruited, as they subtracted the Brogden people from the totals. This implies they saw them

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<sup>108</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 20.

<sup>109</sup>Barry Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society, and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time: 30, (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 148-49.

<sup>110</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 20.

<sup>111</sup>"The Farm Labourers' Agitation," *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 26 April 1872, 8

<sup>112</sup>Reay, *Microhistories*, 102.

<sup>113</sup>"Emigration to New Zealand. (From the European Mail)." *Evening Post*, Volume VIII, Issue 281, 30 December 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18721230.2.9>

as separate, not part of the settlers they expected to stay. It may indicate the government saw the Brogden group as primarily navvies. This is despite the official hope that these immigrants would settle alongside the railways they built.<sup>114</sup> However, land grants which were originally under discussion were lost as the provinces objected to giving up potential land sales. The navvies were never officially offered land to encourage settlement. While the Brogdens selected men they could use, the Agent General's office controlled the recruitment by giving final approval of the applicants and rejected many.<sup>115</sup> Carter was a former New Zealand settler, returned to England. He had been influential in opening up the Wairarapa to settlement and encouraged small-scale farming there.<sup>116</sup> Arnold considered Carter to be the ideal man to have involved in selecting suitable settlers. The *Wellington Evening Post* newspaper of 1872 seems somewhat less convinced of his value as an immigration agent stating he 'immortalised himself by the hopeless blunders he made' in public affairs.<sup>117</sup> Carter had active oversight of the Brogdens' recruitment effort. He presented at public meetings to drum up interest; he interviewed almost all applicants approved by Brogdens and rejected those he felt were not suited to 'colonial life and the future requirements of New Zealand'.<sup>118</sup> One recruiting agent wrote of his experience with Carter approving only 9 of 60 men. The agent was told Carter insisted on certification of good character and would reject 'discharged soldiers, sailors, dock-yard labourers, bricklayers' labourers...and reduced tradesmen'.<sup>119</sup> Carter prioritised those he thought would be good settlers, which meant he favoured those with a rural background, but allowed that a certain number of navvies were essential for the task.<sup>120</sup> It may have been this requirement for navvies that prompted Featherston to write to the president of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in London promoting

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<sup>114</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 35.

<sup>115</sup>"Immigrants for New Zealand," *Colonist*, Volume XV, Issue 1529, 21 May 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TC18720521.2.17>

<sup>116</sup>He was honoured in the naming of the Wairarapa town of Carterton.

<sup>117</sup>*Evening Post*, Volume VIII, Issue 157, 3 August 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18720803.2.5>

<sup>118</sup>"Mr. C.R. Carter to Agent-General for New Zealand" in "D-01B Further Correspondence with the Agent-General, London. II. - Letters from the Agent-General," in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1872), 12.

<sup>119</sup>"Brogden's Emigrants", *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3736, 27 January 1874, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18740127.2.17>

<sup>120</sup>"Mr. Carter to Dr. Featherston" in "D-02A Immigration to New Zealand, Further Papers from the Agent General," in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1873), 14.

emigration to New Zealand in December 1872.<sup>121</sup> The society, reacting to the dismissal of members by the London and North-Western Company after strike action, sent emigrants to Canada and proposed 600 members be sent to New Zealand.<sup>122</sup> Brogdens had abandoned recruitment before this could happen.

From the start, recruiting policy had to change when it was found that desirable workers could not pay anything towards their passages due to poverty. The Brogden firm then agreed to pay their expenses.<sup>123</sup> This was a significant amendment to the original understanding. The government had initially been intending to pay the contracting firm £15 per adult equivalent sent.<sup>124</sup> The new arrangement saw the government charge Brogdens £10 per adult equivalent for transport to New Zealand. Brogdens could take promissory notes for £15 for the voyage and an additional £1 for the cost of kit and necessities for the voyage.<sup>125</sup> They also charged for the internal transport and accommodation costs incurred in getting the immigrants to the vessels. The immigrants seemed to be unaware they would have to repay these expenses. They were delighted by the generosity of the Brogden firm when they found omnibuses ready to transfer them from trains to harbour.<sup>126</sup> Most single men agreed to pay £17 to £22. John Hughes on the *Forfarshire* travelled with his wife and child and promised to pay over £54. Others on the same ship with similarly small families owed up to £61. One man stated, 'I thought I could maintain them (his family) better here than in England.'<sup>127</sup> He made this statement as he filed for bankruptcy, having found conditions considerably less favourable than he had been led to believe. In contrast, government-assisted immigrants on the same ship owed much less. Walter Baker, a Gloucestershire labourer with his wife and four children, travelled for a cost of £6 cash

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<sup>121</sup>"Anglo-Colonial Items", *Otago Witness*, Issue 1097, 7 December 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18721207.2.21>

<sup>122</sup>*New Zealand Herald*, Volume IX, Issue 2771, 14 December 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18721214.2.11>

<sup>123</sup>"Carter to Featherston", 22 May 1872, "D-01B Further Correspondence 1872," 11.

<sup>124</sup>Adults were persons over 12 years of age. Children between two and 12 were equal to half an adult. Infants under two did not count towards the total of equivalent adults (also called statute adults)

<sup>125</sup>"D-19d Articles of Agreement Entered into with Messrs. John Brogden & Sons, London, for the Introduction of Immigrants into New Zealand," in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1872).

<sup>126</sup>"From Swindon to Gravesend with a party of emigrants", *Evening Star*, Issue 3066, 16 Dec 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD18721216.2.12>

<sup>127</sup>"Supreme Court - Banco Sitting", *New Zealand Mail*, Issue 143, 21 March 1874, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZMAIL18740321.2.21>

and £24 on a promissory note.<sup>128</sup> Clearly, some had believed they would be well paid or have cheaper living as they signed up for large debts.

The Brogdens believed that their migrants were to create neither a profit nor a loss for the firm. They kept separate accounts for the expenses outlaid in the transportation and equipping of their workers and families. Giving evidence to the government in 1873, they stated fore-knowledge of potential immigration-related loss would have affected the firms' pricing of the contracts. The firm relied on the assurances of Featherston that they would be able to enforce payment of promissory notes, and their workers would not readily find other employment. There is clear evidence of concern at the level of financial risk they were taking. Featherston had informed them of the losses the Wellington province had experienced in collecting on promissory notes and cautioned them to use a legally binding form to avoid similar losses.<sup>129</sup> In 1873 Featherston told the firm they were not unreasonable in holding the government accountable for their losses. The government declined to accept any responsibility for the Agent-General's advice, calling it his opinion.<sup>130</sup>

Brogdens had promised to pay wages from the time their workers landed, so knew that contracts needed to be in place and work-ready; 'the obligation to employ is just as binding upon us as the obligation to serve is upon them.'<sup>131</sup> And further, 'We cannot have any breach of faith with the emigrants charged against us.'<sup>132</sup> The Brogden firm continued to rely on the word of Featherston as Agent-General and on Carter that they would have sufficient railway work to absorb the men and they would have little difficulty recouping the money paid out. By giving Brogdens a monopoly on railway contracts men would be prevented from working elsewhere, thus the work would have minimal impact on the labour market.<sup>133</sup> The promissory notes between the government and Brogdens intimated the firm's exclusive use of the immigrant men for some time.<sup>134</sup> These circumstances led to the Brogdens' belief that the government, having

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<sup>128</sup>Passenger Lists 1839-1973, Wellington, 1873, Forfarshire, p.3, Archives New Zealand, accessed via [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org) 9 Oct 2019.

<sup>129</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 53.

<sup>130</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 40,53.

<sup>131</sup>"I-05 Immigration and Public Works Committee (Report of the Petition of Messrs. J. Brogden and Sons) ", in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1873), 8.

<sup>132</sup>"Petition of Messrs. J. Brogden and Sons 1873," 8.

<sup>133</sup>"Petition of Messrs. J. Brogden and Sons 1873," 12.

<sup>134</sup>*New Zealand Herald*, Volume IX, Issue 2692, 28 June 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18720628.2.18>.

denied any legal obligation, had a moral duty to provide work via contracts for the migrants or bear the financial costs. The government later framed the importing of labourers, and their exclusive use of them, as an attempt by Brogdens' to control New Zealand's labour market, to enforce a nine-hour work day and to keep wages low. However, James Brogden's diary reveals the firm was restricted, by the government, to paying a maximum of 6s per nine-hour day.<sup>135</sup> If it was Brogdens' intent from the start to control the labour market and wages, it seems they were very foolish not to include this in agreements made with the men, as they instead agreed to two years employment at a minimum of 5s per day.

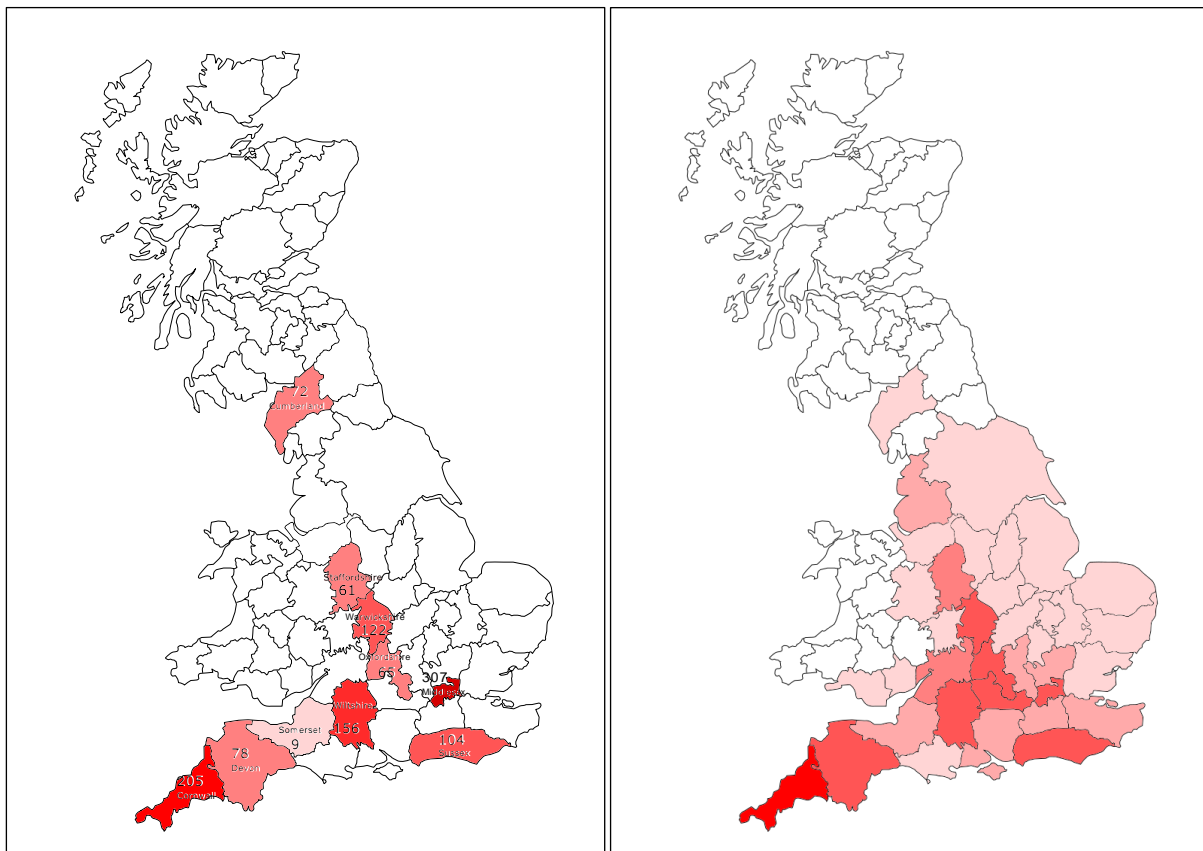


Figure 2: Maps of England showing a comparison of the number of men contracted by county of recruitment on left and an indication of birth-counties on the right. The origins of the men were more diverse than a simple place of recruitment suggests. Large numbers recruited in London reflect last minute replacements for men who changed their minds.

Arnold emphasised the navvies' English origins. Recruited in English counties, they were, for the most part, English-born. Official records show forty-nine Irish-born, eleven Scots, fourteen Welsh-born and four foreigners were included. The legendary Irish navy was apparently not sought-after in this recruitment where repayment of debt was required. Rowe

<sup>135</sup>James Brogden, *The Diary of James Brogden, August 1871-December 1872*, ed. David Budgett (New Zealand Texts Collection), 43. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-BroDiar.html>; "Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 53.

explained an antipodean preference for English navvies. They were 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.<sup>136</sup> Different recruitment points produced recruits with different backgrounds. Those recruited from the south-west of England tended to be born in the locality. The *City of Auckland* is the only ship with a passenger list which provides this information and it shows that of the fifty-four selected at Falmouth only two were born outside of Cornwall. All seventeen recruited at Truro were Cornish born. At Plymouth eighteen of the twenty-seven were born in Devon, with three from Cornwall and six other locations. Staffordshire's Burslem had seven local-born of the twenty gathered there. Four were recruited at Ulverston, but only one was born in Lancashire with the other three all Cornish. Twenty-three were found in London, with all already familiar with relocation with only three claiming to be born in neighbouring Middlesex. Further examination of family backgrounds reveals a small number of English born navvies had an Irish parent.

Marriage was reputedly disdained by the British navy; however, the evidence in the case of Brogdens' navvies seems inconclusive. Brogdens selected and shipped a reported 940 single men and 364 couples, adding to the existing sexual imbalance in the colony. Many of the couples

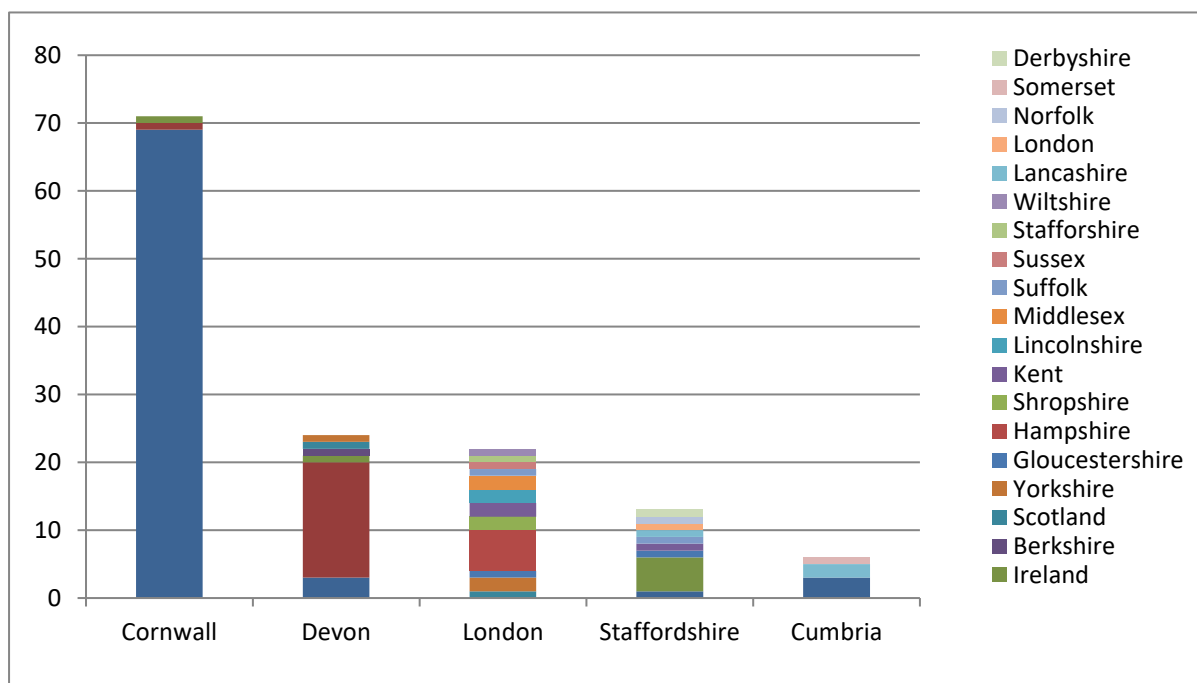


Figure 3: Men for the *City of Auckland* sailing were recruited in Cornwall, Devon London, Staffordshire and Cumbria, but some were born in other places. Above chart shows the numbers recruited for each county and indicates which county the men were born in.

<sup>136</sup>Rowe, "The Robust Navy," 30.

selected had married between 1868 and 1872. This is consistent with the ages of those recruited as they targeted young men. Louisa Gorst seems to have married quickly to secure her place. On 6 May 1872, she married James Harvey at Stepney and on 31 May she was on the *City of Auckland* with her new husband on their way to a new life. It seems they had been living together previously as an entry for a 'Thomas' Harvey, excavator, and wife Louisa is found in West Ham, Essex in the 1871 census. This combination of informal and formal marriage was not unusual in the group, hinting at a desire for the respectability of marriage perhaps tied to the more traditional rural or village background of the majority.

While the men had willingly signed up, with some idea of how much they would pay once on the ships alongside Government-assisted immigrants who travelled with far smaller debts, and in some cases none, their situation seemed less acceptable. The promissory notes signed by the immigrants were a considerable cause of contention. The National Library has lists of nearly 130 of the immigrants and the amounts they owed.<sup>137</sup> These show those arriving with large families incurred similarly large debts. James Stark was one of the early arrivals on the *Schiehallion* and signed up for £17 10s for his passage. He was joined by his wife and their three children and two older children from her first marriage. Their passage on the *Forfarshire* incurred

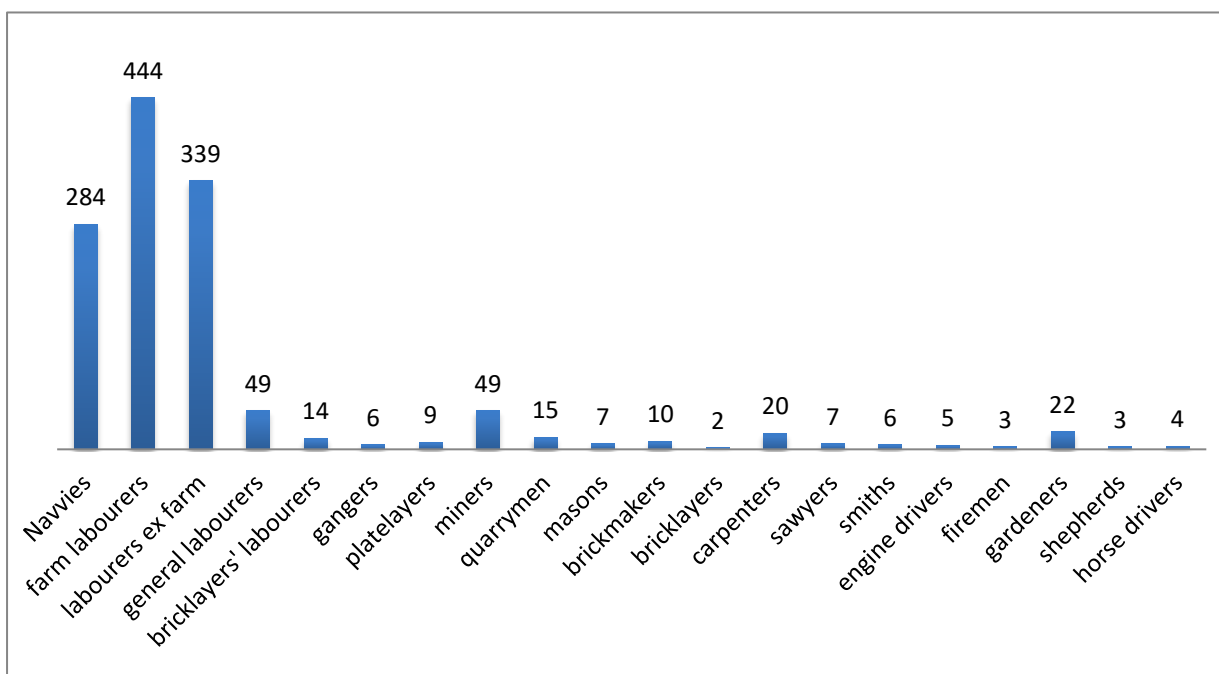


Figure 4: Navvies occupations are listed by C. R. Carter

<sup>137</sup>John Brogden and Sons: Record of payment of labourer's promissory notes, MSI-Papers-1481, National Library of New Zealand, sighted 8 Feb 2018.



a further £59 3s 4d debt. William Carter signed a promissory note for £83 17s 5d.<sup>138</sup> He had worked for the Brogden firm for 30 years and brought his family to Dunedin on the *Christian McAusland*. The smallest debts were for single men. Of those listed, William Bale and John Shefford travelling on the *Lutterworth* owed the least, each incurring £16 9s 6d.

Close to a quarter of those selected reportedly had recent railway building experience. C. R. Carter recorded that just 284 (twenty-one percent) were selected as experienced navvies.<sup>139</sup> However, another nine were platelayers and six were gangers bringing the total to 299 (twenty-three percent). Men with trades such as bricklayers, bricklayers' labourers, masons, and carpenters could also have worked on railways as these trades were some of those utilised. These trades account for five percent of those signed up by Carter. Comparison with the remaining passenger lists showed twenty-two percent listed as navvies, with another six percent in associated work or trades.

The provinces were vocal in their demands for more farm labourers. Arnold emphasised the navvies' rural backgrounds based on the evidence given by C.R. Carter.<sup>140</sup> It was Carter who wrote that 444 of 1298 (thirty-four percent) men selected were farm labourers, and 339 labourers (twenty-six percent) from farming backgrounds.<sup>141</sup> Another three were shepherds and twenty-two gardeners, bringing the number from rural backgrounds to 808 (sixty-two percent). Only seven of the fifteen passenger lists record the men's occupation.<sup>142</sup> Analysis of these lists shows twenty-three percent recorded as farm labourers and forty-five percent as labourers. When compared to records of those able to be identified in the 1871 census thirty-four percent of the men found were employed in rural occupations.<sup>143</sup> Labourers and trade-specific labourers were twenty-four percent of those found. This evidence supports Carter's claim about farm labourers, therefore the arrival of Brogdens' navvies in the colony did answer some of the stated need. Baldwin may have been accurate when he summarised the origin of the group as perhaps the

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<sup>138</sup>*Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3700, 13 December 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18731213.2.27>.

<sup>139</sup>"D-02D Immigration to New Zealand. Letters from the Agent General," in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1 January 1873* (1873), 30.

<sup>140</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 16-17.

<sup>141</sup>"Letters from the Agent General 1873," 30.

<sup>142</sup>These ships were the *City of Auckland*, *Bebington*, *Lady Jocelyn*, *Chile*, *Forfarshire*, *Durham* and *Lutterworth*.

<sup>143</sup>Rural occupations included agricultural labourers, gardeners, and woodsmen.

'sweepings of the countryside.'<sup>144</sup> They were not the city scum settlers feared, but their rural origins were far more mixed than simply farm labourers. Navvies were considered a questionable choice as emigrants. While they might be hard-working, doing a task few would choose to do, they were rarely regarded as steady and preferred generous spending over saving. To those in a position to select migrants, the ideal was one ready to work, save and settled down, with aspirations towards land ownership and with a little capital to put towards that goal. The labouring class's reality of uncertain employment and subsequent need left them vulnerable to the pictures of plenty and freedom, with guaranteed employment, proffered by immigration agents.<sup>145</sup> The fact that so many of Brogdens' group were farm labourers or the sons and daughters of farm labourers was not reported in press coverage of the group, instead, the emphasis was on them as essential railway labour. This contributed to the colony's reaction to their arrival.

Investigation of the 1871 census occupations of those recruited showed they included a good number of men in useful trades allied with railway construction: miners, masons, carpenters, smiths, brick makers and layers, along with a few experienced platelayers, railway labourers and at least one railway subcontractor. However, the group had a considerably more diverse range of occupations than official reports suggest. It included shipwrights and a railway porter in addition to those working in brewing, butchery, and boot and shoe-making trades. Small but significant numbers were formerly in the army and navy. Some men were sailors, mariners or fishermen. A few less desirable men slipped through the supposedly rigorous examination process. George Pithouse had four convictions and, in 1871, spent time in Wiltshire Gaol. He was supposed to be under supervision when he signed up to escape to New Zealand. Likewise, when the 1871 occupations of those enlisted as navvies are examined more than half were not railway labourers, excavators, navvies or other railway trades. This evidence suggests the navy content and experience of the workforce was considerably less than it should have been.

Closer examination found the group largely conformed to the background reported in the official reports Arnold based his work on. Brogdens' navvies were mostly not navvies. The new finding is that Brogdens drew in a far wider mix of immigrants than the railway specialists,

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<sup>144</sup>Baldwin, "Labour groups," 53.

<sup>145</sup>Luisa Del Giudice and Gerald Porter, "Introduction," in *Imagined States; Nationalism, Utopia, and Longing in Oral Cultures* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2001), 1.

both labourers and trades, which they needed. While it could be argued that the diversity revealed by an examination of their backgrounds showed a desire to have navvies that were not actually navvies, or a desperate attempt to fill the ships, it seems probable some of the men selected managed to misrepresent their pasts and exaggerate their experience. The recruitment process targeted specific areas where the Brogden firm had ties and places that the immigration team believed it would be successful in persuading farming people to leave. The recruitment process rejected more than it selected and required evidence of good character so appears to have been reasonably robust despite the haste with which the process was undertaken. A large number were farm labourers, or from farm labouring families, so had the agricultural experience New Zealand wanted. Their contribution in this regard was largely swamped by the much larger numbers of government-assisted immigrants that followed. This focused attention on attracting the agricultural labourer at the expense of the navy may have deprived the Brogden firm of some of their workers on arrival and, ultimately, contributed to the financial loss for which they repeatedly sought compensation.

## Chapter Five: The Brogdenites

During the voyage to New Zealand, those travelling experienced births, deaths and prejudice. The rough waters did not end on arrival. This chapter looks at the transition to work, which was not always smooth as the Brogden firm struggled to finalise the draft agreement they had signed in England. Expectations were not always met once the immigrants landed. There was a lack of communication and many workers and their families were moved about New Zealand. Delays in starting contracts led to initial positive impressions of a useful addition rather than the feared navy type turning to criticism. A close examination of those travelling on the *Bebington* was undertaken, as they were reported to the government as a particularly poor shipment.

Few historians have seriously examined the Brogden group. This has led to some misunderstanding of gaps in the evidence and of previous work. W.D. Borrie misinterpreted the difficulty finding labourers who could afford to go, and the resultant bending of the rules to mean some 'of inferior physique and character' were selected. However, the change to the rules was to allow Brogdens to advance money for passage and kit, rather than a lowering of physical standards.<sup>146</sup> Borrie wrote that *Christian McAusland's* passengers were inferior based on the critique levelled by the ship's doctor. This report was discredited at the time and criticised as self-serving and unreliable.<sup>147</sup> Borrie's opinions did not change as in a later work he described the group as hastily chosen and lacking the skills for successful settlement.<sup>148</sup> Erik Olssen's evaluation of Brogdens' navvies in Dunedin was as 'a quarrelsome-boozy crowd', and militant bunch intent of their rights.<sup>149</sup> His view was hardly surprising given the focus of contemporary evidence with the press responsible for spreading negative reports through the colony. Rollo Arnold ignored the widely held belief that the navvies were trouble, writing that the overall reception of Brogdens' imports was favourable, 'a useful, well-behaved addition to the colony's labour force.' He found evidence in newspapers where reporters often commented on the group that disembarked. At Picton, the men from the *Schiehallion* were not the typical navy 'loud of voice and rude of

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<sup>146</sup>W.D. Borrie, *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938* (Canberra: Australia National University, 1991), 57.

<sup>147</sup>Borrie, *Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938*, 57.

<sup>148</sup>W. D. Borrie, *The European peopling of Australasia: a demographic history, 1788-1988* (Demography Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1994), 103.

<sup>149</sup>Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1984), 75, 89.

speech.<sup>150</sup> At Hampden the men were 'steady and well-conducted' and at Napier 'intelligent and respectable,' with many used to farm work.<sup>151</sup> Those arriving on the *Jessie Readman* at Wellington were an improvement, both in physique and behaviour, and termed 'vastly superior' and a 'fine body of men.'<sup>152</sup> Some proved themselves immediately handy. A group from *Jessie Readman* were being transhipped to Auckland. When the regular crew went on strike, the navvies did to crew's work to enable the sailing to go ahead.<sup>153</sup> Arnold's reassessment has influenced subsequent historiography of the group.

Fifteen ships carried contracted migrants, who were sometimes called "Brogdenites". "Brogdenite" was a term first used in Birmingham newspapers to describe supporters of Brogden family political interests.<sup>154</sup> The name was also used in at least one ship-board diary so pre-dates the arrival of the group into New Zealand.<sup>155</sup> The first mention in New Zealand newspapers related to the Brogden firm rather than its labourers, but in early 1873 it was taken up as a description of those who arrived in the Brogden group.<sup>156</sup> It was used by one man who wrote to the newspapers as "A Bebington Brogdenite" and, in a less positive fashion, as a label for men and women appearing in court.<sup>157</sup> The first ship of Brogdenites was dispatched in April 1872 for Wellington and Picton. Table 1 shows that all ships departed during 1872, with some having shorter passages than others. Ships disembarked passengers at Auckland, Lyttleton, Port Chalmers, Napier and Bluff in addition to Wellington. The last ship, *Lutterworth*, left England on 23 December 1872, arriving in New Zealand on 5 April 1873. John Brogden and Sons introduced 2,148 people, comprising 1202 men, 354 women, and 425 children into the New

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<sup>150</sup>"Mr. Brogden's 'Navvies'", *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Volume XXXI, Issue 53, 3 August 1872, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NENZC18720803.2.8>

<sup>151</sup>"Down the Road to Hampden and Kakanui", *North Otago Times*, Volume XVIII, Issue 821, 4 April 1873, Page 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18730404.2.29>; Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 15.

<sup>152</sup>*Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVII, Issue 3682, 17 December 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18721217.2.10>; *Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3683, 18 December 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18721218.2.9>.

<sup>153</sup>*Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3709, 21 January 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18730121.2.18>

<sup>154</sup>*Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 2 Nov 1868

<sup>155</sup>Dairy of Frederick James Locke, 1872-1909, MS-Papers-4877, National Library of New Zealand.

<sup>156</sup>"Wellington", *Bruce Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 433, 28 August 1872, Page 9, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BH18720828.2.43>.

<sup>157</sup>"To Correspondents", *Southland Times*, Issue 1696, 31 January 1873, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ST18730131.2.6>; "Mayor's Court", *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3488, 11 April 1873, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18730411.2.15>.

Zealand population in 1872 and 1873.<sup>158</sup> Of these, 1,298 were engaged as navvies, labourers and in the trades associated with railway construction. The official figures provided to the Government by the immigration agent C. R. Carter show the men were accompanied by 364 wives, forty single women, 180 boys, 171 girls and 113 infants. A further eighteen were born during the voyages of the fifteen ships that transported them. Most ships carried a mixture of Brogdens' people and government-assisted immigrants which meant the difference in financial obligations was quickly known, with assisted immigrants generally paying or owing £5 per passage while single women travelled at no cost.<sup>159</sup> Brogdens' navvies routinely owed over four times what their fellow passengers owed.

Ship	Departed	Arrived	Destination
<i>Schiehallion</i>	13 Apr 1872	9 July 1872	Wellington; sent to Picton
<i>Halcione</i>	20 Apr 1872	July 1872	Wellington
<i>City of Auckland</i>	31 May 1872	3 Sep 1872	Auckland
<i>Ballarat</i>	13 Jun 1872	15 Sep 1872	Napier, on to Auckland
<i>Bebington</i>	28 Jun 1872	25 Oct 1872	Wellington; on to Bluff and Picton
<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	31 Jul 1872	11 Nov 1872	Bluff
<i>Christian</i>	5 Sep 1872	5 Dec 1872	Port Chalmers
<i>McAusland</i>			
<i>Chile</i>	12 Sep 1872	28 Dec 1872	Napier
<i>Jessie Readman</i>	22 Sep 1872	15 Dec 1872	Wellington; some to Auckland
<i>Zealandia</i>	5 Oct 1872	28 Dec 1872	Bluff
<i>Crusader</i>	10 Oct 1872	5 Jan 1873	Lyttleton, on to Bluff
<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	4 Nov 1872	15 Feb 1873	Port Chalmers
<i>Forfarshire</i>	12 Nov 1872	2 Mar 1873	Wellington; on to Oamaru
<i>Durham</i>	29 Nov 1872	4 Apr 1873	Auckland
<i>Lutterworth</i>	23 Dec 1872	5 Apr 1873	Port Chalmers; on to Oamaru

Table 1: Ships, their departure and arrival dates and destinations.

<sup>158</sup>Numbers vary depending on the source consulted.

<sup>159</sup>Tony Simpson, *The Immigrants: the Great Migration from Britain to New Zealand 1830-1890* (Auckland: Godwit, 1997), 175.

Observers were quick to find fault, beginning before the Brogden group arrived in New Zealand. Writers of shipboard diaries recorded the poor behaviour and hygiene of some of the Brogdenites.<sup>160</sup> They were ready to find differences between themselves and what was clearly regarded as a lower class of traveller despite shared accommodation and that they were heading for a colony where one of the touted attractions was a less class-ridden society. Entrenched prejudice may be an apt description of attitudes. By calling them navvies, society was labelling them as part of a group with a less than desirable reputation. Despite this, it is difficult to see the Brogdenites as of a lesser quality than the assisted immigrants when they often travelled on the same ship as other family members coming out under the assisted scheme. As an example, navy James Lean was on board the *Chile* to Napier with his assisted-immigrant brother John, while William Thacker, on the *Jessie Readman* with his wife and four children, had another two daughters travelling as assisted immigrants. Small children and infants often suffered ill-health in the close confines on cramped steerage quarters. Some families lost children, with twenty-nine infants dying at sea. *Charlotte Gladstone* had the highest number of deaths as passengers and some crew caught scarlet fever and measles, while others suffered from typhoid. These were sometimes unfairly attributed to poor health in the navvies group but were often related to more prosaic issues of ventilation and cleanliness.

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<sup>160</sup>Frederick James Locke, Diary 1872, National Library of New Zealand.

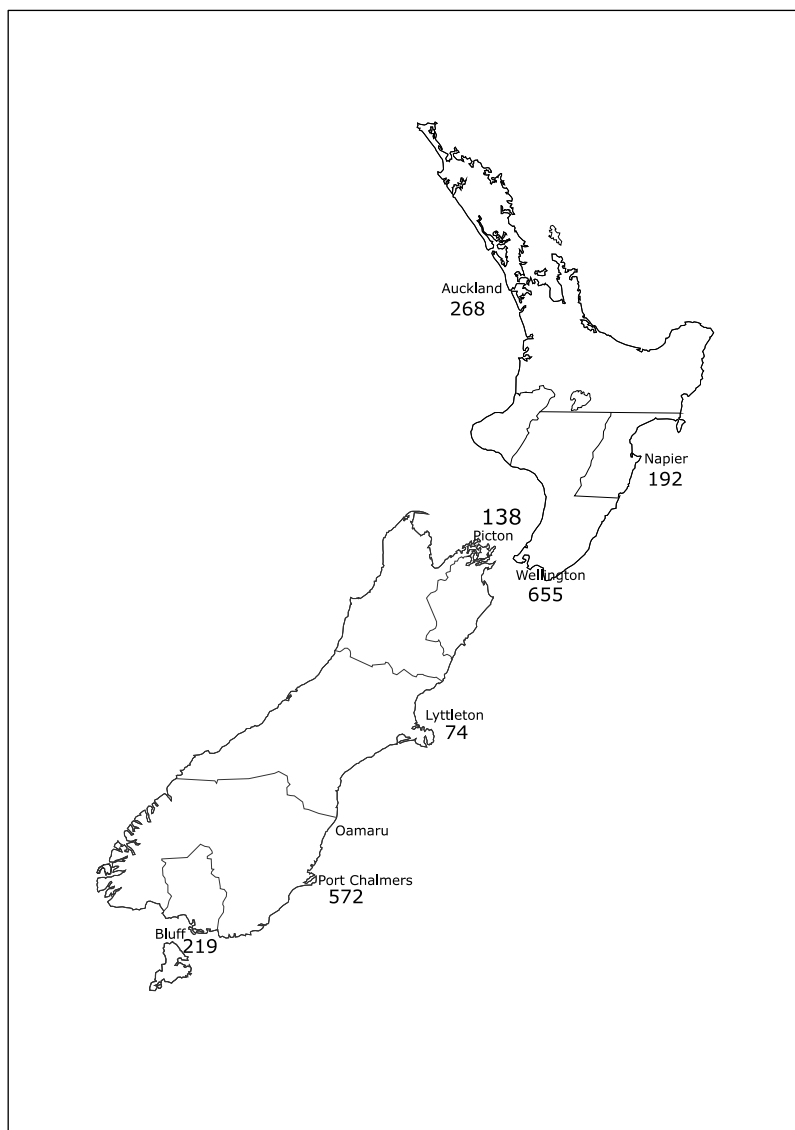


Figure 5: New Zealand reception points. Picton received 138 immigrants directly. Wellington was the destination of four ships, disembarking 655. However, some of those who arrived were shipped on to other destinations, namely Bluff, Picton and Oamaru. Auckland received 268 from three ships. Another two ships were sent to Canterbury, but all seventy-four persons were relocated to Bluff. Otago was the destination of three ships carrying a total of 572, some of whom were sent to Oamaru. Napier and Bluff received one ship each, with 192 for the northern port and 219 in the south.

Upon arrival most found reality and expectation somewhat different. For former London general dealer Edward Hibberd, this had started when, on boarding the ship, he found he was liable for £15 rather than the £8 per person he thought he had signed up for.<sup>161</sup> Once in Wellington, the migrants were placed in the barracks and charged for any expenses incurred. Hibberd was put to work before suitable accommodation could be found for his family. The promised cottage, ready on arrival, was a disappointed expectation. He was working for 5s 4d a day after deductions for passage money. After about two weeks, he was placed with a

<sup>161</sup>"Supreme Court-Banco Sittings," *New Zealand Mail*, Issue 143, 21 March 1874, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZMAIL18740321.2.21>.



subcontractor. He was not earning enough to feed his family of six. He was forced to find other work as a night-watchman. He left that job when he was not paid. He then worked on the wharf for 6s or 7s per day, but that work was intermittent at best. His wife was not well, so unable to help support the family in the ways working families usually did and her illness generated extra expenses. He was taken to court by Brogdens for non-payment of the promissory note and while the case was adjourned Hibberd filed for bankruptcy. The case was heard in March 1874 and the judge cautioned other immigrants that bankruptcy was not to be used to avoid paying their passage money but called this case exceptional.

When they, like Hibberd, encountered difficulties, the newly arrived workers had no easy means of communication with their employer. James Brogden was in New Zealand but had found the government ill-prepared from the beginning.<sup>162</sup> So Brogden and his company surveyor toured the colony assessing the proposed areas of work and available resources. Survey complete, Brogden presented the government with a proposal that his firm would form a company to build, own and operate the main lines in the North and South Islands, detached main lines, and branch lines in September 1873.<sup>163</sup> The comprehensive proposal did not receive government endorsement.

While in New Zealand representing the firm, James Brogden's purpose was not to interact with their workers. Newly arrived workers were in the charge of local agents. The agents' handling of the newly arrived navvies was not always well planned, nor was it well received. The difficulties Brogdens had winning contracts had an immediate effect on some of their shiploads of immigrants. Some from the *Bebington* were shipped from Wellington to Invercargill where they found Brogdens expected them to work for subcontractors instead of providing direct employment. Many objected, taking this as an attempt to control wages, while agents told some to find other work if they could.<sup>164</sup> Men on the *Christian McAusland* landed in Dunedin where the Brogdens' agent had no work for them. They were left to find work and accommodation with very few resources of their own. Some of this group moved north to Palmerston in their search. Remarkably few ended up in court given the circumstances. William Carter was one of

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<sup>162</sup>"The General Assembly," *Otago Witness*, Issue 1083, 31 August 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18720831.2.17>

<sup>163</sup>*Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3611, 24 September 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18720924.2.9>

<sup>164</sup>"Messrs. Brogden and their Navvies," *Otago Daily Times*, 9 Jan 1873.

these men. He said he had worked for Brogden & Sons for 30 years in England but on arrival in Otago, instead of the specialist work as a sawyer he expected, the agent told him he was not fit for navvying work and there was nothing for him in Dunedin.<sup>165</sup> There was some talk of shifting him and his sons to Invercargill but this never happened, so they remained in Dunedin and found other employment. Likewise, the workers on *Jessie Readman* arrived to find no work ready for them. Most actively sought other employment, some in rural locations, others stayed in town.<sup>166</sup> Those from the *Charlotte Gladstone* were assumed to have sold their clothing for beer-money, but it was perhaps more likely to have been needed to pay their expenses.<sup>167</sup>



Figure 6: Auckland's Parnell tunnel was under construction using local labourers by early 1872 and pierced through in June that year. The first of Brogdens' navvies arrived in Auckland in September to boost the work-force. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, ref: PA7-45-43, photograph taken by Herbert Deveril, ca 1870s

Just weeks after the initially favourable impression created by the first arrivals in Picton, newspapers reported some were 'a very low moral type indeed', having to appear in court for 'being riotously drunk' and 'stoning a constable'.<sup>168</sup> Others at Napier from the *Chile* had to wait for the contract to start, so were reportedly 'knocking about town', drinking, fighting, with 'a

<sup>165</sup>*Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3700, 13 December 1873,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18731213.2.27>

<sup>166</sup>*Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3688, 25 December 1872,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18721225.2.10>

<sup>167</sup>*Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3751, 12 March 1873, Page 2,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18730312.2.8>

<sup>168</sup>*Timaru Herald*, Volume XVII, Issue 796, 6 September 1872,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/THD18720906.2.11>

great number...of a rather quarrelsome nature.'<sup>169</sup> At Dunedin, some of those from the *Charlotte Gladstone* were 'incapably drunk, and larger number drunk and pugnacious, or drunk and frolicsome.'<sup>170</sup> In addition, they were apparently coarse and used objectionable language. This sentiment, printed first in the *Otago Daily Times*, was repeated in Dunedin's *Star*, Timaru's *Herald*, the *Lyttleton Times*, *Bruce Herald*, *Wairarapa Standard* and *Wanganui Herald* the next month. The *Forfarshire* men and women drank heavily and 'howled in unmelodious tones.'<sup>171</sup> The group clearly included women who failed to fulfil the civilising role that society expected of them, thus attracted additional censure. Navvies at Oamaru were unkindly described as undersized and intemperate rejects of the midland labouring class.<sup>172</sup> A letter writer offered the opinion that agricultural labourers would have been better imports than the immoral and intemperate men that arrived supposedly from England's city slums.<sup>173</sup> In May 1873, navy arrivals were compared to the 'colonised laboring man', and found wanting, due to their want for 'beer and then more beer'.<sup>174</sup> These reports related to single incidents soon after a ship's arrival. There is no evidence that was a continual pattern of offending. Contemporary perceptions of the origins and composition of the group were already developing.

Those sent on the *Bebington* were criticised by fellow passenger Jeremiah Hurley. *Bebington* was the fifth ship to depart and brought ninety-five men, thirty-seven women and fifty-three children to Wellington. They were transferred to work at Bluff and Picton. Hurley was twenty-six years old, an Irish-born farm labourer and a government-assisted immigrant. He wrote to the Undersecretary of Immigration with his complaints. Hurley's initial impression was Brogdens' people were 'low, ignorant looking,' drunken and blaspheming, and probably from a workhouse. During the voyage, he witnessed violence between couples and alleged married women were fraternising with sailors. They stole 'provisions, money, clothing or valuables.' They were, he wrote, 'the scum of English society', mostly former convicts, soldiers, sailors and tinkers.

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<sup>169</sup>"Napier", *New Zealand Mail*, Issue 103, 25 January 1873, Page 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZMAIL18730125.2.5>

<sup>170</sup>*Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3447, 22 February 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18730222.2.12>

<sup>171</sup>*Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3745, 5 March 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18730305.2.8>

<sup>172</sup>*North Otago Times*, Volume XVIII, Issue 814, 7 March 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18730307.2.7>

<sup>173</sup>*Otago Witness*, Issue 1112, 22 March 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18730322.2.36>

<sup>174</sup>*Leader* (Melbourne), 3 May 1873, 25.

He seems to have held a higher opinion of navvies and found very few real navvies in the group. As an Irishman, he was pleased to note these were fellow Irishmen recruited in Cumberland. He strongly recommended separation for all future voyages.

Reprobates, like those Hurley described, would have not settled easily in New Zealand. However, the *New Zealand Police Gazettes* shows few from this ship in trouble with the law. Two men were sought by family as they had lost contact. Five were charged with larceny - George Burley and William Woodworth stole holly bushes which they planted in their own gardens, Arthur Chaston (who also face a charge of failing to send one of his children to school) stole cabbages, Thomas Freeman stole money from a workmate and Henry Ferris sold someone else's piano. Ferris deserted his family and subsequently, his eldest son was charged with theft when aged fourteen. Henry Pritchett publicly used obscene language. Robert Wells was charged with assault and Samuel Banks assaulted his wife. She later left him. Only four men of the 95 sent on the *Bebington* were charged with more serious or repeated offences. Arthur Lummiss was charged with indecent assault. William Salmon faced repeated charges for forgery, one for uttering, and one larceny. Henry Farmer stole a purse in 1876, two sheep carcasses in 1883, in 1885 helped himself to a cake while decidedly hungry-looking and destitute, and assaulted a police constable in 1888. Only one, Joseph Brennan, was a frequent offender. He was a near-perfect example of the type that New Zealand wished to avoid.

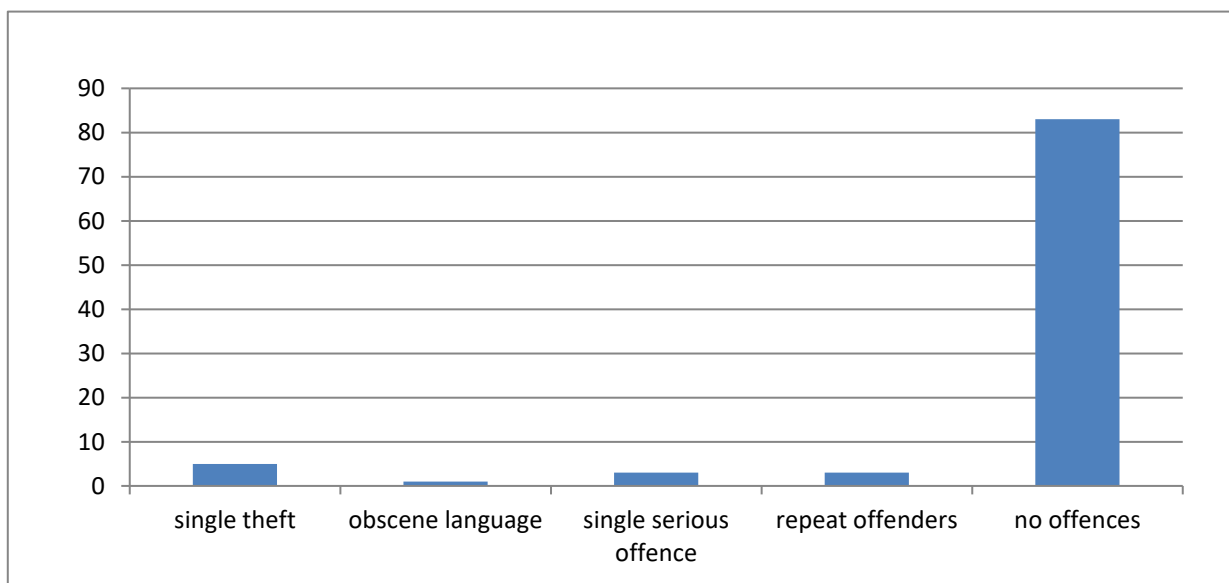


Figure 7: Men from the *Bebington* showing number and type of offences recorded in the *New Zealand Police Gazettes* 1878-1945.

Brennan was an Irish born former soldier of the 18th Regiment. He had served in New Zealand in the 1860s, where he had married and fathered two children before they returned to England to be recruited by Brogdens in Devon. From 1874 he was often in court on larceny charges. He stole a watch in Christchurch, trowels in Southland, a coat in Christchurch, at Ashburton he took a tent and a ham, and later tobacco sitting on a shop counter. Further thefts followed in Dunedin and Balclutha. He was illegally on the premises of the Timaru Roman Catholic Presbytery at 2.30 am. Robbery with violence, when he hit a shop-girl, got him five years in jail. When he got out in 1889, he went to Napier, where his daughters lived with their families. He was frequently charged with drunkenness but avoided further serious charges until he stole a coat in 1914. Most of his crimes were minor but repeated, a side effect of frequent, probably heavy, drinking. In 1905 at Wanganui he was turned out of the Jubilee Home for causing trouble. In court, he offered up his military pension to the Charitable Aid Board if he could return to the Home. He fits well with Belich's description of crew members, except Joseph had a family. He lived in Napier near his daughters. He had a record of military service, fighting at Alma, Inkerman and Sebastopol. He was able to claim military land in 1911 for his service as a member of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment formerly stationed in New Zealand. He shows that the complexities of individual lives challenge stereotypes and generalisations.

The *Bebington* did not just carry a handful of trouble-makers. It bought out twenty-eight families, of these twenty-six settled into communities around New Zealand. Fifteen passengers died during the voyage, mainly small children. Eight young couples lost their first child on board. One man lost his wife and only child. John and Eliza Hancox from Aston in Warwickshire settled at Otaki, raised 7 children, and retired to Taumarunui. Samuel and Lucy Hodges arrived in Southland with two children, and they had another three before Lucy died in 1879. Samuel continued to work as a labourer and married again in 1883, fathering another three children. By 1890, Samuel was a land-owner, with deferred-payment freehold land at Clifton. Nine married couples without children made the journey, and six stayed on. Two could not be found in New Zealand, and for one, the outcome is unclear. The ship also carried fifty-seven single men. Twenty-three do not appear to have stayed in New Zealand. Twelve settled, with seven of those marrying. Eighteen are unaccounted for, some of whom have common names. Three were former soldiers, including Brennan. The other two were army deserters, who

settled. John Henry Deeble (using the first name Samuel) arrived with his wife. They lived in Picton where John worked as a carter. Thomas Hunt arrived with his wife Emma and three daughters. They farmed 200 acres at Dipton in Southland, then moved close to Gore with Thomas working as a labourer.

Few Brogdenites repaid their passage money. James Brogden repeatedly attempted to utilise the Masters and Servants Act to enforce payment of the immigrants' promissory notes.<sup>175</sup> A Masters and Servants Act, largely copied from the English version, was in place by December 1866. However, it was never in common use. One provision allowed the prosecution of men who left without giving notice. Without this enforceable deterrent, Brogdens found many scattered around the established provinces, Auckland, Canterbury and Otago. Some sixty to one hundred went to the Wairarapa and others to Australia. However, for a period, Brogdens continued to use the courts attempting to enforce payments. On 13 December 1873 in Dunedin, they charged William Carter and his sons, Alfred Maling, the Hutson brothers and John Crowson for failure to pay. Crowson had paid off £5 12s while he worked for Brogdens on the Clutha line. He and a mate left for higher wages on the Port Chalmers Railway. On 18 December 1873 in Wellington, they proceeded with cases against Hibberd and Gregory (*Halcione*), and Betts (*Jessie Readman*). Hibberd's promissory note was cancelled by bankruptcy, a situation that government immigrants could not take advantage of, and further grounds for Brogdens to claim unfair treatment.<sup>176</sup> Brogdens found that the court cases did not result in

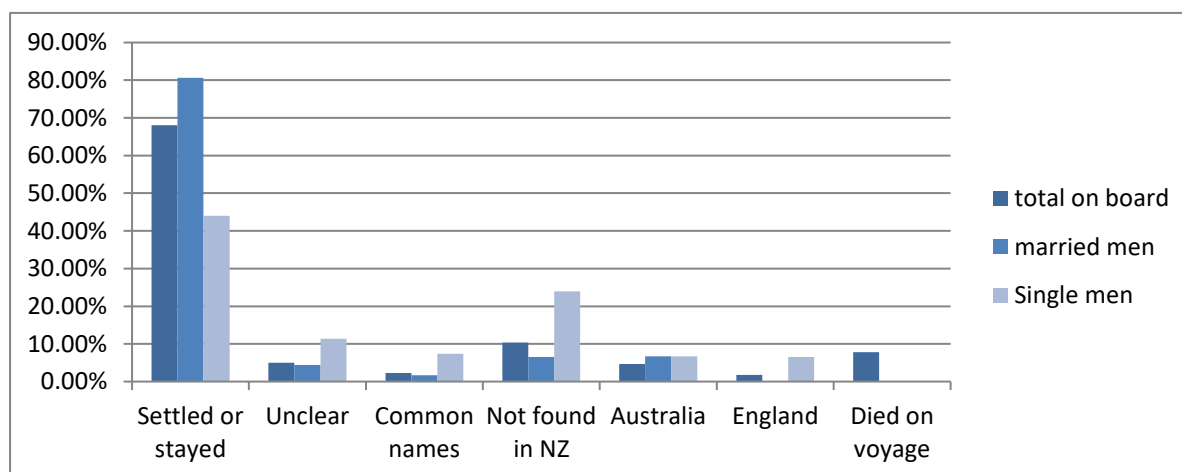


Figure 8: Proportion of *Bebington* men and locations subsequent to migration.

<sup>175</sup>"I-01a Public Petitions Committee. Report on the Petition of Messrs Brogden." *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1 January 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1881-I.2.2.5.2/1>.

<sup>176</sup>*Evening Post*, Volume X, Issue 26, 19 March 1874, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18740319.2.7>

prompt payment of debts and cost more than they received back.<sup>177</sup> This included sending men to prison for debt where the firm was then paying 10 shillings per week for the imprisonment.<sup>178</sup> During the same period, the government elected not to pursue payment of the promissory notes of its assisted immigrants which added to the difficulty of the Brogden firm in their collection efforts.<sup>179</sup> It fulfilled their fears about the difficulties of promissory note debts. The firm appealed to the New Zealand Government to release them from the immigration contract late in 1872 and to compensate the money already lost in recruiting and transporting immigrants. In 1881 the government position was that the firm preferred the easier method of claiming money from the government instead of properly pursuing legal action to collect their debts.<sup>180</sup>

As previously stated, at first some navvies seem to have adopted the name Brogdenite. Others denied any association. In August 1873, Thomas Gower and Charles Harding were fighting in the street.<sup>181</sup> Both denied being Brogden's immigrants in court, despite being part of the *Lady Jocelyn* group. 'Brogdenite' became a recognised insult, one which could result in fists flung or flat denial.<sup>182</sup> Several reasons could explain why the navvies did not continue their association with the Brogden name. First, most of them did not work for the Brogden firm for very long, complicated by the use of sub-contractors. Second, some actively avoided any work for the firm and sought other employment thus evading their debts. Third, there was an independent navy mindset that abhorred belonging to anyone. This navy attitude may have been absorbed by the farm labourers who were to be navvies. Brogdenite fell from use as the group integrated quickly into the general population.

Others from the Brogden's group settled in Australia. In 1874 Edwin Bray, separated from wife Fanny, was living in Thames working as a miner. In September 1877, he nearly suffocated in gas in the Caledonian mine, and then he left for Sydney in July 1878. He remained in Australia. Others moved across the Tasman and kept heading west. William and Mary Ann Paull were probably on their way by November 1872. They stayed in Victoria for a time and then moved on to South Australia. They finally settled in Western Australia, probably following

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<sup>177</sup>Simpson, *The Immigrants*, 175.

<sup>178</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 41.

<sup>179</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 37.

<sup>180</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 41.

<sup>181</sup>"Magisterial", *Star*, Issue 1702, 11 August 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18730811.2.7>

<sup>182</sup>"Magisterial", *Star*, Issue 1702, 11 August 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18730811.2.7>

mining work. Some unsettled settlers went back and forth. Arthur Sims arrived in Port Chalmers with a young family on the *Christian McAusland*. He worked as a labourer in the local area until he moved his family, with its six New Zealand born additions, to Melbourne in 1894, then back to Dunedin's Kaikorai Valley. They later returned to Australia with 87-year-old Arthur dying in Victoria in 1932. William Henry Angell arrived single, married in New Zealand, had children born in New South Wales before returning to Dunedin then settling in Auckland. He worked as a carpenter, millhand, wharf labourer and gum-digger over time. Catherine Brabyn left her husband William and two children and went to live in South Australia. She had married tin miner William Brabyn at Redruth in early 1870, and their first son was born later that year. Catherine travelled to New Zealand on the *Bebington* with her husband's nine-year-old cousin and their infant son. William had already departed on the *Schieballion*. Their son was one of those who died during the voyage. The Brabyn's first home in New Zealand was in Picton with William working on the rail-line there. They had a second child, a daughter. By October 1874 they had moved on from Marlborough. It is not clear exactly when or why, but while William stayed in New Zealand, Catherine next appears in public records in South Australia, when she married Daniel Heinrick Koster in June 1881. They had three children and a long life together in South Australia until Catherine's death in January 1924. Like Catherine, William Brabyn married bigamously. In 1885 he wed Annie Maria Philps, they lived in Rongotea and he died in January 1899.

Some Brogdenites left New Zealand behind to return to England. Some had sea-going backgrounds, like John Henry Edwards. This enabled them to easily make the return voyage and continue in this line of work, as he did.<sup>183</sup> Others like Richard Hurrell had left wives behind. Richard Hurrell and his brother William endeavoured to ship home as seamen after a few months but were found out and returned to censure.<sup>184</sup> They still owed £20 each so were to be imprisoned until they agreed to return to work. They both managed to return to England within a few years. Elizabeth Swinnock was one of a few women who returned without her husband. By 1881 she was in Lambeth, listed as a widow and working as a Lady's Housekeeper. Caroline

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<sup>183</sup>Edwards appears in the 1881 census as an able seaman on the ship *Veritas* anchored at Dungeness, Kent, unmarried and aged 37.1881 *England Census* [database on-line], ClassRG11, Piece 1016, Folio111, page 8, GSU roll 1341241, *Ancestry.com*, viewed 10 December 2019

<sup>184</sup>"Interprovincial", *Bruce Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 445, 20 November 1872, Page 5, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BH18721120.2.13>.



Haywood arrived with husband George and four children on the *Halcione* but had returned to Cheshire by 1881 without George. He remained in New Zealand and died at Timaru in 1923. Brothers William and Peter Elston lived in Southland for more than thirty years before giving up their farms near Lumsden and returning to Devonshire. Likewise, James and Sarah Friend spent many years working in New Zealand. James was employed on the railways. They managed to get a farm by 1890, but then returned to England. Frederick Gunter returned to England but subsequently moved to Victoria.

These findings differ from those presented in the historical accounts by showing expectations of and about the Brogdenites were seldom realised. Any initial positive impression of the immigrants gave way to a more general impression that they were largely navvies with a propensity to drink but some acknowledged an element were steady and hard-working. These persistent perceptions went unchallenged until Arnold's corrective review in the 1980s. Instead of arriving to well-paid work with workers' cottages for accommodation many found they had neither, or work did not start immediately, and families had to stay in immigration barracks. They arrived with considerable debt but travelled with government-assisted immigrants who owed less and regarded the navy group as socially inferior and somewhat undesirable. Close examination of the group arriving on the *Bebington* found these impressions may have been personal rather than predictive. This kind of careful investigation is essential to balance the easily found views of judgemental contemporaries. The Brogden firm reported having trouble locating many who had failed to repay the money they owed. In contrast, this study found most married men and families settled with little drama, and often in the area in which they landed. It was the single men who were more likely to move on and are typically more difficult to locate in New Zealand and international records.

## Chapter Six: Railway Camp Realities

Navvies were characterised as fuelled by beer and this was the focus of much of the reported behaviour and misbehaviour. Their brawn and skill, however, were essential elements in railway construction so they had to be tolerated. The Brogden contracts for which they were employed spanned Auckland to Invercargill, but only created 178 miles (286 kilometres) of rail-line. While, to their disappointment, Brogdens were not the only contractors making railways, much of the reporting related to Brogdens' navvies was thought typical of railway camps. This chapter adds to the literature about navvies by investigating camp life in New Zealand. Despite some glimpses, the real evidence is in the silences about ordinary camp life. Continual disorder and drunkenness were not their reality. The navy reputation as law-breakers is revealed to be false, instead, with mostly minor offences and few perpetrators.

James Belich suggested that 'progress workers' were admired for their efforts in building the infrastructure.<sup>185</sup> Olssen, Griffen and Jones view is that manual labour was respected in the colony, where 'men with physical strength and dexterity were admired'.<sup>186</sup> The value placed on hard work seems more theoretical than actually in evidence in the case of the navvies. The work they completed was of benefit to the community, and the celebrations for the opening of each railway line show the local appreciation for the new infrastructure. Photos of these events, such as Figure 9 generally show the district's worthies and national politicians dressed up and at centre stage, while the men who actually laboured on the project are off to the side, or in the distance, as befitted their rough dress and lesser social position. The railway builders are ignored and invisible when work is progressing. When groups of railway labourers are pictured on a worksite, they only take the prime positions when they are with equals. While the workers might be urged on in their endeavours at the turning of the 'First Sod', the hard work of those men who built the railway lines tended to be ignored in the excitement of the opening of the line.

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<sup>185</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 431-32.

<sup>186</sup>Olssen, Griffen, and Jones, *An Accidental Utopia?*, 181.



Figure 9: The Postmaster General, Hon.J.G. Ward opened the Midland Railway at Jacksons on the West Coast on 2 March 1894. The connecting of Westland to Canterbury still required sixteen miles of 'permanent bands of steel'<sup>187</sup> Photograph. Ring, James. *Opening of the Midland Railway at Jacksons, Westland*. Making New Zealand: Negatives and prints from the Making New Zealand Centennial collection. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: PAColl-3060-044. [/records/22854154](https://records/22854154)

This invisibility continues in the historiography of railways. Most writers barely mention the workers in the rush to discuss engines. Even Rollo Arnold's interest in the New Zealand navvies did not include their work as he focused on immigration. Those who focused on navvies included Howard T.S. Baldwin, writing in 1975, who was reliant on newspaper reporting to describe attitudes towards navvies and their misbehaviour. Likewise, P.J. Gibbons wrote about navvies, but in the Public Works Department era. Impressions of navy life and culture must be drawn from the records of contemporaries who had their own reasons for the records they created. Their observations are coloured by unease about the dangerous potential of navvies' love of drink and mobility. Those observing the lives of the labouring population often focused on difficulties they attributed to alcohol consumption. The prevailing view of railway camp life was that it encouraged navvies to drink excessively so it is unsurprising that much of the reporting on the group was related to alcohol. This affected how they were represented as it continues to provide the bulk of the documented evidence.

While the colony had not experienced an influx of navvies previously, the colonists themselves would have impressions of navvies and their camp lifestyle imported from 'Home'.

<sup>187</sup>"The Midland Railway", *West Coast Times*, Issue 9767, 3 March 1894, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WCT18940303.2.9>.

The British navy was not a new phenomenon. Baldwin wrote of the arrival into Otago of the navy group.<sup>188</sup> While he called the initial arrivals uneventful, he then described the incident after the *Charlotte Gladstone's* arrival where drinking was followed by a food fight at the immigration barrack. Police were called and ultimately restored order. Five men were held overnight in the lock-up, three of these were charged with attempting to rescue the others and fined with the option of imprisonment. One man was charged with drunkenness and another with damaging property. After a "wet" welcome in Oamaru, a very literate navy wrote to the newspaper explaining that the navvies were generously plied with beer on arrival, an experience the truly cash-poor former farm labourers had never had before.<sup>189</sup> The colony gave the navvies the beer-soaked reception they thought was expected. The new navvies responded by gratefully accepting the hospitality and unwittingly and unsurprisingly reinforcing the stereotype with behaviour befitting a group of mostly young people enjoying the freedom and relief felt at the end of a long voyage and the effects of imbibing large amounts of alcohol. In the case of the *Charlotte Gladstone*, the trouble occurred after passengers were landed from a voyage plagued with disease, namely measles and typhoid, and death. The celebration of arrival was well earned. Alcohol consumed in excess was portrayed as typical of the navy, but it was not exclusive to them. It was widely accepted that excessive consumption was an aspect of the culture of the lower classes.<sup>190</sup> Men and, to a lesser extent, women of the labouring class enjoyed a social life that revolved around relaxing in the comfort of public houses.<sup>191</sup> It was a marked change to move into the environment of the railway work camp for those not accustomed to it. This included most of these workers who had little experience as navvies.

The first Brogdenites to arrive were put to work on one of the least nationally significant works. They were sent to Picton to build a seventeen mile (twenty-seven kilometre) rail line to join the port with the inland town of Blenheim.<sup>192</sup> Difficulties arose between the firm and its employees who were not afraid to make a stand when aggrieved by conditions being imposed.

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<sup>188</sup>Baldwin, "Labour groups," 48.

<sup>189</sup>"The Brogden Immigrants," *North Otago Times*, Volume XVIII, Issue 817, 18 March 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18730318.2.15>.

<sup>190</sup>*New Zealand Herald*, Volume X, Issue 2804, 23 January 1873, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18730123.2.29>.

<sup>191</sup>Greg Ryan, "Drink and the Historians: Sober Reflections on Alcohol in New Zealand 1840-1914," *New Zealand Journal of History* 44, no. 1 (April 2010): 46.

<sup>192</sup>"B-02A Public Works Statement by the Honorable the Minister for Public Works," in *Appendices of the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1872), 9.

The work was let out as small contracts thus changing the terms the men had agreed to. Delays resulted as the firm was unable to get essential construction materials to the site when required. Up to one hundred men lost their jobs. Many moved away, some became sub-contractors, others worked for sub-contractors. A few stayed for other work. In October 1872 the arrival of 50 immigrants (including wives and children of men already there) from the *Bebington* saw the arrangement strained again.<sup>193</sup> Significantly, married men were employed while unmarried ones were dismissed. Those without work were forced to move on as opportunities were limited in the province.<sup>194</sup> Construction proceeded on the line including a viaduct from Picton to the Elevation as seen in Figure 10. The first locomotive arrived by ship in January 1874, well before the line opened on 17 November 1875. It stopped short of reaching Blenheim as the bridge needed to cross the Opawa River was not part of the contract.

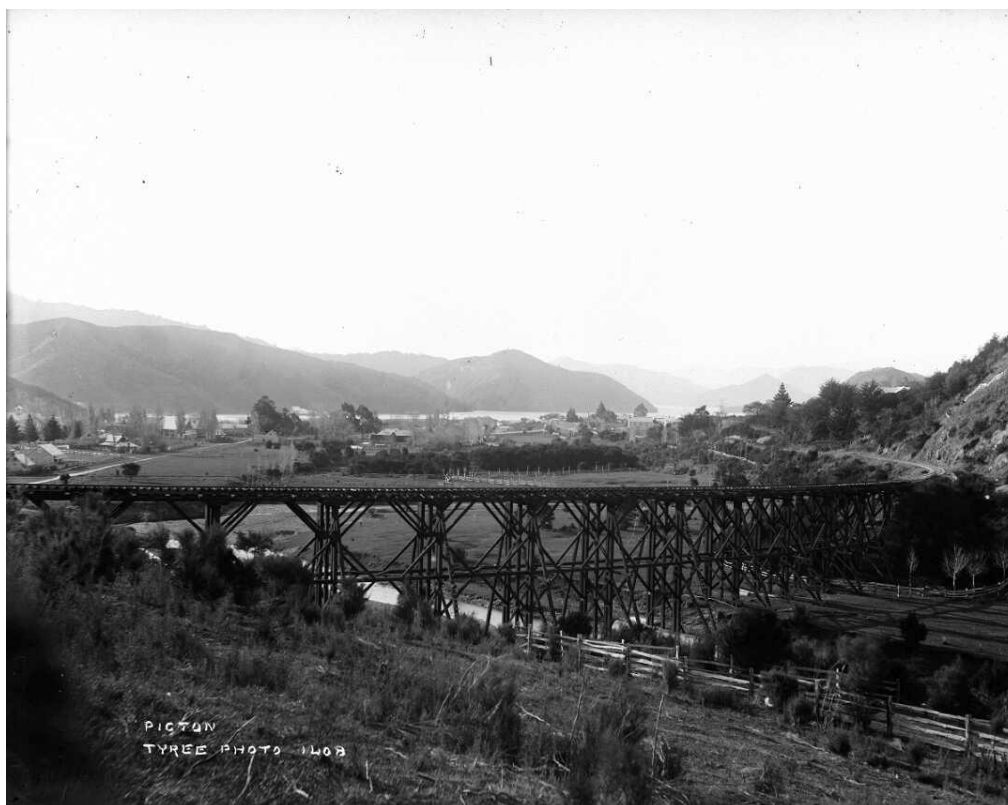


Figure 10: The Picton Railway Viaduct was part of the first contract worked by Brogdens' navvies. This undated view shows an established settlement beyond the gentle slope of the viaduct soaring over the river far below. It offers a glimpse of the scale of what was probably considered a minor bridging project. Photograph. *Railway viaduct, Picton*. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 10x8-0437-G. [/records/22916875](https://records/22916875)

<sup>193</sup>"Local and General News", *Marlborough Express*, Volume VII, Issue 444, 2 November 1872, Page 5, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MEX18721102.2.10>

<sup>194</sup>*Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVII, Issue 3633, 26 October 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18721026.2.9>

Historians generally record that Brogdens were awarded six contracts. However, Brogdens' tenders were accepted for eight major contracts. The agreement with the government meant they were to get a million pounds worth of contracts and allowed the firm the first opportunity to tender. Six were signed on 10 August 1872 for lines at Auckland, Napier, Wellington, Picton, Dunedin and Invercargill. The contracted amount was £561 185 with an additional £237 074 for two later contracts.<sup>195</sup> Other contractors signed up £338 191 worth of government contracts. In Auckland, work on the previous failed construction attempt was restarted prior to the Brogdenite arrivals in January 1872. About a week in, the navvies were striking over the nine-hour day, arguing for eight hours, while tradesmen paid by the hour continued to work.<sup>196</sup> So, disputes over pay and length of day began prior to the arrival of Brogdens' navvies.



Figure 11: The Auckland-Drury railway under construction shows the scale of earth moving required for the preferred route for the line. The previous line was started following the discovery of coal. A large team of men are visible on the side of the cutting in addition to those with the horses and wagons. Photograph. *Drury Railway, Auckland*, n.d. Hocken Collections - Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago.

<sup>195</sup>"E-05 Contracts for Construction of Railways," in *Appendices of the Journals of the House of Representatives* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1873), 1-3.

<sup>196</sup>"A Strike Amongst the Navvies," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4496, 23 January 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18720123.2.6>.

Newspaper reports concerning Brogden railway works reveal some details of navy life in New Zealand. When the navvies arrived at Auckland there was no permanent housing for them, and they could not be put straight to work. Despite this, the firm threatened to prosecute if they found other work.<sup>197</sup> Within days, seven were in court for drunkenness and one for theft.<sup>198</sup> There was no mention of a railway camp in Auckland newspapers, so perhaps the workers found accommodation with residents or in boarding houses. The navvies worked alongside more established men as work was given to owners of the surrounding farms. As a whole, those working on the line were described as 'a hard-working well-conducted body'.<sup>199</sup> Then, in late October, Brogdenites at Fort Britomart struck for 7s per eight-hour day. As a group they attempted to prevent the work of others on the line. Police arrived and the strikers dispersed. Most resumed work at 5s per day although some held out for the shorter day and 6s.<sup>200</sup> Contact with the group produced the usual laments about navvies who preferred to drink than save towards a future of land-ownership, but an acknowledgement that this did not apply to all.<sup>201</sup> In addition to the contract for the forty-four mile (seventy kilometre) Newmarket to Mercer line, further contracts were given in July 1873 for Auckland to Newmarket and Penrose to Onehunga.<sup>202</sup> The six and a half mile (thirteen kilometre) line opened for use from Auckland to Onehunga on 24 December 1873. It was the first under the Vogel scheme to be completed. Despite testing the line with a locomotive in September, use was delayed for some time. The official opening on 20 December 1873 had a four-carriage train taking invited guests from Fort Britomart to Onehunga for a champagne luncheon. The railway between Auckland and Mercer was tested on 30 April 1875 and opened a month later.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>197</sup>"Telegrams", *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3305, 9 September 1872, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18720909.2.7>

<sup>198</sup>"Police Court", *Auckland Star*, Volume III, Issue 826, 10 September 1872, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS18720910.2.15>; "Telegrams", *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3305, 9 September 1872, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18720909.2.7>

<sup>199</sup>"Papakura", *New Zealand Herald*, Volume IX, Issue 2723, 19 October 1872, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18721019.2.32>

<sup>200</sup>"Strike on the Railway Works", *Auckland Star*, Volume III, Issue 864, 24 October 1872, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS18721024.2.20>

<sup>201</sup>*Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4776, 14 December 1872, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18721214.2.10>

<sup>202</sup>"Public Works Statement 1872," 9.

<sup>203</sup>"Opening of the Auckland and Mercer Railway for Traffic", *Auckland Star*, Volume VI, Issue 1639, 20 May 1875, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS18750520.2.12>

Work connecting Wellington to the Hutt Valley was scheduled to start when the first ship, *Schiehallion*, arrived in April 1872, but delays due to engineering concerns saw work start on 20 August 1872. In March 1873, the firm rented a flour mill to house workers including some recent arrivals from the *Forfarshire*.<sup>204</sup> By July 1873 only one mile had been laid to Kaiwharawhara. Plans changed again to accommodate the difficult terrain. Six months later the line had reached Ngauranga, but by April it was opened to Lower Hutt. The eight mile (twelve kilometres) line ran from Pipitea Station to Lower Hutt via Petone. The journey took twenty-five minutes at twenty miles per hour (thirty-two kilometres per hour), and the first passengers included respected local Māori chiefs.<sup>205</sup>

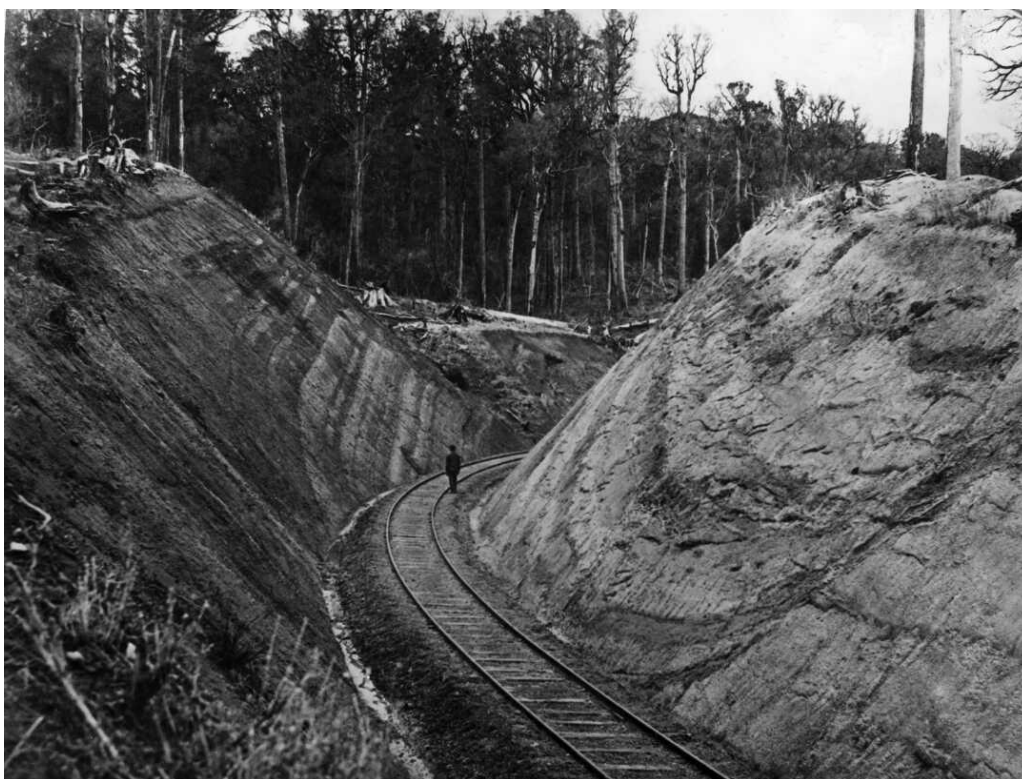


Figure 12: The contracts included clearing the land surrounding the line, and proper drainage to ensure the stability of the track. This recently completed cutting is on the east coast railway line near Waipukurau. Photograph. A.E.B. Jones, *Cutting and extension of the east coast railway line* Photographs of Waipukurau. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/2-042668-F. [/records/22781991](https://records/22781991)

The Napier line started in August 1872 and was opened to Hastings in October 1874.<sup>206</sup> The eighteen mile (twenty-eight kilometres) route chosen passed through fairly rugged

<sup>204</sup>"News of the Week", *New Zealand Mail*, Issue 110, 15 March 1873, Page 14, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZMAIL18730315.2.34>.

<sup>205</sup>J.M. Kennedy and B.M. Kennedy, *Past Days in Lower Hutt and Petone* (Wellington: Colonial Associates Publications 1983), 19.

<sup>206</sup>*This is Waipawa*, (Waipawa, N.Z.: Waipawa Mail Ltd, 1962), 65.



countryside, resulting in steep gradients and some tight turns.<sup>207</sup> One hundred and fifty men with associated wives and families lived in a tented camp for about a year.<sup>208</sup> There was a large tent which acted as a store for groceries and other provisions. One source recalls the 'canvas town' had no proper sanitation provided so, when the stream used for drinking and cooking became polluted, typhoid spread through the camp.<sup>209</sup> Progress was slow, and the line did not reach Paki Paki by the contract deadline. Consequently, the opening of the line to Hastings was celebrated in a muted way amid uncooperative and unpleasant weather.<sup>210</sup> The rail line's push south was associated with sawmilling operations capitalising on the rail to move their product.<sup>211</sup> Land was offered for settlement and some navvies were able to take up land.



Figure 13: The Invercargill to Mataura line in 1874 at the north end of the Edendale cutting. Bush was cleared for a chain and half from the centre-line before the excavations could begin. The resulting timber was able to be used by the contractor for whatever purpose he desired. The pattern created by earth falls is seen in the middle-distance. The earth fall was a technique commonly used in South Island gold mining, where a face (or lift) of earth was undermined causing it to fall so it could then be cleared. Photograph. *Invercargill and Mataura Railway, north end, Edendale cutting*, n.d. Hocken Collections - Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago.

<sup>207</sup>"Public Works Statement 1872," 9; Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, 112.

<sup>208</sup>"Papers relating to Samuel Williams", (1875, 1907) 75-001-3/06, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

<sup>209</sup>"Papers relating to Samuel Williams", Alexander Turnbull Library

<sup>210</sup>Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, 110.

<sup>211</sup>Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, 111-12.

Invercargill to Mataura, a forty mile (sixty-four kilometres) line, was awarded in August 1872.<sup>212</sup> The men from the *Lady Jocelyn* were the first of the navvies to work on this line. The *Southland News* stated several were so inexperienced that they had been dismissed.<sup>213</sup> Newspapers reported on a stabbing in the Oteramika Bush camp that housed workers. The injured man was foreman on a subcontract. After a day of drinking and scuffles a young camp storeman, James McLaren, injured the other man.<sup>214</sup> The second section of the line between Mataura Bridge and Woodlands opened in June 1875, an occasion attended by over 1200 people. The line opened to Gore in August 1875. The Brogden firm purchased a Southland sawmill in April 1873 which would have given further employment opportunities for their imported workers.<sup>215</sup> Southland encouraged settlement through a deferred payment scheme which tempted navvies to stay and try to make their way on the land.



Figure 14: Men at work on a tunnel on the Chain Hills line south of Dunedin. The photograph shows an enormous amount of earth and vegetation has been cleared in the approach for the tunnel. Photograph. *Chain Hills tunnel, south end*, n.d. Hocken Collections - Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago.

<sup>212</sup>"Public Works Statement 1872," 9.

<sup>213</sup>"News of the Week", *Otago Witness*, Issue 1097, 7 December 1872, Page 15, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18721207.2.44>

<sup>214</sup>*Otago Witness*, Issue 1094, 16 November 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18721116.2.52>; *Southland Times*, Issue 1674, 10 December 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ST18721210.2.8>.

<sup>215</sup>*Bruce Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 483, 25 April 1873, Page 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BH18730425.2.8>.

The Dunedin to Clutha contract was for a fifty-one mile (eighty-two kilometres) stretch from Dunedin to Balclutha.<sup>216</sup> Married men from the *Charlotte Gladstone* were sent to Waihola Gorge while the single men went to Chain Hills and Otakia.<sup>217</sup> This section included the Caversham tunnel, and required extensive cuttings and embankments.<sup>218</sup> The firm supplemented the workforce by taking on sixty German-Polish immigrants who had not found other work in January 1873.<sup>219</sup> They had previously hired a crew of Chinese labourers working under a Chinese sub-contractor but encountered some difficulties over who was responsible for their wages. The first section opened in July 1874, and the line through to Balclutha opened on 12 September 1875. The section from Taieri to termination was formed by Blair, Watson & Hastie, with plate-laying on another small contract to Brogdens.<sup>220</sup>

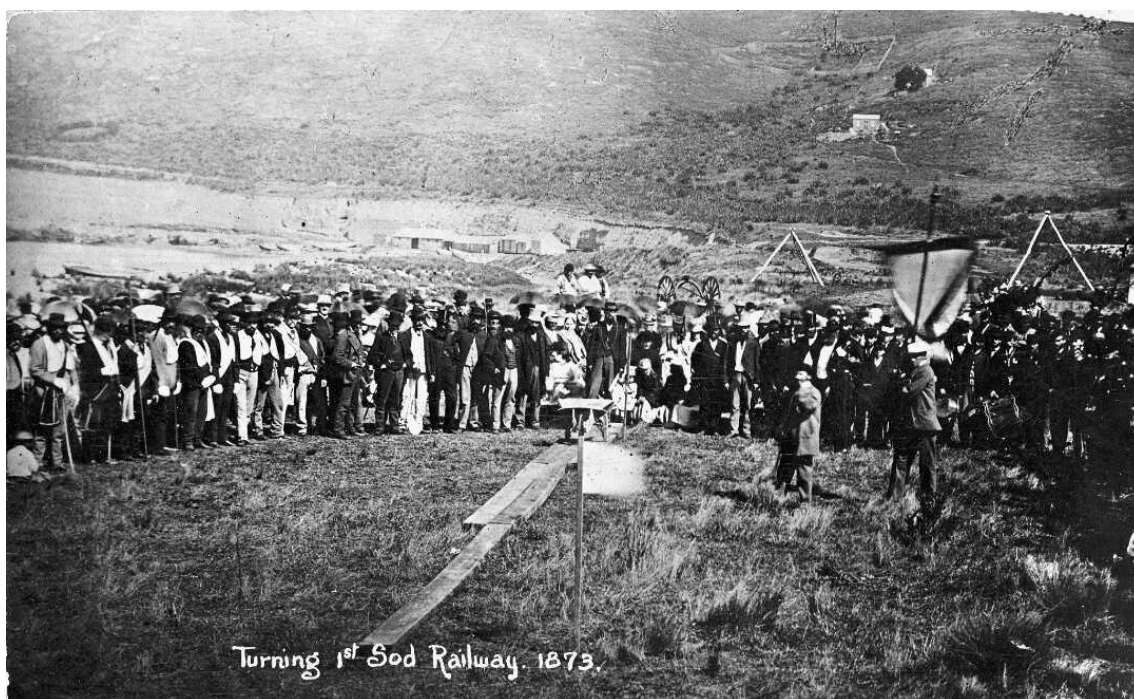


Figure 15: The ceremonial turning of the first sod for the Oamaru-Moeraki Railway was celebrated on 10 March 1873. What appears to be tents for the administration of the railway works are visible in the cutting beyond the gathering. Photograph. *Turning of the first sod for the railway line in Oamaru. 1873.* Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/2-002004-F.

In 1873 Brogdens received contracts at two further locations. Brogdens were awarded the bulk of the forty mile (sixty-four kilometres) Oamaru contract in 1873 with Allen and Stumbles

<sup>216</sup>"Public Works Statement 1872," 9.

<sup>217</sup>*Bruce Herald*, Volume VI, Issue 468, 4 March 1873, Page 6, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BH18730304.2.20>

<sup>218</sup>"Public Works Statement 1872," 12.

<sup>219</sup>*Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3412, 13 January 1873, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18730113.2.11>; Baldwin, "Labour groups," 47.

<sup>220</sup>"The Dunedin and Clutha Railway," *Otago Daily Times*, 9 Dec 1874, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18741209.2.15>

working on the Waitaki end. The first sod was turned on 10 March 1873 and marked with a holiday. The navvies present were treated to a feast of beef, bread and beer, while the dignitaries retired to a hotel for a sit-down dinner with congratulatory toasts.<sup>221</sup>

By April, the Moeraki end of the works involved about 180 navvies.<sup>222</sup> There was a shortage of accommodation in Hampden so timber huts were planned. The men had started their own "Sick and Accident Fund".<sup>223</sup> The work was being subcontracted in small pieces to work-gangs. This complex contract included major earthworks and cuttings needed between Herbert and the Waianakarua River and a 286 yard (260 metres) tunnel at Otepopo. One observer noted the work-force was in clusters, with at least one team living in tents and using the nearby stream for ablutions.<sup>224</sup> Their canvas settlement included a mess-tent. The influx of workers saw an extra Special Constable appointed at Hampden.<sup>225</sup> In July 1873 about 30 of the Brogdenites left the works after a dispute over how the earth works were to be measured.<sup>226</sup> Work progressed steadily on the cuttings but bridge construction was forced to wait for the arrival of suitable timber imported from America.<sup>227</sup> The line to Hillgrove was opened on 4 November 1876 with an eventful excursion train to Moeraki failing to handle the return journey, due to the steep grade. The line to Moeraki was completed in 1877. This line was expensive to maintain as it passed over unstable ground, so it closed two years later. Many of the workers stayed in Oamaru and the small towns along the rail-line including an enclave at Hampden known as Sod Town.

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<sup>221</sup>"The Waitaki-Moeraki Railway. Turning of the First Sod", *North Otago Times*, Volume XVIII, Issue 815, 11 March 1873, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18730311.2.14> and <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18730311.2.15>

<sup>222</sup>"The Jetty", *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3491, 15 April 1873, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18730415.2.24>

<sup>223</sup>"Labour in Otago", *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3516, 14 May 1873, Page 7, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18730514.2.52>

<sup>224</sup>"Down the Road to Hampden and Kakanui", *North Otago Times*, Volume XVIII, Issue 821, 4 April 1873, Page 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18730404.2.29>

<sup>225</sup>"The Otago Police System" *Otago Witness*, Issue 1139, 27 September 1873, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18730927.2.54>

<sup>226</sup>"Country News", *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 3562, 5 July 1873, Page 5 (Supplement), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18730705.2.28>

<sup>227</sup>*Evening Star*, Issue 3526, 11 June 1874, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD18740611.2.9>



Figure 16: Workers on the Brogden contract from Herbert to Waianakarua. The men exude a certain confidence and pride as they pose with the tools of their trade. Photograph. *Herbert-Waianakarua Railway*. Waitaki Museum & Archive, Ref: 4946P

The final contract was in Taranaki. On 21 July 1873, a contract for the Waitara to New Plymouth line was given to Brogdens. A public holiday marked the start of work with the turning of the first sod on 21 August 1873.<sup>228</sup> There is no record of navies being moved to work on this contract. The eleven mile (eighteen kilometre) line suffered delays as all timber for both sleepers and its nine lengthy bridges had to be bought in.<sup>229</sup> The Brogden firm celebrated the line's opening with a ball for 200 invited guests in October 1875.<sup>230</sup> The local newspaper described the new rail route in detail and congratulated the contractors, subcontractors, bridge inspectors and railway superintendent on their fine work. No mention was made of the men labouring on the construction.

As seen on these contracts, the Brogden firm preferred to hand their specially imported workers over to subcontractors. An arrangement with the subcontractors allowed twenty percent to be deducted from the men's wages for what they owed to Brogdens, with some of the subcontractor's payment withheld to ensure this happened. Brogdens also sent a clerk to see

<sup>228</sup>Churchman and Hurst, *Railways of New Zealand*, 135.

<sup>229</sup>Churchman and Hurst, *Railways of New Zealand*, 135.

<sup>230</sup>"Opening of the Waitara-Wanganui Railway", *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XXIII, Issue 2350, 16 October 1875, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TH18751016.2.9>.

workers were paid.<sup>231</sup> Employment by these subcontractors was presented as a breach of the hiring agreement when the firm took men to court for non-payment of promissory notes. By January 1873 Brogdens were employing three local men to every two of their own imports. Figures from the firm showed a maximum number of their imports working for them was 321 men in May 1873 when all contracts were underway. This number may not accurately reflect how many were involved on their contracts due to the use of subcontractors. It would have served the Brogden interests to represent these men as no longer in their employ.<sup>232</sup>

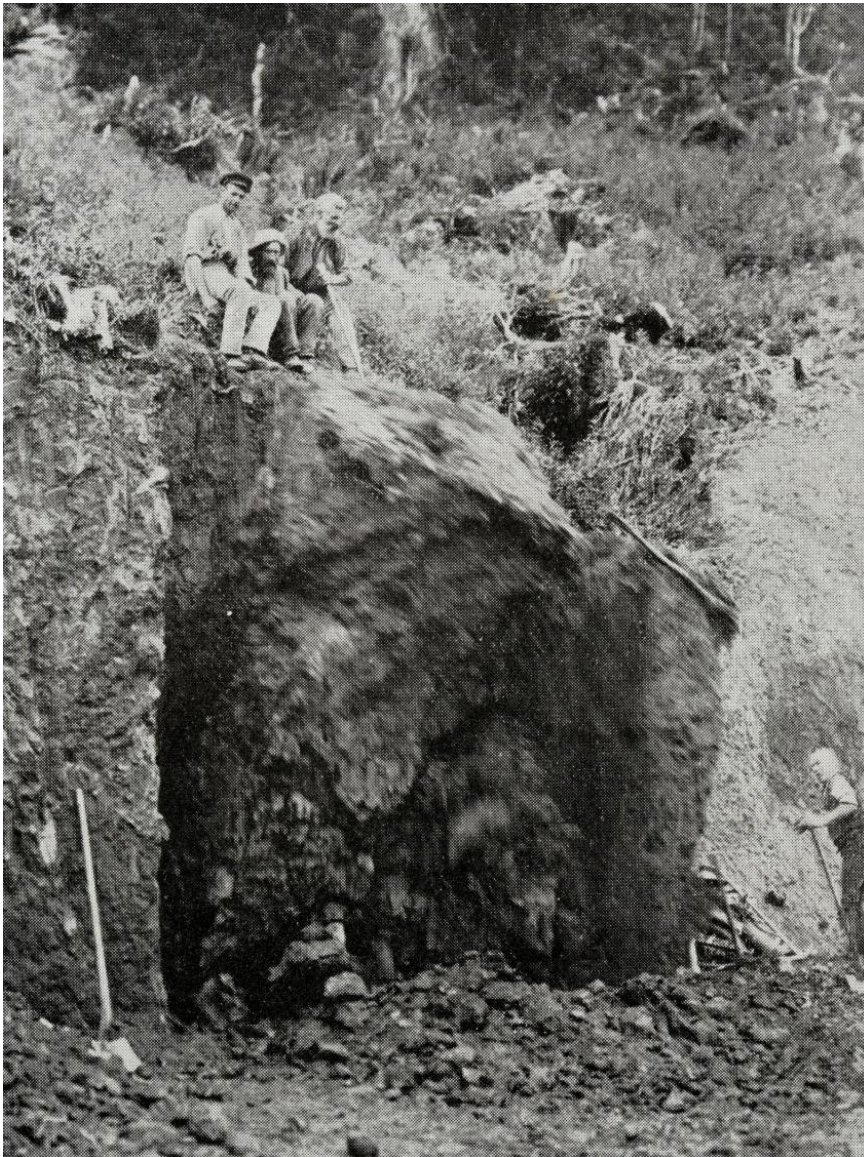


Figure 17: Men worked together to loosen earth in sections and cause it to fall to then move it away. The men working below relied on the shouted warning of those at the top when earth was about to move. Photograph. "Getting down a fall of earth", *Otago Witness*, 6 Mar 1907, 40. Hocken Collections - Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, S19-228b.

<sup>231</sup>"Resident Magistrate's Court", *Wellington Independent*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 3700, 10 January 1873, Page 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18730110.2.9>.

<sup>232</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 51.

Accidents, some fatal, show members of the group were involved with Brogdens and other contractors despite these assertions that their workers had deserted them. Thomas Price was killed in an earth fall while working on a cutting in Taranaki.<sup>233</sup> In February 1874 Thomas Essex died digging for the Moeraki-Waitaki railway while working for the Brogden firm.<sup>234</sup> John Beamish was injured in 1875 on the Hampden railway works but went on to further railway employment as a labourer.<sup>235</sup> Other men who cannot be identified as part of the Brogden group died during construction. These included Patrick Dempsey, a miner working on the railway tunnel at Chain Hills near Dunedin, killed in an earth fall on 11 February 1875.<sup>236</sup> These incidents reflect the lack of care around safety by both men and management identified by Sykes.<sup>237</sup> An accident on a cutting in April 1875 saw a recently arrived man crushed by an earth fall and badly injured. The Auckland Star rebuked his navy workmates for their conduct towards the man's wife.<sup>238</sup> They quickly defended themselves, stating they had made a collection between themselves for the wife, as well as paying for the doctor and transport to hospital.<sup>239</sup> This kind of generosity was another characteristic of the navy community in both Britain and New Zealand.

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<sup>233</sup>"Accident on the Railway Works," *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XXII, Issue 2164, 3 January 1874, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TH18740103.2.14>.

<sup>234</sup>"Inquest", *North Otago Times*, Volume XX, Issue 914, 27 February 1874, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18740227.2.12>.

<sup>235</sup>*North Otago Times*, Volume XXIII, Issue 1146, 20 November 1875, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18751120.2.8>

<sup>236</sup>"Fatal Accident at Chain Hills," *Globe*, Volume III, Issue 214, 15 February 1875, Page 3 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/GLOBE18750215.2.12>.

<sup>237</sup>Sykes, "Navvies: Their Work Attitudes," 23.

<sup>238</sup>"Serious Accident in Albert street", *Auckland Star*, Volume VI, Issue 1621, 24 April 1875, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS18750424.2.10>.

<sup>239</sup>*Auckland Star*, Volume VI, Issue 1622, 26 April 1875, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS18750426.2.7>.



Figure 18: The Otago Witness titled this photograph 'The Original Navy.' Single men lived in smaller tents, often shared with another worker. The essential fireplace provided warmth and light to the simple accommodations on the Otago Central line. The sod construction gives an air of permanence that a wooden chimney lacks. Photograph. "The Original Navy", *Otago Witness*, 18 Sep1901, 39. Hocken Collections - Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, S19-228a

The 1884 death in a railway camp of William Meldrum gave a glimpse of New Zealand navy life.<sup>240</sup> Meldrum ran a sly-grog shanty, said to be typical and prevalent in railway camps in Otago. The inhabitants were sympathetic to the sellers so failed to provide information to the authorities who would stop the sale of beer and spirits. Living arrangements were also revealed. Single men shared the smaller tents, while the larger tent of the married Meldrum housed the man, his wife and two lodgers. Peter Mitchell's thesis described the usual camp facilities as consisting of engineer's office and supply store, workshops for blacksmiths and carpenters, explosives store and a boarding house and workers' huts.<sup>241</sup> As in Britain, nicknames were commonly used - Lawrence White was Larry the Sailor, and Gerald Fitzgerald was known as Garrett. The men involved in the brawl were described as strong and well-muscled. One had been a prizewinning wrestler at Otago's Caledonian Society sports event. It seems the brawl was regarded as normal behaviour, with none of the other residents bothering to move from their homes to watch or interfere. This corresponds with Belich's depiction of fighting as characteristic

<sup>240</sup>*Otago Daily Times*, Issue 7119, 8 December 1884;  
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18841208.2.20>

<sup>241</sup>Mitchell, "Tracks and Traces," 31.



of work-gangs.<sup>242</sup> Navy culture accepted as normal some behaviour that wider society condemned. There was a greater acceptance of violence between them, for both verbal and physical fighting.<sup>243</sup> The camp lacked any police presence, and no authority figures came forward to mediate in the situation. Weapons were used in this fight: a knife, a stick, and a shot-gun. Despite a gun being present during the fight, no-one was shot. Instead, the gun was wielded as a club. This implies the men were not engaged in a mortal struggle, rather a power-play of strength that had an unfortunate outcome. These impressions of navy life are largely echoed in the recollections of James Robertson, son of one of the workers on the Otago Central Railway line in the 1880s.<sup>244</sup> He wrote of sly-grog shanties as being common, with no police living in camps until after Meldrum's death. Some navvies displayed their athleticism and strength at the annual picnic and sports day and in the wrestling at the Caledonian Society Sports event. He added observations on religious observance, describing the visiting minister walking miles to the camps. Services were held in a store or smithy's shelter, but he did not note how many were in attendance. Sunday was also the day some navvies hunted wild pigs. This was also confirmed in newspaper reports of some navvies finding a skeleton while out pig-hunting.<sup>245</sup> The camps were considered temporary, so the authorities would not provide a school. Railway children often walked five or more miles on rough tracks to the nearest school. Evidence like this confirms railway camps were communities, made up of single men and families with a shared culture. This culture clearly included episodes of violence and minor crime. However, given the numbers of men living in camps, in conditions which Belich might describe as conducive of crew culture, few incidences of either serious violence or crime were reported. The overall impression of camp life conforms to that described by David Brooke in his works on the British navy.

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<sup>242</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 424.

<sup>243</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 426.

<sup>244</sup>Appendix Nine, "Memoirs of the late James Robertson, Middlemarch, The Otago on Central Railway from Wingatui to Rock and Pillar," (un-numbered pages 134-163) in Peter Mitchell's thesis, "Tracks and Traces: an archaeological survey of railway construction related sites on the Otago Central Railway" 2012, University of Otago.

<sup>245</sup>*Evening News* (Sydney), 23 Jul 1873, 3.



Figure 19: In 1910 railway construction workers still lived in camps under canvas. Families lived with their men, alongside the single men. This camp family pictured outside their canvas roofed home appear to be in their Sunday best, despite the basic conditions. The size may have allowed the family to take in a lodger or two. Photograph. "A Canvas Home at the Catlins Railway Works", *Otago Witness*, 4 May 1910, 44. Hocken Collections - Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, S19-228c.

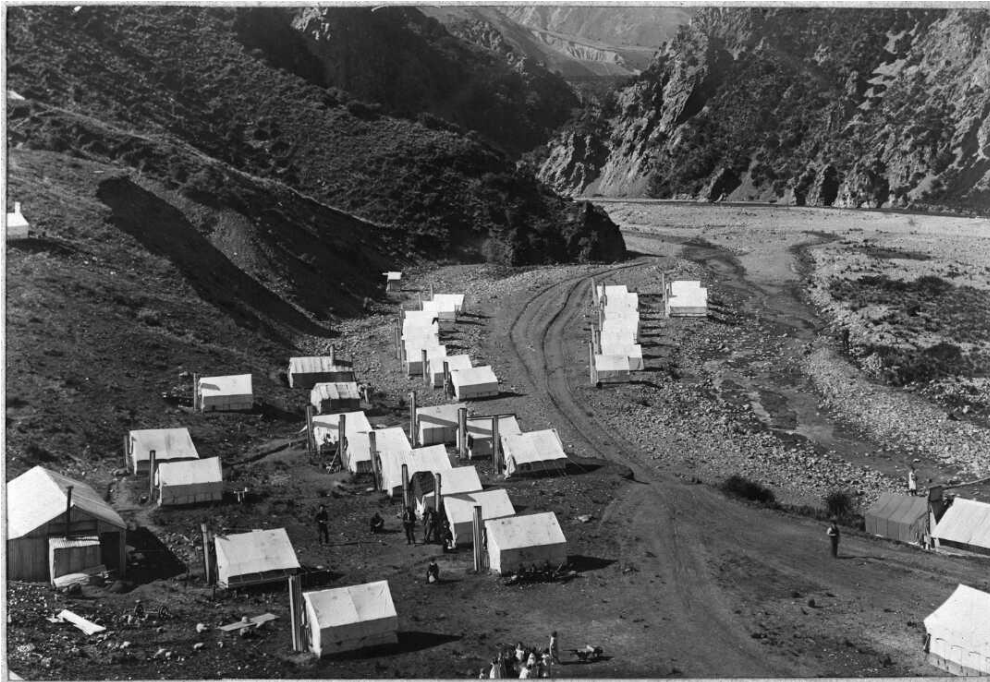


Figure 20: This camp on the Midland Rail line is dated in the 1890s. It shows the canvas town is laid out in a very similar way to any other town with the residences forming orderly streets. The larger tent on the far left is likely to be a dining tent. It appears to have a larger fireplace at the near end. The tidy appearance could indicate it is a Public Work camp rather than that of a private contractor. Photograph. *Workmen's camp on the Midland Railway Line (Canterbury Region)*. Unidentified photographer, circa 1890s. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: APG-1531-1/2-F. [/records/22851854](#)

It seems likely that work-camps were supposed to be dry or the alcohol supply was controlled as men got 'on the spree' in towns after being paid. In Australia, Rowe has noted, 'The drink problem seems to have been aggravated by the navvies' being paid only once a month...navvies who spent their earnings on drink consumed an immense quantity at one gorge.'<sup>246</sup> Gibbons notes the effect of the Christmas or end of section pay-packet and its quick consumption before an early return to camp.<sup>247</sup> He is likely correct when he argues their consumption habits drew attention that over-emphasised the quantities involved. Given the prevalence in the Brogdens' group of young single men, the majority likely away from home for the first time, their behaviour is perhaps unsurprising. These were men who worked hard and spent their leisure time socialising and drinking when they had money in their pocket. In the twentieth century, Sykes noted that navvies' social life centred on their living accommodation and bars.<sup>248</sup> Labourers' lives tended to be more public, living in shared accommodation, or near neighbours when in towns. Their leisure was public too, drinking in public rather than private houses, and then spilling on to the streets at the end of the night to make their sodden way home. Their culture, drinking and loud interaction including fighting, was at odds with those who made and enforced the social rules. Society permitted some drunkenness in pubs, but once the patrons spilt onto the streets, noise and fighting were not tolerated, with police quickly on the scene. Public drunkenness by the working class was routinely punished.<sup>249</sup> Belich notes the under-policing of many areas meant more crime of this nature occurred without resultant arrests.<sup>250</sup> In contrast, Gibbons calculated figures for the railway co-operative workers finding a national average of 1 policeman per 1400 persons while communities with an influx of railway workers had a generous policeman per several hundred.<sup>251</sup> He also writes about police attention on sly-grogging with undercover information gathering operations during the 1880s and 1900s.<sup>252</sup> Overall the evidence suggests both unlicensed selling of alcohol in the camps and restrictions that encouraged drunken binges in towns. In either case, towns near the works were

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<sup>246</sup>Rowe, "The Robust Navy," 36.

<sup>247</sup>Gibbons, "Some New Zealand Navvies," 63-64.

<sup>248</sup>Sykes, "Navvies: Their Work Attitudes," 22.

<sup>249</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 435.

<sup>250</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 424.

<sup>251</sup>Gibbons, "Some New Zealand Navvies," 65.

<sup>252</sup>Gibbons, "Some New Zealand Navvies," 65.

intermittently, not continually, visited by navvies on the spree, who had no trouble finding places to spend their money.

Olssen, writing about the young and itinerant workforce, described their reputation as one of 'brawling, whoring, gambling and drinking.'<sup>253</sup> Was the recorded reputation reality or a sign of society's intolerance for potential social disorder? Indexed *New Zealand Police Gazettes* were examined for signs of criminality in the group. From a database of 960 men and 281 women, seventy-nine men and seven women were found recorded in the police gazette between 1878 and 1945. Six entries were not offences but pleas for information from relatives left at 'Home', while another three were acquitted of the offences recorded. The majority were for single minor offences - theft, disorderly conduct, illegally on premises, threatening or obscene language, and later in life, vagrancy. Eight were charged with assault, including three assaulting their wives and one a sister-in-law, six for deserting their wives, five for failing to provide for wife or family, and two for indecent exposure. More serious crimes for the time included men charged with indecent assault of a married woman, cruelty to children, incest, sodomy, and forgery and uttering. With the index starting in 1878 the national police gazettes failed to capture the initial period of settlement by Brogdens' immigrants. Newspaper reports of that five year period show some men in court for disturbing the peace, drunkenness, disorderly conduct and fighting in the streets. Most offences were minor and few repeat offenders. It is the police record that captures a physical description of the criminal, along with identifying details of birthplace and year and occupation. A few men had appearances that must have marked them out from the respectable townsfolk. Platelayer Thomas Oliver with his brown hair and hazel eyes seemed normal enough until his earrings were observed.<sup>254</sup> His appearance may have made him memorable when he threw a stone at a police officer during the first days at Picton and later stole a coat in 1878 with a subsequent two-month imprisonment at Nelson.<sup>255</sup> Less than eight percent got in trouble with the law for mostly single, minor offences. Therefore, although perceptions prevailed about trouble caused by the navvies, there is little hard evidence Brogdens' navvies were any threat to public order.

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<sup>253</sup>Olssen, "Movement and Persistence," 5.

<sup>254</sup>*New Zealand Police Gazette* 1878 - Thomas Oliver [AAA] 5803 W5609 1 Vol. 2] Archives New Zealand The Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua.

<sup>255</sup>*Nelson Evening Mail*, Volume XIII, Issue 119, 20 May 1878, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NEM18780520.2.10>

Alcohol consumption played a part in many of the crimes that came before the courts, for this group as well as the segment of society to which they belonged. Labourers far outnumber others in the records of the Police Gazettes, out of proportion to the population. After general drunkenness and disorderly behaviour, theft was the largest category of offence, usually coinciding with drunkenness. Some men stole from their workmates, taking items of clothing, footwear, and occasionally money. Some stole from companions or strangers in public houses. It seems that sleeping in a public bar provided an irresistible opportunity for some fellow patrons. Theft from employers was rare, implying a code of conduct operating, or potentially, that employers dealt with offenders privately. Assault was another offence usually tied to alcohol. In several cases, the assault was of a police officer as he attempted to take control of an altercation between intoxicated parties. Very few of the men were habitual offenders. Some came into court as they aged - accused of vagrancy as they struggled to find work and accommodation. Alcohol was usually an aspect of these cases, but whether they drank and so didn't work, or didn't find work and so drank is far from clear. Few of the men identified had convictions in England. One example was George Pithouse, who was in Wiltshire jail at the time of the 1871 census, convicted of larceny.<sup>256</sup> Despite these disadvantages, these men did not find themselves in colonial courts.

The men were not alone in their encounters with the judicial system. Women busy raising families seldom got into trouble with the law, lacking both time and energy. Some still came to the attention of the law. Mary Ann Muir, a mother of three children, was charged under the Vagrant Act for using bad language. She elected imprisonment instead of paying the 40s fine.<sup>257</sup> Catherine Rickards was present as her husband took her lover to court for theft, the case revealing their lives' complexities.<sup>258</sup> Catherine deserted her husband and family to live with William Mills, described as 'a powerful-looking young man.' William Rickards was left with the three school-age children and seems to have successfully coped with the task of raising them. Florence Banks was assaulted by her husband Samuel in October 1876. She had him charged and applied for protection and maintenance orders against him. Since arriving in New Zealand, they

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<sup>256</sup>1871 *England Census* [database on-line]. Class: *RG10*; Piece: *1914*; Folio: *5*; Page: *3*; GSU roll: *830869*, Ancestry.com, viewed 5 December 2019.

<sup>257</sup>*New Zealand Herald*, Volume XIV, Issue 5016, 13 December 1877, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18771213.2.27>.

<sup>258</sup>Marlborough Press, 4 Dec 1872

had lived in Picton, Palmerston and Wellington. His assaults on her were attributed to jealousy. Samuel in his defence found issue with Florence's sister Priscilla, married to another Brogdens' man, William Stevens. She was allegedly interfering and opinionated.<sup>259</sup> The court ordered their son to stay with his father while Florence kept their infant daughter. Florence moved in with Joseph Taylor, living with him as his wife in Ashburton until her death in 1922. Louisa Pomeroy may have been attempting to supplement the family income when she was convicted of 'sly-grogging' in the Invercargill Court in 1897. Overall, women encountered the legal system as victims as often as perpetrators.

The proposed scale of New Zealand's railway works demanded a workforce capable of undertaking the work. The process was both manual and skilled. The limited extent of railway construction in the colony meant it lacked a base population of these navvies which the Brogden firm attempted to correct. Public perception was that they were navvies and they were treated as such, primed with beer. This study has found British navy culture was evident in railway camps in New Zealand. They were communities that taught new members how to behave and the cultural expressions of navy life. It was a version of the common or low culture of the labouring class with which it shared many characteristics. There is no evidence that the navvies had radical or political ideology which could have aided class formation. In addition, this study has found, while some of navy cultural characteristics brought Brogdenites, men and women, into conflict with society and its laws, these were only a small portion of the group. This contrasts with the dominant impression of the historical evidence. Furthermore, camp-life did not generate serious violence or significant crime. Newspaper evidence could be used to create an impression of chaotic camp life, but continual disorder and drunkenness did not exist. Examining the New Zealand navvying experiences of the group shows most of the group moved easily between railway camp life and a more settled existence and fulfilled a vital role in the productive part of the economy.

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<sup>259</sup>*Evening Post*, Volume XIV, Issue 85, 7 Oct 1876, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18761007.2.17>

## Chapter Seven: Railways and Unions

Railway construction continued for decades beyond Brogdens involvement. This meant many in the Brogdens group, both married and single men, were able to take advantage of opportunities through continued involvement with the railways beyond their initial engagement via the Brogdens. Jasper Wheeler worked for the Dunedin District Engineer's Department of the New Zealand Railway from 1879 to 1900. He had arrived in Dunedin on the *Lutterworth* and married in 1876. He worked out of Hampden for most of this time, shifting to Palmerston and then back again. He was able to purchase a home and land at Hampden while working as a platelayer, a ganger then a surfaceman. In September 1900 he transferred to the Traffic Department in the Christchurch region. He worked as a railway crossing keeper in Opawa until his death in 1904. Peter Arnold may have been a real navvy. He was the son of a railway labourer. He was one of the young men who travelled on the *Lady Jocelyn*. He had lost touch with his family by 1876 and was seemingly gone from New Zealand perhaps chasing more railway work in another colony. This chapter looks at those who, like Wheeler, settled and worked for the New Zealand railways in its different forms. It looks at the necessity for mobility in the labouring class and social perceptions about mobility. Union interest by labourers was discouraged but some have suggested links between the navvies and later union activism. Brogdenites were a valuable addition to the colony's workforce, through on the Government-owned railways and perhaps in advancing the cause of the working man through unions.

Historiography acknowledges that railway construction required large numbers of workers. The scale of their achievements can be seen in photographs of the cuttings and viaducts they created. Rumours of high wages enticed the casual labourer. Works may have absorbed any excess under-employed farm workers. However, new recruits took time to become accustomed to the speed and intensity of the work and to develop the muscle and stamina needed for a full day's work. The work was dangerous. In New Zealand, Brogdens' navvies were killed in earth-falls, and injured in blasting accidents, and one was crushed by the horse he was walking home in the dark. On the other hand, the work had its rewards, as reported in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*:

To show what steady work on the railway line, at present rates, can do, we may mention that John Tripcony and Benjamin Tripcony, two of Messrs. Brogden's immigrants, after

five months of steady work there, succeeded in saving enough to pay off their debt to the firm in full, which they did on Thursday last. They are the first of the immigrants by the Chile who have done so. From 10s. to 12s. per day can be made on the work by good men.<sup>260</sup>

It would seem logical that the numbers involved, and the conditions might have led the navvies to band together for the good of all in labourers' unions. Arnold noted links between England's agricultural unions and New Zealand immigration. Other historians speculated on links between labourers' confrontational stance and navvies earlier assertive attitudes.<sup>261</sup>

James Billings, an agent for the Brogden firm, gave evidence in 1881 that only 25 percent of the firm's imports had remained with Brogdens, but may have excluded those working for their subcontractors as not directly employed by the firm. Brogdens' assertion implies those who left them were doing other work but could also mean many were still in rail construction having taken work with other contractors. The fragmented nature of railway construction contracts gave the Brogdens more competition than they wanted or expected but it also gave their workers employment options.



Figure 21 Class 'C' locomotive and railway construction gang on Southland line. Photograph. photographer unknown, circa 1880s. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/4-008785, /records/22350959

<sup>260</sup>*Hawke's Bay Herald* reported in *Mount Isa Chronicle*, Volume IV, Issue 249, 12 December 1873, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MIC18731212.2.6>

<sup>261</sup>Olssen, *A History of Otago*, 88-89.





Figure 22: Railway lines constructed before 1880

Work on rail construction contracts gave ample opportunities for the imported navvies to remain as navvies. The Otago Central line started in 1877 and work continued for more than thirty years. A branch line through the difficult terrain of the Catlins region began in 1879 and construction crawled along until 1915. In Hawke's Bay progress south was very slow, and in the mid-1880s wages for construction around the country were reduced to four shillings a day.<sup>262</sup> The line continued to provide employment as it reached south eventually connecting to Palmerston North in 1891 and Masterton in 1897.<sup>263</sup> Construction on main trunk railways continued in both islands. In 1910 H. T. Armstrong, Secretary of the West Coast Worker's Union visited the South Island's Midland Railway workers and reported on the low wages being paid.<sup>264</sup> The rate was paid, Armstrong asserted, was not enough to support a man and his family. He noted the isolation and high cost of living in camp. As previously, many men were married. While some men left their families in town, others had them in the tented accommodation. There was a school for the children. Conditions had barely changed. Despite the hardships, when works were completed the workforce largely moved to other regions, while some found other employment. Some moved into track maintenance. In Australia, Rowe notes this was up to twenty percent of the former rail builders.<sup>265</sup>



Figure 23: Viaducts such as this one at Ormondville required specialist workers to complete the engineers' design. Photograph. *Hawke's Bay's Ormondville viaduct*. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/1-025507-G. [/records/23201446](https://records/23201446)

<sup>262</sup>Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, 112.

<sup>263</sup>Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, 112.

<sup>264</sup>H. T. Armstrong is incorrectly identified as H. D. Armstrong in the reference article. "Conditions at Cass", *Greymouth Evening Star*, 29 November 1910, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/GEST19101129.2.3>.

<sup>265</sup>Rowe, "The Robust Navy", 41

With so many opportunities available, many Brogdenites were subsequently employed by the Railway Department and Railway service. The way railway employee records are organised precludes easy searching and the earliest records have not been preserved. However, there is some evidence. Some were very early employees, like Alfred Silvester who is recorded as on the permanent staff in 1873 as a surfaceman. He worked at different Southland locations, before retiring to Bluff. Frederick Shaw joined the railways in 1880 at Athol as a ganger. Miles Clark was an early employee at Otahuhu; he was a platelayer and remained in the South Auckland area. John Crowson worked as a platelayer in Dunedin until his death in 1882. George Evans spent 30 years in the rail service, 15 of those based in Wanganui. He was a Forester, one of the oldest of Court Manawatu in Palmerston North when he was killed in a railway accident while working as a ganger. Samuel Olive was a permanent way ganger. He retired on superannuation but continued to work as a casual hand. William Thomas Redding was a bricklayer and employee of the railway workshops for 30 years. William Rickards was a railway ganger at Kumeu. The family tradition of sons following the father's line of work ensured many sons were also employed by railways. William Willis arrived as a 4-year-old with his parents (his father James was a Crimean War veteran) and went on to a long career in the railways.<sup>266</sup> John Hayes Annear was thirteen when he arrived in New Zealand, the son of Brogdenite couple William and Uriah Annear. He was a railway employee, moved from Picton to Wellington and finally Timaru. He did not just follow his father into railway work; at least one son was a railway employee in the lower North Island along with a nephew. The involvement with railways was not only in building and maintenance, some men became engine drivers, railway guards or team leaders. Railway engine driver was a sought-after and responsible role that paid well but required determination to move through the ranks and a modicum of further education. Thomas Rogers was an engine driver for the Foxton-Wanganui line. Leonard Keat arrived as a nineteen-year-old navy with his parents and siblings. By 1896 Leonard was a driver first class with a twenty-year record of service. Walter Randle, son of James, was a porter at Picton. Arthur Chaston worked for a time at the Matura railway station.

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<sup>266</sup>*Press*, Volume LXI, Issue 11968, 22 August 1904, Page 6,  
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19040822.2.27>



Figure 24: Labourers creating a curve in the railway line in Canterbury. Photograph. *Railway construction workers working on tracks*. Photographer unknown (*The Press*), Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/2-041244-G [/records/29946399](#)

Railway construction required workers to relocate as the work progressed. Some other industries had the same requirements, including road construction and extractive industries such as mining and sawmilling. Examining the locations when the Brogdenite men died show they scattered the length of the country, with occupations and locations ranging from gum diggers in Northland to farm labourers in Southland. It seems they were some of those likely to move to find work. Olssen was one who noted navvies were some of those inclined to follow along to maintain employment.<sup>267</sup> The search for work and better conditions would tempt them to move on. Edwin Tantrum was a career navy in New Zealand. He moved from Thames to Wellington, to Feilding and Foxton working as a ganger. He is also an example of how employment for the railway department might involve moving to different locations to fill operational requirements or for promotion. This is in line with Rowe's findings of New Zealand based navvies who moved on to New South Wales works late in the 1870s and into the early 1880s.<sup>268</sup> From there, they were targeted by contractors from further north offering land. He states the older English-born navvies left railway work as they aged, preferring urban employment or settling into the new towns along the rail-lines. This is also seen in the Brogden group where some preferred to remain in one spot. Those arriving in Hawke's Bay had enclaves at the railway townships of Waipawa

<sup>267</sup>Olssen, "Movement and Persistence," 5.

<sup>268</sup>Denis Rowe, "The Robust Navy: The Railway Construction Worker in Northern New South Wales, 1854-1894," *Labour History*, No. 39 (Nov. 1980), pp. 28-46; 32, 33.

and Waipukurau. Workers on the Waitaki-Moeraki line stayed in Herbert and those in Southland clustered in Riverton, Mataura and Gore.



Figure 25: Wingatui Viaduct spanning Mullocky Gully. Opened in 1887 it was the largest in New Zealand, and they speculated, in the southern hemisphere. All the material was manufactured in Dunedin or on site. It was 690 feet long, and 154 feet eight inches from bridge to creek bed. The main girders were raised by specially built hydraulic presses. Several speakers at the opening noted that it had taken longer than expected to reach this point (eight years since the line began in Mosgiel). The engineer, inspectors and contractor were praised for their work.<sup>269</sup> Photograph. Wingatui Viaduct under construction, on the Otago Central Railway Line [photographer unknown], circa 1888, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: APG-1190-1/2-F.. [/records/22605789](https://records/22605789)

The navy reputation for mobility was at odds with the increasingly dominant middle-class views of New Zealand as an ideal society devoid of the problems of the 'Old World'. Settlers were supposed to settle, be honest, reliable, sober, thrifty and steady. In a continuation of this thinking, historians and social histories have presented transience as undesirable, a sign of individual unreliability. Loafers and malingerers were to be tamed and put to work as work was essential for the good of society.<sup>270</sup> Swaggers had a reputation as appearing to be looking for work but without wanting to settle to it.<sup>271</sup> More attention focused on the swagging problem in the

<sup>269</sup>"The Wingatui Viaduct," *Otago Witness*, Issue 1858, 1 July 1887, Page 12, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18870701.2.35.7>

<sup>270</sup>G. D Steven, "Swaggers and society: a New Zealand experience" (B.A. (Hons) University of Otago, 1979), <http://hdl.handle.net/10523/7190>. (unnumbered pages - 40/123)

<sup>271</sup>Steven, "Swaggers and society." (41/123)

1890s, which reinforced the perceived magnitude.<sup>272</sup> A shift in the economic cycle saw a major decrease in the numbers of unemployed workers and largely resolved the problem of swaggers. An alternate view of transience, that it was a sign of determination to find work, should be considered. Men were taking responsibility for family through being prepared to move to where work is available. Or single men would move on to allow those with families to preserve their stability. Peter Santillo is one of those who moved. He was recruited by Brogdens from Devon as a 23-year-old single man, in 1871 working as a labourer. From Auckland he moved quickly to Australia, continuing to work in railway construction in New South Wales. In June 1874 he was injured in a blasting accident while removing an unexploded charge. His movements after that time are unknown. All workers prepared to move cannot be unreliable. Indeed, some prove their reliability by moving with the same employers to different locations. The Brogden group included some who had a history of working for the firm. William Carter was one who claimed to have worked for them for thirty years prior to following the contractor to New Zealand. He arrived with his wife and family including two sons also contracted to Brogdens. Once in New Zealand, he was willing to be relocated to ensure employment. Others demonstrate mobility in service of the New Zealand railways. Michael Benney worked for the railways as a guard, living in Auckland, Featherston, and Wellington to do so. Even once retired, he took on relieving work during World War One. Mobility in pursuit of employment is not a certain indicator of unreliability. Instead of unreliability, some transience by Brogdenites was due to poverty. When unable to pay the rent tenants were, of course, threatened with eviction, and forced to move on, voluntarily or not. When the economy contracted those in menial work were the most likely to struggle to provide for themselves. For some alcohol addiction compromised their financial situation, thus forced transience upon them. Mobility had many causes and reflected individual circumstances.

In a community that punished the disruptive and feared the radical, initial perceptions of Brogdens' navvies were not helped by their willingness to strike. These strikes, first at Picton and then at other locations, were much reported in the news with brief summaries repeated the length of the two islands. The potential for disputes over wages was noted before the first navvies

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<sup>272</sup>Steven, "Swaggers and society." (43/123)

arrived as it was known they were engaged at 'home' rates.<sup>273</sup> Railway labourers in Auckland struck for better wages before Brogdens' navvies arrived. Resolution of strike action at Picton was presented by the press as refining the workforce as only worthwhile workers remained.<sup>274</sup> Wellington arrivals were described as 'corrupted by loafers [or] a ruined, disappointed and unscrupulous agitator' when they attempted to negotiate for pay at the rates that prevailed.<sup>275</sup> Newspapers wrote that navvies of the *Jessie Readman* in Wellington said they had been menaced by local men, as they struck for 6s per day.<sup>276</sup> It seems Wellington union members approached the recent arrivals and asked or told them not to work for less than the going rate to maintain that rate for all workers. So, their motivation for striking may not have been the greedy stubbornness implied in the reports, instead, it may have included an element of solidarity with fellow workers. The eight-hour day was an established idea in the New Zealand employment market but not universal at that stage. *Jessie Readman's* men laid out their chief concerns as the eight hour day, disadvantages faced compared to government-assisted immigrants, and a sense they had been misled about the opportunities for improvement. Both strikers and Brogdens' agents agreed they were bound by the prevailing conditions but disagreed on what they were - eight hours at 7s or nine hours at 6s. Additionally, these strikers were informed previous ship-loads had agreed to Brogdens' interpretation of colonial rates so there could be no exception for them. Wellington's working men were supportive of the navvies' strike, meeting to reinforce their commitment to the eight hour day and promising financial support of the striking men. However, the Brogdens and their men were unable to find agreement and most men went to other employers at the standard hours. Only three or four remained to work.

Erik Olssen may have concluded the early strike action of the group meant the group included men with unionist sympathies. He suggested the later assertiveness of Dunedin's unemployed may have its foundation in Brogdens' navvies' attitudes.<sup>277</sup> In the early 1990s, New Zealand historians looked at the nineteenth-century workers and debated the existence of class

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<sup>273</sup>"Dunedin Notes", *Cromwell Argus*, Volume III, Issue 137, 25 June 1872, Page 6, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CROMARG18720625.2.17>

<sup>274</sup>"Local and General News," *Marlborough Express*, Volume VII, Issue 422, 17 August 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MEX18720817.2.12>

<sup>275</sup>*Nelson Evening Mail*, 12 July 1872; *Wellington Independent*, 16 July 1872

<sup>276</sup>*Evening Post*, Volume VIII, Issue 277, 23 December 1872, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18721223.2.6>

<sup>277</sup>Olssen, *A History of Otago*, 88-89.

consciousness as they struggled to explain the different role of unions in Australasian societies. Fairburn ignited debate, contending there was no cohesive working class in the nineteenth century or even in the early twentieth century.<sup>278</sup> One of his arguments was that labourers' characteristic mobility prevented the formation of community ties. As discussed, mobility might have many causes. John Martin attributed this mobility to unemployment and underemployment created by the structure of the New Zealand market.<sup>279</sup> Traditionally New Zealand and Australian labour markets and union history were regarded as separate.<sup>280</sup> Bennett argues that the Australian and New Zealand labour forces endured similar patterns of underemployment which then cannot be used as evidence of preventing a class consciousness.<sup>281</sup> Vere Gordon Childe argues the shared hardships of the working men's life enhanced the development of class consciousness in individuals.<sup>282</sup> While they might seem an ideal group to have utilised unions tenets, this study has not found strong links to support Olssen's theory.

In fact, the navvies demonstrated a curious combination of cohesion and individualism in the way they approached their employer. When the men from *Jessie Readman* struck for higher wages and shorter hours they jointly visited the Brogdens' office. Instead of having a spokesman presenting their united demands each man presented his own case.<sup>283</sup> They were ready to stand up for their own rights as they saw them, which could reflect a background of union involvement in England. The Brogden firm had not discriminated against union members in their recruitment, even advertising such. There must have been some men with strong views in the group. These included Richard Glubb, former army private turned Brogden labourer. In 1889, Glubb was one who represented unemployed workers taking their case to the Dunedin Mayor pleading for work.<sup>284</sup> However, none of the best-known union leaders were former Brogdenites. Railway workers formed unions in the 1880s to fight the long hours they were forced to work.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>278</sup>Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900*, 116-17.

<sup>279</sup>John E. Martin, "One Hundred Years of the Labour Market in New Zealand: Public Works, Industry and Unemployment, 1840s-1930s" (New Zealand Historical Association Conference, Auckland, 1994). Cited in Bennett, "Contamination of Arcadia?," 23.

<sup>280</sup>Bennett, "Contamination of Arcadia?," 20.

<sup>281</sup>Bennett, "Contamination of Arcadia?," 23.

<sup>282</sup>Martin, "Short One Hundred Years of the Labour Market in New Zealand: Public Works, Industry and Unemployment, 1840s-1930s." Cited in Bennett, "Contamination of Arcadia?," 23.

<sup>283</sup>"Strike amongst Brogden's Navvies." *New Zealand Mail*, Issue 99, 28 December 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZMAIL18721228.2.11>.

<sup>284</sup>*Evening Star*, Issue 7879, 11 April 1889, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD18890411.2.19>

<sup>285</sup>H Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present* (Wellington: Read Education, 1973), 7.



The resultant Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, started in Auckland in 1886 and modelled after the English union of the same name, spread around the country and became a large and powerful union. Its leaders seem to have come from the Traffic Department, rather than the Maintenance Department which employed many of the former navvies.<sup>286</sup> The union faced opposition from the Railway Commissioners which included making new recruits sign a rejection of future union membership.<sup>287</sup> Material on the railway union history is lacking, and a serious study is probably overdue. Some of the attitudes exhibited towards navvies and those working in Public Works reveal the extent of community fears about the perceived radical potential of both itinerant and settled labourers.

As in Britain, railway building could offer high wages, but the benefits came with some personal risk. A significant finding is that the Railway Department became the employer of many long-serving former Brogden recruits and their sons. The number of Brogdenites continuing with rail construction work is unknown; however, opportunities existed in both North and South Islands well into the twentieth century. In general, those who constructed the railways made a substantial contribution which has received little acknowledgement in the written record. Both construction and railway operations encouraged mobility in the workforce. Fairburn argued this mobility hindered developing class identity. Instead, mobility reflects the responsibility and loyalty of workers who moved to maintain or secure work. Industrial action like strikes for better wages in line with prevailing conditions can indicate solidarity with other workers, or merely reflect the frustration of dealing with employers intent on maximising profits. Brogdens' navvies displayed some of the attitudes which epitomise navvies generally - a fierce independence and a purely situational unity. This expression of navy culture was more significant than their mobility in preventing the class consciousness necessary for union formation by railway construction workers at an early stage in New Zealand history.

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<sup>286</sup>Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present*, 8.

<sup>287</sup>Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present*, 17.

## Chapter Eight: To Settle and Stay

Rollo Arnold was optimistic about the opportunities provided by migration. Henry Rance was a navy who achieved a degree of success by Arnold's standards. Rance's biography in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* for Otago and Southland recorded an 1854 birth in Middlesex and a rural background.<sup>288</sup> It ignored the family difficulties that saw his younger brothers in the workhouse in 1871. After arrival at Port Chalmers on the *Lutterworth*, he was one of those put to work at Moeraki. It is not clear how long he worked in railway construction, but he spent two years at Hampden before moving to Waimatuku. In 1885 he made his first land purchase and in 1886, he married. He eventually owned 220 acres of freehold land with an additional 100 acres under 'perpetual lease'. He cleared 200 acres of native bush to create farmland. He was involved in his community's dairy factory establishment and on the school committee. However, most of those who settled were less able to take advantage of opportunities for social advancement with many remaining in the labouring class.

At least 527 men, 227 women and 285 children from 1754 identified settled in New Zealand.<sup>289</sup> As seen in Figure 26, almost all the ships (excluding those without full passenger manifests, *Jessie Readman*, *Crusader* and *Charlotte Gladstone*) had at least 50 percent of the Brogden imports settle or stay until 1890. Overall, at least sixty-two percent of Brogdenites settled or stayed a significant time in New Zealand.

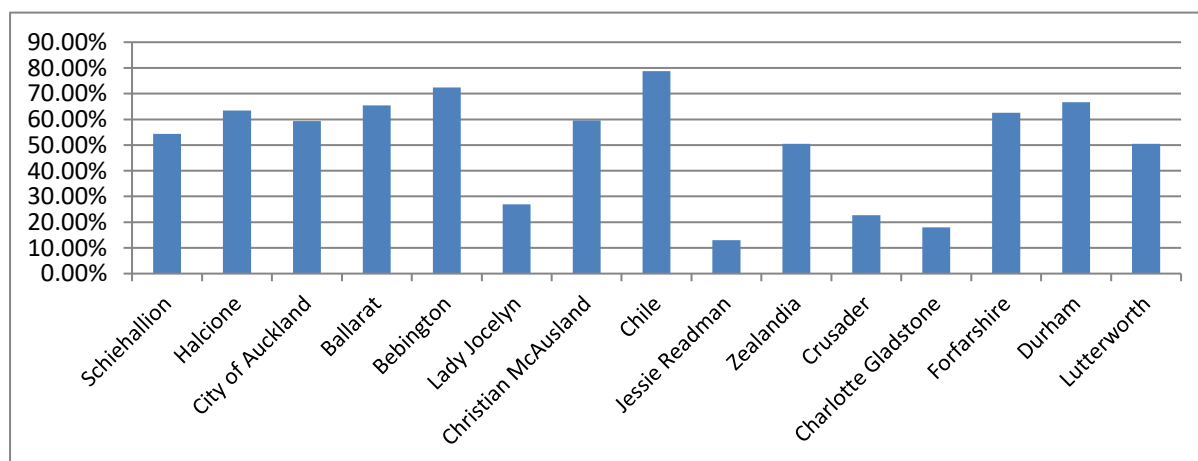


Figure 26: Percentages for Brogden migrants settled by ship. Calculated from passenger lists. Archives New Zealand

<sup>288</sup>*Cyclopedia of New Zealand (Otago and Southland)*, (Christchurch: The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, 1905), 928.

<sup>289</sup>Those that died on the voyages were counted amongst those who stayed. A further 62 men, 16 women and 27 children settling in Australia

Tom Brooking, Dick Martin, David Thomson and Hamish James summarised some of the findings of the Caversham Project in "The Ties that Bind: Persistence in the New World Industrial Suburb 1902-22." They concluded that life stage affected persistence, and that marriage was a strong indicator of the likelihood a man would stay in one locality.<sup>290</sup> It is not surprising to find that over seventy-one percent of women settled. Emma Summers was one of them. Emma was on the *Ballarat* passenger list with her husband George and two children, Annie aged two, and infant Jane S. They had come from Lancashire where George had worked as a labourer. Once in New Zealand, the family began using the surname Barlow most of the time. This was George's family surname in England, but he had not used it consistently. He had married Emma Sharrow in October 1866 as George S Barlow. They appeared in the 1871 census with the surname Summers while their children's births were registered as Barlow. Once in New Zealand, George began working on the Auckland rail line. They had a daughter Elizabeth born in 1876, followed by Joseph in 1878, Emma in 1880 and twins William and Esil in 1882. They gave all their children Summers as a second name. George continued to work as a labourer, and by 1880 they had a freehold house on a one-acre section at Tuakau, south of Auckland. Eldest daughter Annie was admitted to Tuakau School in 1881 using the Summers surname, while on the electoral rolls George continued to be listed as Barlow, George Summers. In 1882, George was listed as freehold owner of twenty-five acres at Manukau. Emma and George moved to Otahuhu, and later settled at Kaihu. George was a farmer, as was son William, while Joseph was a gum-digger. Emma died at their daughter's home in Grey Lynn in 1911, aged sixty-seven. She was buried in the Wesleyan section of the Waikumete cemetery. The mother of eight and grandmother of thirteen was remembered with a brief notice in the *New Zealand Herald*.<sup>291</sup> This kind of quiet life of small improvement in status was typical of these women and the families they raised.

Arnold was optimistic about the opportunities that awaited the navvies and their families.<sup>292</sup> A chapter in *The Farthest Promised Land* entitled "The Transformation of the Immigrant" argues the positive effects to those who migrated, with good wages, good food and

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<sup>290</sup>Tom Brooking et al., "The Ties That Bind: Persistence in a New World Industrial Suburb, 1902-22," research-article, *Social History* 24, no. 1 (1999): 55-73.

<sup>291</sup>*New Zealand Herald*, Volume XLVIII, Issue 14795, 26 September 1911, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19110926.2.4>.

<sup>292</sup>Arnold, "Brogden's Navvies," 112.

good working conditions the immediate rewards.<sup>293</sup> This feeling that migration led to improved circumstances is seen in an 1874 comment about one of Brogdens' men that 'No doubt his position in the colony was a decided improvement on that which he occupied at home.'<sup>294</sup> This belief that being in New Zealand was an improvement seemed to apply regardless of the situation, as this man was applying for bankruptcy. Arnold's optimism was founded on the positive reports initially sent back to England by those successfully employed, describing ample food, improved health and state of mind, a degree of freedom, and informality in relationships with employers. Arnold depicted the opportunities for gradually improving their financial assets through investment in income-producing property in both rural and urban settings. The ultimate rewards for migration that Arnold foresaw had two causes. First, through ambition inspired by the successful example of other former labourers and second, through the education of their children enhancing prospects.

Belich implies that those working in what he terms the 'progress industries' were unable to move out of its 'crews' and were detached from the general working class.<sup>295</sup> It is unclear what the fundamental difference might have been that prevented them from transitioning. His argument overlooks that navy gangs were made up of both specialist navvies - the experienced men - and general labourers. These general labourers might, if they persisted, work themselves into the position of navy with the team. Navvies were made, not born. Additionally, when rail work was not available the men, navvies and labourers, had to seek work in other areas. They might join another type of work gang, on the wharf, in the bush, on the land, or they might shift into town and work as general labour. Leivers noted that even career navvies included some who married, raised families and formed a community with other railway workers as well as the perennial outsiders.<sup>296</sup> He found in Britain's Peak District the majority was made up of single men moving from one contract to another.<sup>297</sup> In New Zealand, the completion of major rail-building in 1909 saw many seeking land through a ballot which favoured the married man.<sup>298</sup> Some went into other labouring gangs in road-making or sawmilling. Others moved into cities to

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<sup>293</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 243.

<sup>294</sup>*Evening Post*, Volume X, Issue 55, 23 April 1874, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18740423.2.6>

<sup>295</sup>Belich, *Making Peoples*, 428-36.

<sup>296</sup>Leivers, "Modern Ishmaels?," 150-51.

<sup>297</sup>Leivers, "Modern Ishmaels?," 153.

<sup>298</sup>Gibbons, "Some New Zealand Navvies," 70.

find work. Brooke also emphasised the close connections of railway labourers with other labourers. In Britain, there was no special distinction between these occupations. Labourers moved from one season in the field to another on the railway line. In New Zealand labourers worked at what was available. Some would specialise as they became more experienced. Others moved frequently in search of better pay, better conditions, more amiable workmates or better employers on the railways or whichever field would reward their labour.

How was social success measured for settlers? Settlers were supposed to achieve land ownership and a degree of social advancement for themselves and their children. Arnold's view reflected the common belief that with time in New Zealand's egalitarian society, even labourers would experience the benefits of land ownership and upward mobility.<sup>299</sup> There was a strong conviction that farm ownership was the foundation leading towards security and self-sufficiency. These improvements would not be found in urban settings. The supposed rewards were both personal and for wider society. These were in part because to run a farm required a constant presence, with Toynbee noting land demanded attention to be profitable.<sup>300</sup> Small-holders would quickly find consistent care was required just to be productive. This attention and presence required settlers to remain in proximity to their land and discouraged participation in social unrest in urban environments. Thus, it was believed land ownership would discourage radical political views as those with a monetary stake in the economy had more to lose in unsettled times. Landownership aided social cohesion. Arnold found an example that described settler achievements after five years in the colony as a little freehold land with a productive garden, earning good wages and money in the bank, with the settler family enjoying life and happy in their new land.<sup>301</sup> The successful settler was one who owned enough land to support himself and his family and took part in community organisations while behaving in ways that conformed to expectations and raised the next generation to aspire to the same goals.

As a sign of this success in settling, Arnold found that at Picton three men from *Schiehallion* and two from *Bebington* were included on the Freeholders list.<sup>302</sup> Further research has found thirteen of the ninety-five *Bebington* men listed as landowners in 1882 and one

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<sup>299</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 244, 57-59.

<sup>300</sup>Claire Toynbee, "Class and Mobility in Nineteenth Century Wellington Province: an Exploratory Study of Immigrants Arriving 1840-1880" (Master of Arts Victoria University 1979), 139.

<sup>301</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 258.

<sup>302</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 14.

woman. Eight men, just eight percent of the ninety-seven men on the *Schiehallion*, were freeholders by 1882. Brooking et al. wrote, 'We know from analysis of the 1882 Freeholder's list...that about half of adult New Zealand men and seven percent of adult New Zealand women owned property in 1882.'<sup>303</sup> As a whole, at least ten percent of Brogdens' navvies owned land by 1882 or about twenty-one percent of those men who settled. This percentage seems low compared to the average found by Brooking et al and probably accurately reflects their economic position in society. As to motivation, in late 1872 British newspapers reported that those constructing New Zealand's railways would be given land for farms on easy terms, which may have encouraged some looking to improve their position through migration.<sup>304</sup> Similarly, in Australia, Rowe stated the most of the northern New South Wales navvies in the 1880s had mainstream aspirations and were attracted to the works by both the wages and the possibilities for property ownership.<sup>305</sup> Landlessness did not necessarily mean Brogdens' navvies did not desire land ownership.

Brogdens' navvies first had to overcome the obstacle of debt. Generally, labourers arrived in New Zealand without capital so could not immediately set themselves up as landowners. Instead, they sold their labour while trying to maintain themselves and their families. Arnold listed the ways immigrants had to acquire the capital needed to purchase land: employment on farms, as labourers in townships including utilising the labour of the family, using trade skills, and combining subsistence farming with paid work. Most farm-workers who purchased land did so after contributing their labour to building the local infrastructure in addition to farm work.<sup>306</sup> Relatively few could purchase significant amounts of land. Martin established that in the 1880s nearly ninety percent of land was held by about eight percent of land-holders. This situation continued over time with most landowners in possession of small holdings.<sup>307</sup> Far from being a certain route to landownership, most of New Zealand's agricultural immigrants were likely to remain landless. Compared with other farm labourer immigrants, those in the Brogden group had the additional disadvantage of arriving with sizable debts to their employer. C. R. Carter

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<sup>303</sup>Brooking et al., "The Ties That Bind: Persistence in a New World Industrial Suburb, 1902-22," 70.

<sup>304</sup>Witney Express and Oxfordshire and Midland Counties Herald, 31 October 1872.

<sup>305</sup>Rowe, "The Robust Navy," 39.

<sup>306</sup>Toynbee, "Class and Mobility," 100.

<sup>307</sup>Martin, *The forgotten worker: the rural wage earner in nineteenth-century New Zealand*, 11.

noted that the group arrived with an average debt of £21 per adult.<sup>308</sup> His average using a per-adult formula skews the figure down. A more realistic average calculated from the records found at the National Library and in newspapers was over £27 per navy. This put them at a considerable disadvantage to their fellow travellers, the assisted immigrant. Despite good wages, repaying their debt meant it would take them longer to make progress towards landownership and more inclined to evade their financial obligations.

The opportunities for land ownership varied at the different arrival locations. Those in the major centres of Wellington and Auckland seem less likely to be landowners, with approximately six percent and seven to ten percent respectively of navvies recorded on the 1882 index ten years after their arrival. Toynbee found that only thirty-one percent of Wellington's working men owned a modest property, perhaps a house or cottage, between 1840 & 1880.<sup>309</sup> Charles Mallows arrived in Wellington with his wife and four young children having incurred a debt of £64.<sup>310</sup> He had found work earning £2 per week, but his expenses ensured that he was unable to repay Brogdens all the money owed, resulting in bankruptcy in April 1874. Mallows stayed in Wellington working as a carter. Mallows and others like him remained in an urban-based landless majority. Conversely, Southland's deferred payment policies encouraged early land-holding. Deferred payment schemes tempted those with little capital to invest their labour in the hope of enough profit to make future payments. This was no guaranteed route to long-term land ownership, as many were declared bankrupt within a few years. Twenty-five of the 115 known navvies arriving in Southland appeared on the 1882 index, so even this scheme ultimately proved unsuccessful for this cohort. Dunedin and Oamaru also had ten percent of navvies as land-owners in 1882, while at Napier a comparatively large twenty-two percent had that status. This difference may have been an effect of Napier being a smaller centre that did not get many immigrants. They treated those who arrived as a valuable addition to the community, increasing the likelihood of them staying.<sup>311</sup> In addition, those who settled on the east coast avoided some of the criticism directed at the group in other areas. Gisborne's *Herald* was quoted in the *Observer*

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<sup>308</sup>"Letters from the Agent General 1873," 30.

<sup>309</sup>Toynbee, "Class and Mobility," 123.

<sup>310</sup>*New Zealand Herald*, Volume XI, Issue 3895, 7 May 1874, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18740507.2.13>

<sup>311</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 241.

reporting, 'Some of New Zealand's best and most industrious colonists are men who were introduced with the pick and shovel brigade on the Brogden contracts'<sup>312</sup>

Some stayed in towns and cities, working as labourers or in trades. Matthias Clatworthy was a Wellington tradesman, a shipbuilder. He plied his trade in a partnership during the 1870s and 1880s and was on the committee of the Wellington Shipwrights' Society. He had married in early 1872 and wife Margaret delivered a still-born child during the passage on the *Bebington*. They had another seven children, but only two daughters survived infancy. Accidents in Clatworthy's line of work were to be expected. Clatworthy lost a finger to a crush injury in 1892, and then in 1911, he was hit by crane's load resulting in broken ribs and a 'slightly splintered' pelvis.<sup>313</sup> His death two years later, when a jack slipped or failed and he was crushed by the punt he was working on, led to a claim under the "Workers Compensation Act 1908". His probated estate was small, estimated at less than £70 in value, but Margaret Clatworthy successfully claimed £500 and funeral expenses. The group included other tradesmen. By 1911 men worked not only as carpenters, builders, masons, blacksmiths and brick-makers and layers, but a more diverse assortment including printer, painter, makers of shoes, of combs, of umbrellas, as well as millers, coopers, wheelwrights and a motor expert and a billiard marker. Clatworthy demonstrates the typically small scale success of the urban Brogdenites.

Community participation is an indication of successful settlement. As they settled, Brogdens' navvies and their families contributed to the community by quickly becoming part of organisations that benefitted the working man. The Order of Good Templars in Picton included Samuel Rabone as one of its officers in July 1873.<sup>314</sup> Samuel was one of the older men in the group, listed as forty years, but actually forty-four. He had moved to Staffordshire from his birthplace, and in 1871 was a boot contractor with three children at home. In Picton he worked as a labourer, in 1879 tendering for a road-making contract.<sup>315</sup> His son, also Samuel, was one of

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<sup>312</sup>"What the Papers Say", *Observer*, Volume XXVI, Issue 25, 10 March 1906, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TO19060310.2.11>

<sup>313</sup>*Auckland Star*, Volume XLII, Issue 108, 8 May 1911, Page 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS19110508.2.19>.

<sup>314</sup>*Marlborough Express*, Volume VIII, Issue 520, 23 July 1873, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MEX18730723.2.4>

<sup>315</sup>*Marlborough Express*, Volume XIV, Issue 1159, 9 August 1879, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MEX18790809.2.13>



the residents attempting to re-form the Picton fire brigade in 1882.<sup>316</sup> Rabone and wife Margaret only had three children but became grandparents of twenty-eight new members of the community. Michael Benney, a former sailor in the Royal Navy, was a member of the Masonic Lodge from 1886.<sup>317</sup> He served as Grand Steward and Grand Warden. He held the office of secretary of the Retired Railway Servants' Association and relieved for the Railway Department during World War One after retirement. Other members of the group were essential parts of local churches, school committees, and other friendly and fraternal societies. Job Packer was a member of his local road board, the local Domain board, an Ormondville peace demonstration committee in 1900, served as chairman of the Ormondville Town Board and the pavilion committee, as well as a long-time member and Past-Grand of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.<sup>318</sup>

Those interested in maintaining social order would have been pleased to see Brogdenites also participated in the church communities. They were not drawn from any one church tradition; Anglicans, Presbyterian, Methodists, Baptists, Brethren, as well as Roman Catholics were all represented. A few become lay-preachers and pastors, one a missionary. Benjamin Hutson became a Presbyterian minister in June 1884. When he died, he was the oldest New Zealand trained Presbyterian minister ordained and licensed to preach. Considerable difficulties prevent identifying numbers of religious adherents in the wide-spread group. They were often introduced into areas without significant populations so lacked nearby religious establishments until later periods. Evidence of religious affiliation has mostly been taken from burial records. These are not regarded as a particularly reliable form of evidence but were used in the absence of any other indication of belief. The lack of religious cohesion may have affected the ability of the group (already fragmented by distance) to remain together as traditional frictions ran deep.

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<sup>316</sup>"Local and General News," *Marlborough Express*, Volume XVII, Issue 228, 28 September 1882, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MEX18820928.2.9>.

<sup>317</sup>*England, United Grand Lodge of England Freemason Membership Registers, 1751-1921* [database on-line]. Ancestry.com.

<sup>318</sup>"Ormondville Road Board," *Bush Advocate*, Volume I, Issue 33, 21 July 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BA18880721.2.9.3>; "Bush News", *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Volume XXXV, Issue 11563, 16 June 1900, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH19000616.2.48>; "Ormondville", *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Volume XXXIX, Issue 12881, 6 October 1904, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH19041006.2.30>; Untitled, *Bush Advocate*, Volume XVI, Issue 563, 11 November 1904, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BA19041111.2.4>; "News of the Day," *Bush Advocate*, Volume IV, Issue 262, 14 January 1890, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BA18900114.2.5>

Women's work was a critical element of family income, particularly at this level of society.<sup>319</sup> One wife was promised a home in which she could accommodate lodgers, thus supplementing the family income in a way that kept her in the home and available to care for the children. She instead took in washing when she was strong enough which only contributed a few shillings.<sup>320</sup> Her lack of strength made her a financial liability to her husband, underlining the importance of the family unit in earning sufficient income for their own support. All women worked, some in the public sphere for wages or payment, and all in the private sphere of the home where the wife and children were the workers. A few of the Brogden wives left evidence of work outside of the home. Rose Hannah Williams was one who knew the value of a dependable income. In 1851 she was living, with her parents and siblings, in the Church Stretton Union Workhouse in Shropshire. Ten years later she married John Williams at Tipton, Staffordshire. In 1871 she was living in Birmingham with two daughters and a son on the way. John was living away from home. Rose Hannah was a fried fish trader and housed a female lodger with a child. In 1872 they embarked on the *Zealandia* for a different life. John worked as a quarryman. By 1880 she was the mother of eight and managed the Galway Arms Hotel which was licensed to John. The hotel was in poor repair and seems to have attracted a clientele that could not always afford to pay for the bed they required. The Williams lost the licence and rebranded as the Hawthorndale Working Men's Club, selling alcohol illegally. In 1883 John filed for bankruptcy. In court in 1884, he stated Rose Hannah had rental properties and that he paid to board with her, and sometimes worked for her. They had separated, but he denied it was to avoid paying his debts. They farmed in a small way which allowed John to call himself a farmer when he died in 1907. Rose Hannah married a widowed former shipmate later that year. She died 12 years later and was buried with first husband John and second husband William. Her will when probated revealed she owned more than 10 acres of land on the edge of Invercargill, valued at £1,673. She spent for life providing for her family and could be considered a moderately successful business woman.

About ninety percent remained landless. Of the landowners in 1882, twice as many owned land in towns as owned rural land. Many property owners were labourers at that point.

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<sup>319</sup>Reay, *Microhistories*, 30.

<sup>320</sup>"Supreme Court. In Bankruptcy", *Evening Post*, Volume X, Issue 25, 18 March 1874, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18740318.2.9>

Many of those who settled did so in tiny railway communities. Otago's Hampden and Herbert, Hawke's Bay's Waipawa and Waipukurau along with a smattering of small Manawatu hamlets became the homes of settled navvies. Brogdenites were in the part of the population least likely to own land. When they did, they often found the land incompatible with profitable, or even subsistence, farming. They were often those who had to clear dense forest to create the pasture to fulfil their farming dream of being what Arnold described as yeoman-farmers.<sup>321</sup> In the Hawke's Bay many railway workers on the Te Aute line were active in the Woodville Small Farms Association.<sup>322</sup> They were also members of the Waipawa Free Methodist Church. Job Packer was one settler who took advantage of land offered to the Waipukurau Small Farm Association. He settled in Ormondville.<sup>323</sup> Packer and others applied for larger holdings when they found their poor-quality land was uneconomic at the size granted.<sup>324</sup>

In examining the figures of those who settled and those who did not, the ships with the highest percentage of unaccompanied men strongly related to the least persistent in most cases. The *Lady Jocelyn* carried a group of fifty-two men, without any wives or children. They were overwhelmingly young men, with an average age of twenty-three. Eighteen were twenty or under and only four over thirty. The oldest man was reportedly thirty-four and the youngest was eighteen. Daley found single men, like these, were in the less persistent resident group and this proves true for the men of this ship.<sup>325</sup> Thirty-eight of the men signed on as navvies and it may be that a good portion had some experience in this line of work. More than half cannot be located in Britain's 1871 census which might indicate they were living in railway camps. Seven signed up as labourers and two farm labourers in 1872. The skilled men were two carpenters, an engineer (the sole Irishman on-board), one drainage specialist and a platelayer. For those found, the inconsistencies between 1871 and 1872 occupations were marked. A carpenter and the platelayer gave consistent occupations. A couple of navvies appear as labourers in the census while two were porters and another two unemployed. One farm labourer was an excavator, and

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<sup>321</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 260.

<sup>322</sup>Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, 108.

<sup>323</sup>Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, 108.

<sup>324</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 340.

<sup>325</sup>Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), 24.

one navy bricklayer and another railway servant. Only four men were found to be agricultural labourers in 1871 and seven labourers.

Their arrival in Southland was uneventful with barely a mention in the local press. The group had landed in Lyttleton and were immediately sent on to Bluff as the need was greater there than Dunedin, their original destination.<sup>326</sup> They were then joined by the men with families from the *Zealandia* and set to work on the Mataura line. They were based in a tented camp at Oteramika, west of Invercargill. Despite the navy reputation, the influx of men into Southland had little impact on the work-load of the district's courts. Those named in the newspapers were seldom repeating offenders and included very few identifiable as from the *Lady Jocelyn*. A number of scenarios could account for this. First, that the men were not problem drinkers. However, it is unlikely that the group did not contain at least a few men that created trouble when the opportunity arose. Second, the men were isolated from the local population in their camp, thus fewer incidents were observed. Third, the camp's residents took care of their own troubles without involving the police. Only George (Bandy) Cheal and Robert Bird are known to have had legal trouble. In 1885 Cheal was charged with disorderly conduct and then in 1888 for damaging property when he was described as an old offender. Robert Bird deserted his wife and family and moved to Australia. Despite popular perception and as Brooke suggests, there is little evidence to suggest the group created much public trouble.<sup>327</sup>

Of the fifty-two men, thirteen settled in New Zealand, spreading from Southland where three remained to Dunedin, Canterbury and into the North Island with one becoming a gum digger in Northland. Of those who settled nine men married, one had a long-term defacto marriage, and only three never married. Most settled in one location with little subsequent movement, but one man went to Wellington, then Foxton, Feilding and finally Greytown. These single men seem to have followed work and opportunity and were less likely to stay as they did not have the same responsibilities or need for stability. Little conclusive information was found for some. Alfred Potter, a bricklayer's labourer in 1871, signed on as a navy. Once in Southland, he appeared once in the newspaper in 1880 when he let his horse wander. He was not listed in the electoral rolls and no suitable New Zealand death was registered, so he disappeared from the record. Thomas Jardine was found in electoral rolls up to 1890 but then vanishes.

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<sup>326</sup>*Otago Witness*, Issue 1095, 23 November 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18721123.2.53>

<sup>327</sup>Brooke, "The Lawless Navy: A Study of the Crime Associated with Railway Building," 159.

Thirteen men appear to have moved on to places unknown, leaving no sign of their residence in New Zealand. At least one, Abel Bellchamber, was probably a 'real' navy, with his father working as a platelayer. Some of these could have stayed using a different name. Another seven, including Bird, went to Australia and settled; three to New South Wales, two each in Victoria and Tasmania, and one in South Australia. One man took to the oceans and died at Martinique. Nine men have common names and have proven impossible to distinguish from namesakes. The men on the *Lady Jocelyn* confirm the theory that single men were less likely to settle.

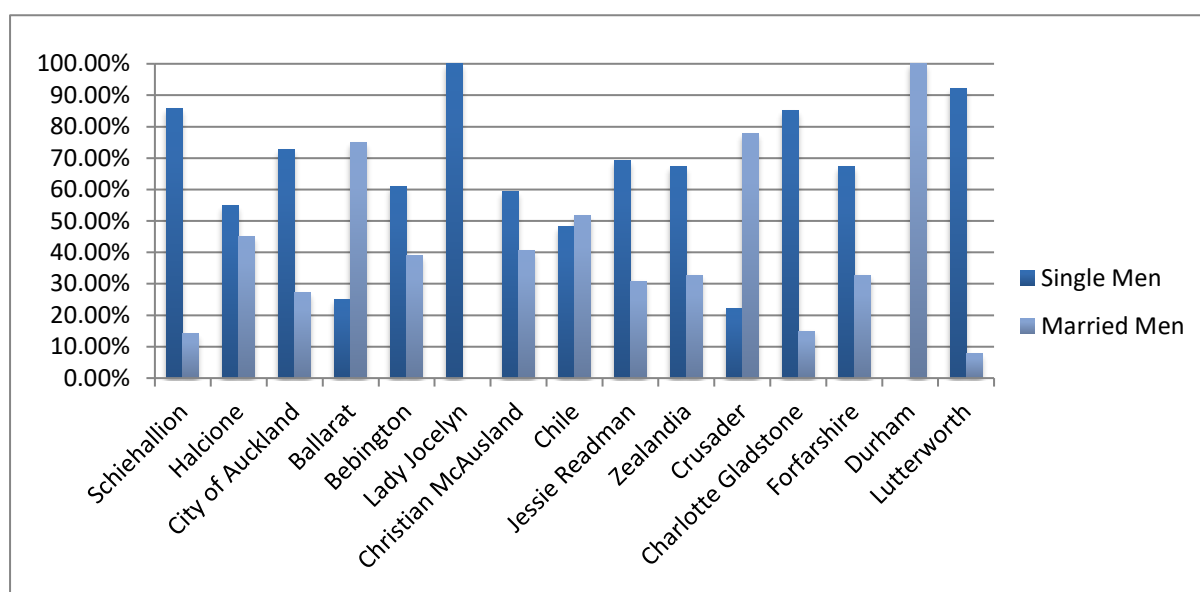


Figure 27: Percentages of single to married men by ship Calculated from passenger lists. Archives New Zealand

*Lutterworth* carried 103 people, with eighty per cent unaccompanied men. Of these only fifty per cent of all passengers remained in New Zealand and it had the second-highest percentage of people unable to be located in New Zealand or elsewhere, behind the *Lady Jocelyn* at twenty-six per cent. The situation was similar in the case of the *Schiehallion* where sixty per cent were single men or travelling without families. Some of these men had family travel on the *Bebington* to join them which may have influenced the percentage that settled. By determining the percentage of unaccompanied men, we can see *Charlotte Gladstone* (one of the ships without a Brogden passenger list) at sixty per cent had a reasonably high percentage implying there should be a correspondingly high degree of those unable to be found in the colony. Another ship with significant numbers of Brogdens' people and no passenger list, the *Jessie Readman*, had just over forty percent, indicating we should expect more to have settled.

The *Chile*, which arrived at Napier, is the anomaly in the ships. With forty-six percent of the men travelling solo, it should have had less persistence in settler numbers, but sixty-nine

percent of her passengers settled and less than four percent went to Australia or elsewhere. The destination, Napier, influenced the outcome, with a favourable reception in the small region and good land-ownership potential. *Ballarat* had a small contingent onboard made up of six families of twelve adults, eleven children and three infants. Only one person is unaccounted for, with sixty-five per cent staying and thirty per cent heading to Australia. Bluff and Picton were the destinations with both the most and least persistence. The two least persistent ships were *Lady Jocelyn*, going to Bluff, and *Schiehallion* whose group went to Picton. The *Bebington* had passengers for both destinations and the greatest persistence. *Lady Jocelyn* and *Schiehallion* had large numbers of single men, while the *Bebington* had a high proportion of families. Persistence is clearly a complex issue of many intersecting influences. The relatively small sample size and missing data reduce the ability to make generalisations.

A key cultural difference between the navy group and the general population was the prevalence of marriage breakdown and subsequent informal marriages. Divorce was financially unattainable therefore legal re-marriage unavailable. Some entered bigamous marriages and many had de-facto relationships. It is unlikely these were publicly acknowledged as such; instead a pretence of legitimacy was maintained. The 'wife' would take the 'husband's' name and become a couple or family. This was probably the fate of an unknown number of Brogden immigrant wives. Jessie, the wife of Henry Cheriton, is one who seemingly vanished but was likely 'married' to another man.<sup>328</sup> Henry was arrested on bigamy charges in 1881 when his first wife was said to be living in Dunedin. Henry had married legally, but bigamously, for a second time in 1879. He avoided conviction as no witnesses to the first marriage were in New Zealand.<sup>329</sup> Another example is Joseph Attiwell. He deserted his family in Dunedin in 1875. His children were sent into the Industrial School system, allegedly found in a brothel. Joseph died in 1877 aged forty. His wife Elizabeth spent much of the next two years in and out of jail, on drunkenness and vagrancy charges. She then seems to have moved in with shipmate John Barnes. They were living together when Elizabeth's daughter Louisa Attiwell accused Barnes of fathering her illegitimate child. This inclination to informal and bigamous marriage pre-dated arrival in New Zealand. Henry Applegate signed on with Brogdens and left his wife and daughter Charlotte behind. He

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<sup>328</sup>Jessie Cheriton's death was never registered.

<sup>329</sup>"Interprovincial", *Evening Star*, Issue 5682, 26 May 1881, Page 2, <https://paperspast.nadlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD18810526.2.16>

married bigamously in London in late 1872 to Grace Wilson and shipped on the *Christian McAusland* to Dunedin. Grace also left family behind, as she had previously married in 1852 and had three children who did not accompany her to New Zealand.

Even those in (presumably hidden) de-facto marriages could be accepted as respectable members of the community. Emma Harrison married William Henry Paul in 1868 and arrived in Otago as a young wife. The couple with no children travelled on the *Christian McAusland*, landing in late 1872. William started work for Brogdens at Green Island when in January 1873 he died in an accident. Emma was left alone in early widowhood. She entered into a defacto relationship with labourer George Stewart. They were some of the earliest settlers in the Kakanui settlement in North Otago. Emma was only in her early forties when she died at Kakanui, a respected and longstanding member of the community, described as 'a character,' valued for her happy disposition and kind nature.<sup>330</sup> Her death notice hints at her previous union, listing her as 'Emma Paul, the beloved wife of George Stewart.'<sup>331</sup> Edward and Susan Hopgood are another example. She was his second wife and they arrived in New Zealand with Charles, a son from the first marriage. They had five children born in New Zealand. By 1885 Edward had left the family home in Colac, Southland. Susan was left with the six children. Birth registrations show Susan had another child in 1887 named Richard Newton Hopgood. Then she married Richard Newton in 1890. This cannot have been hidden from the community as they lived in a tiny town where Susan had taken over the hotel business from Edward when he left. She bought a store and opened it as a grocer. She also owned the Post Office building. Susan had another son and daughter with Newton. She died in the midst of her family in Christchurch. All children from both marriages were included in her will. First husband Edward lived on the West Coast and appears to have died alone.

The existing historiography would suggest Brogdens' Navvies were not the settling type. So, it is significant that statistics show a minimum of sixty-two percent of those arriving with the Brogden scheme settled in New Zealand. Couples were more likely to stay than single men. This evidence supports current theories about the persistence of women, and the lack of persistence of

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<sup>330</sup> *Oamaru Mail*, Volume XVIII, Issue 5697, 27 July 1893, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OAM18930727.2.13>.

<sup>331</sup> *Oamaru Mail*, Volume XVIII, Issue 5694, 24 July 1893, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OAM18930724.2.12>.

single men. It was generally assumed immigration was beneficial to the individual, and Arnold's optimism reflected this. Landownership was a sign of successful settlement and settlers, but in the first ten years of their time in New Zealand, relatively few Brogdenites achieved freehold. They generally aspired to own land but debt for their passage inhibited their ability to save in the first years. Those who arrived on the *Chile* into Hawke's Bay were the most successful in getting onto the land while other locations show more urban than rural purchases. This study finds that, contrary to Arnold's supposition, the majority did not return to agricultural occupations. A more complex picture emerges in which some used prior skills to achieve colonial success in towns and cities, while others followed the expected path of the small farmer. Most who settled were active in their communities with many taking part in fraternal organisations and churches. Informal marriages were often found in the group but did not impede community acceptance. However, the group largely remained in the lower segment of society where many remained landless, and many remained labourers.



## Chapter Nine: Socially mobile?

The hope of improvement has been considered a primary motivation for migration. Historians have tended to see a pattern of near universal upward mobility with settlers becoming increasingly respectable and ultimately achieving land ownership. Rollo Arnold reflected this position in his analysis of the immigrants of the 1870s. This chapter explores whether Brogdens' navvies were able to improve their circumstances through migration. It looks at some different experiences and opportunities before examining the extent of upward mobility. Finally, it asks what factors affected their social mobility.

Some of those who migrated to New Zealand did not improve their circumstances. This must include those who died on the voyages. In addition to the deaths of many infants, six wives died before they reached their destination. Musedeah Bond aged twenty-two died of 'ruptured ovaries' and Mary Bennett was twenty-one when she died following the stillbirth of her son.<sup>332</sup> Only two are known to have left as wives and arrived as widows. One was Elizabeth Randall on the *Forfarshire* with her children, following out her husband who had shipped on the *Schiehallion*. James, working in Picton as a subcontractor for Brogdens, drowned before her arrival. Workmates created a subscription list for the unfortunate family about to arrive to find they were without the breadwinner. Newspapers described Brogdens' contribution as handsome, but James had died indebted to them twice over, first for £19 7s 6d for his passage and then a further £70 9s 6d for his wife and family.<sup>333</sup> However, government insurance should have covered his death and those of the other workers.<sup>334</sup> Elizabeth disappears from public records but her sons remained in New Zealand, so it is likely she stayed on. Other wives died within a few years of arrival, the victims of childbirth's complications. Some men died engaged in the dangerous earth-moving operations of railway construction, with some deaths related to the inexperience of the men. Sub-contractor and Brogdenite, John Fell left the site under the control of his less experienced second-in-command, and a man was not warned in time when earth fell

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<sup>332</sup>Register of Deaths of Passengers at Sea, 1854-1890, The National Archives via Findmypast.com.au, viewed 1 Nov 2019.

<sup>333</sup> John Brogden and Sons: Record of payment of labourers' promissory notes, National Library of New Zealand, MSI-Papers-1481

<sup>334</sup>"Petition of Messrs Brogden 1881," 53.

following a blast.<sup>335</sup> Other deaths were less predictable. John Oliver, a Cornish labourer, left his wife back in England probably intending to return. He was sent on to Picton, where he worked as a sub-contractor. His death in March 1873 from natural causes left his wife Ann with three small children to raise alone. Fortunately, the percentage affected by these kinds of events was fairly small.

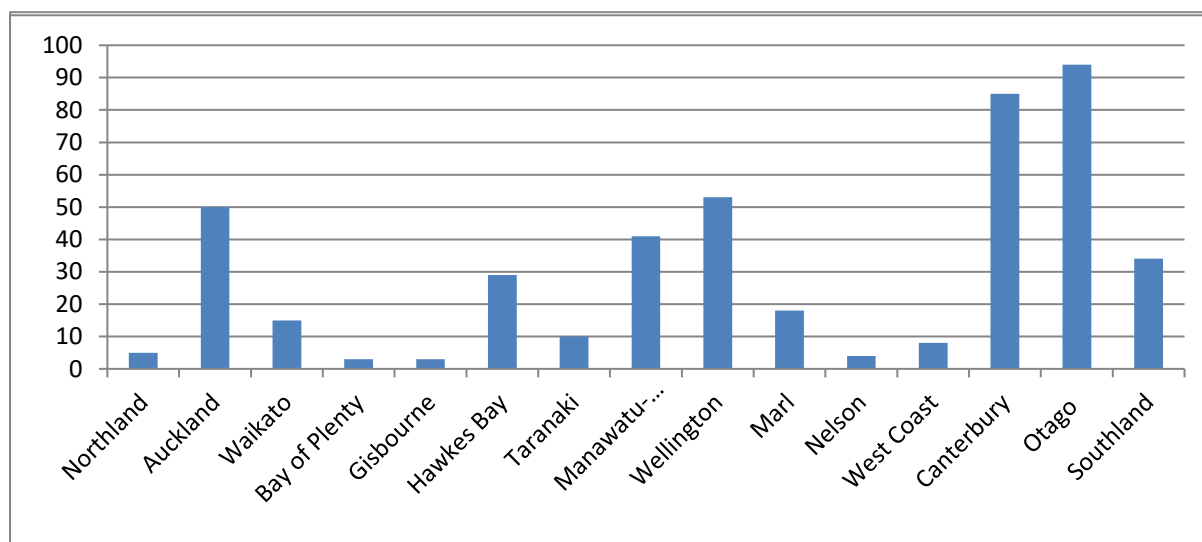


Figure 28: The regional location of adult male deaths shows the men spread right through the country with Canterbury gaining a significant proportion given that it had no navvies assigned there.

Many who arrived were unskilled so less likely to significantly improve their social position through work. Albert Scott from the *Lady Jocelyn* was one who settled into a bachelor's life in the Northland gum-fields, thus remaining in the labouring class.<sup>336</sup> Claire Toynbee's Wellington study found most arriving as labourers remained as labourers.<sup>337</sup> When examining the 1911 electoral rolls for those men who settled it is seen that close to sixty percent remained in unskilled work. About a quarter worked as labourers, which would include some railway labourers. Some were specialised railway employees, gangers, platelayers and surfacemen. In New Zealand's labour dependent economy, they tended to remain labourers.

However, some encouraged other family members and friends to join them. Brogdens' immigration campaign in Britain influenced migration decisions for more than just those it selected. The publicity generated persuaded others, perhaps as many as six for each Brogdens'

<sup>335</sup>"Inquest", *North Otago Times*, Volume XX, Issue 914, 27 February 1874, Page 2, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18740227.2.12>.

<sup>336</sup>*New Zealand Electoral Roll*, 1911 Bay of Islands General Roll, 103.

<sup>337</sup>Toynbee, "Class and Mobility," 150.

immigrant, to make the journey as part of the assisted scheme.<sup>338</sup> For some, the influence was direct as husbands encouraged wives to join them or nominated siblings and parents to apply. This encouragement is evidence that some immigrants initially felt they had made a good decision and had benefitted or could see future benefits for themselves and their family. It also reinforces that Brogden immigrants were connected to family back at 'Home' and their migration decision affected a larger family unit.

The perceived benefits could be slow in coming. Certainly, the wages were initially high. Even the 5s per nine-hour day the men signed up for was apparently double what they might make in England. The discovery that they would not be paid while work was stopped, for weather or other delays, meant some reconsidered their options at that point. The influx of immigrants during the 1870s must have helped to hold wages down. Economic tightening and then depression in the 1880s led to wage reductions. Railway construction workers had their rate reduced to 4s per day, and the work was less readily available.<sup>339</sup> Wages did not rise greatly in the next decade. Charles Lane and Edwin Reason, both employed by the New Zealand Railways for seventeen years by 1896 as platelayers were then earning only 6s 6d per day. Skilled men earned more, as another of their cohort Leonard Keat demonstrates. Keat was a driver first class, earning 12s per day. Economic downturns had pronounced effects on poorer workers who already lacked financial security.

In New Zealand, fewer opportunities existed for men to marry and have families compared to women. The 1871 census showed seventy women for every one-hundred men.<sup>340</sup> Gum-digger Albert Scott, as mentioned previously, never married. He was one of the thirty percent of the group who preferred, or was forced by circumstances, to remain un-coupled. In his case, his line of work and location meant he was less likely to find or attract a wife. Most of the women who came as part of the group were married, but forty single women were included. Many quickly found a partner once in New Zealand. The population balance worked to their advantage. A few travelled with their intended husband. Martha Carvell was on the same ship as her brother George and her future husband William Evetts. Martha and William married about a

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<sup>338</sup>"By Electric Telegraph", *Mount Ida Chronicle*, Volume IV, Issue 224, 20 June 1873, Page 5, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MIC18730620.2.14>.

<sup>339</sup>Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, 112.

<sup>340</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 247.

year later in Wellington and went on to have thirteen children, having settled in New Plymouth.<sup>341</sup> Elizabeth Pinfold arrived on the *Halcione* with two of her brothers, Job and John, and her illegitimate infant daughter. She lived in Wellington with Job, acting as his housekeeper. Neither Elizabeth nor Job married. Elizabeth probably had opportunities but for unknown reasons remained single.

Another way in which women's experiences differed to men is in opportunities for social mobility. Emma Mockford arrived on the *Charlotte Gladstone* with husband Hector. They had married in 1871. A son born in late 1872 died a few months later. However, they boarded with an infant daughter, born illegitimate in 1870. Baby Emma was fifteen months when she died on 8 Jan 1873 while they were still at sea. Hector and Emma had five children born in New Zealand, the first at Port Chalmers in 1873. Hector was a bricklayer, and the family lived in Dunedin's Walker Street. Eldest son Edward left school at the end of 1884 to take up a trade. Hector died on 4 April 1885 aged thirty-one, leaving Emma with a very young family to provide for. Edward returned to school in 1888 only to go back to work a month later. In 1891 she had another illegitimate daughter, also called Emma. This Emma died in March 1895. Emma was registered to vote in the 1893 Electoral Roll when she was a housekeeper and still living in Walker Street. A few years later, then aged fifty-two, Emma married Henry Paine, a watchmaker. Emma Paine died in 1926 aged seventy-five with her occupation given as 'domestic'. Husband Henry died in 1927 aged eighty-three. Despite the difficulties of her widowhood, Emma probably improved her social position through her second marriage.

In contrast to Emma Mockford's experience, other examples show life could be perilous for women in the lowest portion of society. Eliza Preston seems an almost cautionary tale. She arrived on the *Charlotte Gladstone*, with husband William suffering, like many others, from typhoid when they arrived in Port Chalmers. He died on Quarantine Island on 22 February 1873. Eliza was heavily pregnant and already had two small children. She was taken in by shipmate John Lane. They lived in Dunedin for a time with John working on the wharf. Eliza and John had eight children together using the surname Lane. As a family, they shifted to Australia where they lived in the Melbourne suburb of South Yarra and had another child. On 8

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<sup>341</sup>"Here and There", *Evening Post*, Volume CXVI, Issue 8, 10 July 1933, Page 11, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19330710.2.189.9>

January 1890 John deserted Eliza and their nine children.<sup>342</sup> He had sold his home and left Eliza with their youngest seriously ill.<sup>343</sup> Demonstrating the ease with which labouring-class people moved between New Zealand and the Australian states, John went to Sydney and then back to New Zealand. He was spoken to by police in Timaru before returning to Sydney in June of the same year. By April 1890 four of the children were placed in the care of the Department for Neglected Children.<sup>344</sup> Eliza was described as respectable and hardworking.<sup>345</sup> She sought financial assistance from John for the other four children she was supporting and applied for a protection order so he could not sell her home. She testified, 'I can get on and work honestly, and I don't want to have anything more to do with my husband. If your Worships knew how he has treated me you would never expect me to go back to him.'<sup>346</sup> Eliza was worried John would return and sell her home to fund his drinking. Eliza went back to using Preston as her surname and eventually returned to New Zealand with a son. She died in Reefton in January 1911 aged sixty-five.

Eliza's story encompasses troubled relationships, difficulties caused by alcohol, abandonment by the main wage earner and the inability to support dependent children. Often alcohol played a part, with one or both partners indulging to the detriment of the family unit. Some women were abandoned by husbands, while others walked away from family to pursue another relationship. Only ten Brogdenite families were recorded as unable to provide for their children. Thomas Bowden put his son into the Auckland Industrial School system in 1874 under an assumed name and ignored him for ten plus years. Elizabeth Attiwell was deserted by her husband and subsequently often in court for vagrancy. The Attiwell children entered the Industrial School system in 1875. Horatio Pine deserted his wife, failed to support her and the family resulting in the children going to the Industrial School. Pine then failed to pay maintenance to the state for their care. Joseph Moyle had two sons in the Burnham Industrial School. George Jeffery's daughter Patience was put in the Roman Catholic Industrial School system in 1883. Isaac Carne was imprisoned for assaulting his wife, so the children went into the

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<sup>342</sup>*New Zealand Police Gazette* 1890- Eliza Lane [AAA] 5803 W5609 1] Archives New Zealand The Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua.

<sup>343</sup>"A Wife Deserter," *Age* (Melbourne), 11 Jul 1890, 6; "Another Batch," *Age* (Melbourne), 29 Apr 1890, 6. "A Wife Deserter," *Age* (Melbourne), 11 Jul 1890, 6; "Another Batch," *Age* (Melbourne), 29 Apr 1890, 6.

<sup>344</sup>"Wife Desertion," *Herald* (Melbourne), 23 Apr 1890, 3; "Waifs," *Prahan Telegraph*, 30 Apr 1890, 3.

<sup>345</sup>"Another Batch," *Age* (Melbourne), 29 Apr 1890, 6.

<sup>346</sup>"Topics of the Day," *Herald* (Melbourne), 10 Jul 1890, 2.

Industrial School. Grace Rickard died, and her daughter was put into Caversham Industrial School when her widower husband was unable to work and care for the girl. David Trinder's older daughters were placed in the system in 1897 after their mother's death. The Bird children went into the industrial school in 1884 for two years before their parents took them to Australia, where they entered the New South Wales's Randwick Asylum for Destitute Children in early 1887 following their mother's death. Listing them in this way makes it seem a significant problem but also shows the variety of reasons why children might be admitted. Women and children were especially vulnerable to negative social mobility, falling lower even in the lowest social class.

Arnold was optimistic about the prospects of the navvies due to the number with rural backgrounds. His view is representative of historians generally. In addition, the dominant nineteenth-century perception was that an agricultural background was a key determinant in social mobility through land ownership. Looking at the Brogdenites, it appears that about thirty percent of the men were sons of agricultural labourers, so came from the 'right' background. Another sixteen percent were sons of labourers. Twelve percent had fathers who were farmers, and fourteen percent were from mining families. The trade most represented was boot or shoemakers, but other trades included mason, bricklayer, blacksmith sawyer, miller and tailor. Unexpected occupations for the immigrant's fathers were newspaper reporter, druggist and policeman. Unusual occupations were artificial fly-maker and sanitary inspector. The range of occupations reflects the diversity of an industrial and populous nation. By examining a smaller sample their success in assimilating and improving their position can be assessed.

In the Brogdens' database, 106 boys arrived in New Zealand with their families. Six died young so were excluded from the data sample. A peak occupation was found for these sons as men. Taking the data from electoral rolls for these sons in their middle years (1919 and 1935) gives an indication of their social position. This allowed comparisons to be made to their father's occupation in 1911 or death (if before 1911) and to that of their paternal grandfather who had remained back in England. Information for the paternal grandfathers was mostly found in the 1861 British census. A complex picture emerged which did not clearly show significant social improvement. The resultant information indicates individual opportunity and preferences probably played a part in determining occupation outcome. While sixteen sons became farmers,

another nineteen remained labourers. Of the eleven fathers who became farmers, only five had farmer sons, but they were the most likely occupation to produce farmer sons. One farmer father had two sons, one married and a farmer, the other unmarried and a farm labourer. This might show how significant marriage was to land ownership motivation and achievement. However, no generalisation could be made about the occupations of these farmer fathers' own fathers except to note it was not strongly of agricultural labouring. This is surprising given Arnold's argument about the importance of this background in securing New Zealand's future farmers. Some trades were passed down the generations - both butcher and railway labourer were family occupations in this small group. But overall, immigrant sons who worked in a trade showed little correlation with their fathers' occupations. Railway employment was not particularly common in the group but, as noted, was usually intergenerational when found. Any improvement was slight and probably depended on individuals and their choices and opportunities rather than inevitable progress.

Having trade skills could provide an alternate path to colonial success and upward mobility. Peter Hutson became a successful Wellington businessman by the 1890s after some difficulties. He benefited from the assistance of a forceful wife. Peter was a Sussex native and bricklayer by trade. In 1871, he was working on the Pinchbeck Waterworks in Lincolnshire while future wife Mary Stapleton, a sixteen-year-old scholar, lived nearby with her parents. They embarked on married life and emigration with a minimum of formalities and a child on the way. The *Christian McAusland* took them to Dunedin. They had a daughter in February 1873 before moving to Lyttleton where they had sons in 1875 and 1877. By 1881 they had moved to Wellington. School records for their three children show Peter's occupational changes from a bricklayer, builder and painter. They finally legally married in 1882 and had another five children in the next decade. Peter purchased a cement and pottery works, but in 1890 he was declared bankrupt. He returned to the same line of work after bankruptcy but was also active in business organisations, filling the position of president of the local Working Men's Club and chairman of the Brickmakers' Association. Mary was a guiding force in the marriage. She was politically and socially active and described as a strong Seddonite. Mary presided as the first annual meeting of Mrs Seddon's Women's Social and Political League in 1900 and was its treasurer in 1902. She promoted Friendly Societies for women and was a trustee of a ladies'

branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters. Her connections saw Peter acting as president of Premier Seddon's 50th Birthday Committee, and their attendance at the social event of the year in 1901, a parliamentary reception for the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall. Following Mary's death in July 1902, Peter was considerably less politically and socially active. Mary owned the property at 13 Tasman Street so left a will. They may have arranged this to protect and provide for the family in the event of business failure. In 1903, Peter married again in New South Wales. He and new wife Maud had four children and lived in Wellington. Peter Hutson's business success also provided employment for family members. His brother Joseph arrived in Wellington with his wife and daughter in 1886 as an assisted immigrant farm labourer. He was soon working for Peter's company and living in Lower Hutt. In 1893, their father Isaac joined the family. Isaac also worked at the brickworks, despite being sixty-four when he migrated. Peter and Mary's eldest son worked as a clerk for the firm. After his Boer War service, he was responsible for the firm's expansion into Nelson. Claire Toynbee's Wellington study found the "common form of upward [occupational] mobility was that of labourer or artisan to small business or farm owner."<sup>347</sup> Peter Hutson is an example of the importance of skills, determination and opportunity in making social advances.

Some men promoted themselves in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*. They included butcher George Cox at Enfield, former ships' carpenter John Henry Pomeroy, New Zealand Railways workers John Sammons who had served in the Royal Navy, and ganger Frederick Shaw. It seems that even a moderate degree of success was considered worth celebrating. Not all men made what might be considered social advances. Richmond Treasure was the son of a Somerset farmer but, having arrived in New Zealand aged twenty, Richmond worked for the New Zealand Railways as a fireman and advanced to engine driver. By 1896 he had served for nineteen years in Oamaru and Invercargill. He never returned to farming despite his background and does not seem to have been a landowner.

Arriving with family increased the opportunities for advancing. In addition to relieving feelings of isolation, family provided extra opportunities for earning. A wife could take in lodgers or provide laundry service to single men. At least one young woman believed, "Married men do

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<sup>347</sup>Toynbee, "Class and Mobility," 150.



better here than single men, because they charge so much for lodgings."<sup>348</sup> Children helped in the house and garden. As they grew, they would supplement the family income with work for others. For those with land, family was essential.<sup>349</sup> The labour they provided allowed the household head to sell his labour elsewhere to augment the farm income or offset its expenses.

Many of those sent were single men thus less likely to settle. Eighty-eight percent of those that cannot be found were single men and sixty-five percent were 26 or under on arrival. Perhaps it could be argued that there was some hope that they would not settle. The term 'Brogdenite' was used in the late 1880s as a way of describing undesirable immigrants of the 1870s. Sought-after settlers were men of capital, not Brogdenites. One letter writer associated the itinerant unemployed of the time with 'Brogdenite laborers and importations of similar men,' these being the opposite of the 'hard working and honest agricultural labourer' that if recruited would have saved their money and purchased their own farms.<sup>350</sup> There has been some persistent perception that the Brogdenites were the wrong type of immigrant. C. R. Carter refuted this in his report to Dr Featherston on 29 January 1873, stating he had preferred to recruit those 'entirely away from towns'.<sup>351</sup> He instead selected 'suitable and manageable' labourers from agricultural districts. However, the belief continued despite a lack of substantial evidence. The navy occupation label meant they were inevitably perceived as socially 'unsuitable'. The occasional misdemeanour would be reported with a note about 'Brogdens' black sheep' or similar comment.<sup>352</sup> W.D. Borrie was one perpetuating this, writing in 1994 that 'Men were selected who had little aptitude for colonial life'.<sup>353</sup> Arnold discussed the quality of Vogel immigrants, referring to the defence of such by the Minister for Immigration, Harry Atkinson, in October 1875.<sup>354</sup> Atkinson endorsed the moral and physical quality of the immigrants in the previous four years, quoting figures for

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<sup>348</sup>"Emigration to New Zealand", *Lyttleton Times*, Volume XL, Issue 3906, 1 August 1873, Page 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/LT18730801.2.22.1>.

<sup>349</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 257.

<sup>350</sup>"Original Correspondence", *North Otago Times*, Volume XXIX, Issue 6004, 6 March 1886, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18860306.2.12>.

<sup>351</sup>"Letters from the Agent General 1873," 30.

<sup>352</sup>"News of the Week," *Otago Witness*, 26 April 1873, 14, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18730426.2.27>. "News of the Week," *Otago Witness*, 26 April 1873, 14, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18730426.2.27>. "News of the Week", *Otago Witness*, Issue 1117, 26 April 1873, Page 14, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18730426.2.27>.

<sup>353</sup>W. D. Borrie, *The European Peopling of Australasia: A demographic History 1788-1988* (Canberra: Demography Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1994), 103.

<sup>354</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 346-47.

those committed to prison and lunatic asylums. Brogdens' navvies arrived at the start of the period and would be difficult for the government to exclude from their figures. While criminality was one measure of immigrant quality, another was their mental health. Of the identified group of 1,754 Brogden immigrants, nine men and two women entered lunatic asylums, the Victorian mental health treatment facility. One was admitted in Wellington on arrival and died a year later. Another was possibly in the Dunedin Asylum in 1875. One wife was admitted to Seacliffe in 1880, released and then readmitted in 1903 staying for three years. In 1886 a man was charged with lunacy and sent to the Dunedin Asylum. Another man was sent from the Dunedin Benevolent Society to Seacliffe in 1892. In Wellington, a man was arrested while driving a cab on a Sunday dressed only in 'shortened trousers' in 1895. His eccentric behaviour saw him committed to the Asylum. He died at Porirua in 1906. No identified admissions in the Auckland region could indicate a gap in the accessible record. Five men and one wife are known to have committed suicide. Such small numbers of asylums admission and suicides suggest the group enjoyed good or satisfactory mental health, thus were not the dregs of society as was assumed.

Debt and bankruptcy were obstacles to social mobility. Some arrived in the colony with additional burdens to social acceptance. Henry Ferris was a former workhouse pauper from Wiltshire. He first settled in Picton but moved to Wellington. While working as foreman and timekeeper at a Wellington foundry he rescued three people from drowning in the harbour. After this, newspapers referred to him as "Mr Henry Ferris," a form of social recognition. In 1880 he was declared bankrupt with his occupation noted as clerk, still owing Brogdens £63. In 1881 he was charged with 'larceny as a bailee' when he sold a piano in his possession. He had been arrested on board a ship, ready to sail to Newcastle. He was sentenced to six months hard labour. He went on to try a variety of occupations. In 1890 he was an ironmonger, 1900 a cordial manufacturer and by 1910 a range-maker. He continued in the latter occupation until his 1927 death. After his bankruptcy and fall from grace he was described as merely Henry Ferris.

Compared with earlier arrivals, the Brogden group were in competition with an influx of immigrants for access to land. Toynbee notes immigrants of the 1870s had fewer opportunities for social advancement than those in the early years of European settlement.<sup>355</sup> She reiterated that

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<sup>355</sup>Toynbee, "Class and Mobility," 151.

"mobility was limited by skill and property acquisition."<sup>356</sup> Charles Bushnell arrived as a labourer from Wiltshire from the desired rural background. His life had its ups and downs. He spent some time in jail at Dunedin, but in May 1895 he was given a state farm at Waikawa during a land ballot.<sup>357</sup> Despite this boost, by 1902 he was working for a timber company as an engine-driver. He never married the mother of his four children. He remained working in the semi-skilled occupation of engine-driver. Only eleven percent of the group were found to be farmers or settlers in the 1911 electoral rolls. Others in rural locations were gum-diggers, farm labourers, shepherds, shearers, fencers and bushmen.

Family size may have been a factor limiting the ability of Brogdenites to advance socially. Fairburn suggested large families were a response to a lack of bonds in New Zealand society encouraging families to create their own community.<sup>358</sup> He apparently deemed irrelevant such factors as increased economic viability in New Zealand to raise a larger family, or that better living conditions and decreased infant and child mortality meant fewer family decreases. Four hundred and seventeen of the adult men in the group had families in New Zealand. Of these thirty-three percent had four children or less, forty-one percent had five to nine children, and seventeen percent had over ten children. The largest family had seventeen children. Overall this conforms with Toynbee's findings as she noted Wellington's unskilled worker immigrants had an average of 3.5 sons and 3.1 daughters.<sup>359</sup> Good nutrition may have contributed to family size, but large numbers of offspring must have affected a labouring-class family's ability to save money and purchase land.

Improvement in social position can be taken as a sign that migration had positive benefits. This correlation implies the improvement was caused by migration. However, social improvements over this period of time may have occurred without migration. For example, the Hurrell brothers arrived on the *City of Auckland* but were attempting a return before their contracts had expired. They did return to England and the women they had left behind. Their subsequent working and family lives do not appear to be significantly different to those of the

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<sup>356</sup>Toynbee, "Class and Mobility," 153.

<sup>357</sup>"Inquiry", *Otago Witness*, Issue 1654, 4 August 1883, Page 1 (*Supplement*), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18830804.2.75>; "A Land Ballot at Fortrose", *Mataura Ensign*, Issue 17, 3 May 1895, Page 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ME18950503.2.19>.

<sup>358</sup>Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900*, 200.

<sup>359</sup>Toynbee, "Class and Mobility," 120.

men who remained in New Zealand. Both men were masons and continued to work in that trade in the town they were raised in while fathering large families who supported them in their old age.

Upward mobility is viewed as the aspiration of migrants and particularly those destined to the egalitarian colonies. For others, the motivation might have been more tangible, as a man writing as "The Navy, himself" expressed in March 1873, 'I be not a Church-going man, but I be a good navy. A bright eye to the main chance be the motive that induced me to come here, what be the motive that induced the Parson himself to come here, be it to preach or to make money?'<sup>360</sup> Regardless of the motivation, this study has found little evidence of universal social advancement. A small proportion of the Brogdenites never had the chance to improve their lives, either dying on the voyage or in the first few years after. Labourers and their families had fewer opportunities and were heavily disadvantaged when the economy declined. They often lacked the skills to undertake better-paid work and more secure positions. The colony's pre-industrial economy did little to offer opportunities for advancement as it relied on physical labour. Single men also had fewer marriage prospects as they continued to outnumber women. Women, on the other hand, could move up the social ladder through marriage following widowhood like Emma Mockford. They were also more vulnerable to social reverses due to the death or desertion of a husband. Children in these circumstances might be placed in the Industrial School system. Fortunately, this study showed this only happened to a small percentage of the group. Some had varying degrees of success in achieving upward mobility, often utilising pre-existing skills. Those with family increased both the likelihood of settling and of rising socially and the single men were most likely to move on, in line with established theories. Residents criticised those selected as the wrong type to settle and these criticisms were repeated by newspapers despite the defences of those who had selected them. However, few Brogdenites were placed in the colony's jails or asylums. Obstacles to social improvement included debt and bankruptcy, competition for land, the lack of a wife and family, and conversely a large family.

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<sup>360</sup>"The Brogden Immigrants", *North Otago Times*, Volume XVIII, Issue 819, 28 March 1873, Page 4, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18730328.2.18>.

## Chapter Ten: Conclusion

Is Samuel Olive an example of a typical navy? The evidence is that he married within a few years of arrival. Samuel found a local Otahuhu girl, Sarah Jane Jones, and made her his wife in 1874. Together they had seven children. One of their children drowned - the so-called 'New Zealand death' and their youngest son died aged six. Another son served in the Boer War as a member of the Forth Contingent in 1900, a group known as the Rough Riders. A daughter and granddaughter died during the 1918 influenza epidemic. Samuel provided a living through his work for the railways. He was a permanent-way ganger. Samuel retired on superannuation but continued working as a casual hand. He was at work on the wharf when he died suddenly of heart failure aged seventy. Son Samuel Thomas started working for the New Zealand Railways aged nineteen, worked up from fireman to engine-driver and transitioned to electric engines in the 1930s. Was Samuel typical? He shared some similarities with others from this cohort. He was in the majority as he arrived as a young single man. Like a significant number of others, he married in the first five years after arrival. He was also one of many working for the railways. One of his sons followed the same line of employment. They embraced job security and superannuation over social advancement. Samuel did not move around much, but evidence of mobility and persistence was mixed across the group. His family suffered losses felt by others in New Zealand society. He was less typical in that he arrived in New Zealand with his parents and siblings, making his connections immediately visible in a group where the connections were usually less obvious.

Brogdens' Navvies were not necessarily a unique group, but perhaps offer a unique opportunity to study a group of people that were some of the poorest in British society. They entered a colony on the brink of change as Julius Vogel's vision linking public works and immigration profoundly affected nineteenth-century New Zealand. Brogdens' Navvies have been immigrants about who little was known. This group was under-reported on arrival and largely anonymous in press coverage. Little had been discovered about them since. Arnold suggested we could only judge the success of the 1870s immigration schemes when we could determine how those who settled fared in the long term. He proposed that their eventual occupations as

labourers, cottagers and yeoman farmers would provide the answers.<sup>361</sup> Historiography has suggested they were largely typical navvies, while Arnold offered an alternative view. His view was not based on a different view of navvies, but by emphasizing the predominately rural backgrounds of much of the group. The historical record shows the typical workforce labelled as navvies comprised more than just those working as navvies. A proportion of less-skilled labourers, often with an agricultural labouring background, were vital. In addition, tradesmen were needed to build tunnels and bridges, but also carpenters and blacksmiths who repaired tools and men handling horses used to pull rail wagons full of debris.

Previous studies have been unable to determine the answers to questions about who was recruited, where they came from and where they ended up. While a number of immigrants remain nameless, most passengers on twelve ships of the fifteen sent had been identified. The discovery of most of the passengers on the *Zealandia* was a significant boost to the number of those able to be studied. The database on which this study was based was 1770 of 2191 that were dispatched. That which can be found is limited by the time and resource available. The methodology utilised the tools of the family historian including websites that cater to their needs. Genealogical websites including Ancestry have enabled many individuals to be traced both back and forward in time. This allowed the group to be studied in both quantitative and qualitative ways which had previously been unviable. In doing so, it is affected by the ways family historians view individuals as part of a network of connections that remain even as one or more family members leave their home-place. This study has tried to reconnect the immigrants with their previous lives in Great Britain to contribute towards an understanding of how migration affected their lives as well as their contributions to New Zealand.

## Navvy Culture

Turning to one of the central questions of this study, was there a typical Brogdens' Navvy and how did he compare to the British navy, we find most navvies were not navvies. Firstly, there was a range of trades and skills recruited in addition to the labourers and navvies selected. Secondly, many of the young single men signed on with Brogdens as navvies did not appear to have much, if any, previous experience. While the official records suggest the group's composition matched that of the typical British navy workforce, the individuals seldom

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<sup>361</sup>Arnold, *Farthest Promised Land*, 340.

matched their official job-title. The New Zealand reality of navvying meant they arrived, were disappointed then decided to stay or depart. The majority stayed but few of them were, or had been, experienced navvies in Britain. Thirdly, navvies and labourers predominated in the group, but it included many women and children. Having a group of named individuals moving into a smaller population allows a closer study of their lives as they made their way towards assimilation into new communities. This type of study reveals trends that larger studies of communities determined by place might not observe. One observation made during this study was that there was greater diversity in the background of those recruited than was reported. This increased diversity extended into their family backgrounds as some had a history in the workhouse or the military forces. Additionally, some of the immigrants' fathers had unexpected occupations including a newspaper reporter and farmers of sizeable farms. The navvies, while an essential component in the workforce tasked with the construction of infrastructure, were not all that they were reported to be.

Beer and more beer was the focus of much comment on the navvies in the early years. Historians rely on interpreting the evidence created by contemporaries and those judging the behaviour of the labouring population in an era of personal responsibility which often focused on their difficulties. The deserving poor and those who contributed to their own downfall were often distinguished by their alcohol consumption and work habits. However, in New Zealand, the newly arrived navy was welcomed with beer, beer to commemorate the start of the rail-line and more beer, often with beef, when it was completed. The commentary then criticised the subsequent behaviour without any acknowledgement of the role the community had in creating the situation. Incidence of drinking and subsequent misbehaviour were over-emphasised in a period of increasing temperance. It is relatively easy to find this evidence, but the opposite, evidence of good behaviour and sobriety is only found in the silences. This study proposes the silences suggest camp-life was an ordinary, everyday struggle of labouring men and women to provide necessities in a primitive environment.

Examining navy culture in a wider context has confirmed it is part of a continuum of the low culture of the labouring class with many shared characteristics. One finding of note shows concurrence with sociologist Sykes's observations that those working as navvies demonstrated the contradictory attitudes of independence and individual freedom as well as

mutual cohesion with their fellow workers. The shared characteristics of camp-life including tolerance for physical fighting and the common use of nicknames are in line with Belich and Phillip's descriptions of what Belich labelled crew culture. However, there is evidence that women were more active participants than either historian has portrayed. Their presence in camps as wives and mothers is recorded in accounts of the period and in photographs in 1910. Some were present when their men returned to town and went 'on the spree'. They were involved in drinking, swearing and arguing with other wives. Jessie Cheriton is an example. She was in court in April 1873 for indecent language towards her husband's employer when money was withheld from his wage. A month later she was again in court as fellow ship-mate Elizabeth Lethaby charged her with using abusive language. In December 1875 Jessie and Henry Cheriton were together in court when they returned to town to spend the pay-check. In the community of women who lived alongside their husbands in the railway camps, most lived quietly while providing necessary services in the camp. A few, like Jessie, were less predictable. Navy culture had some distinctive characteristics and others it shared with the common culture of working people, both in Britain and elsewhere. It was distinguished as a result of the isolated and physical nature of the work and their treatment as navvies by the wider community.

### **Assimilation**

Arnold has suggested as the majority had rural backgrounds they, like the assisted immigrants, would return to the land. This was not so. Charles Bushnell was recruited as a labourer from the rural county of Wiltshire. His father was an agricultural labourer, so his background was the desired kind. He was twenty years old when he arrived on the *Lutterworth* at Dunedin. There is no record of his crime, but he spent at least two years in jail in Otago. He moved into Southland and achieved landownership due to a ballot. He had four children with his wife Eliza Jane, although neither marriage nor births seem to have been registered. Despite being given land, Charles made his way by working at a sawmill, driving the mill engine. His two sons became an engine-driver and a sawmill-hand. Like Samuel Olive, Bushnell arrived as a young man. His less conventional 'marriage' with an Irish girl was an arrangement found frequently in the Brogden group. Like others, he moved from his initial location to find work and the possibility of land-holding. Also typical was the way Bushnell was unable to make a living by returning to the land.



Others were not as fortunate as he was, but many were only able to provide for themselves and family by continuing to sell their labour.

The extent to which navvies remained in railway work has not been the subject of study thus far. Significant numbers of Brogdenites who came to build remained to work on the railways. Many worked maintaining what they had a hand in building, although some advanced to better paid work like engine-driver. They often served for decades and raised sons and grandsons who followed the same line of work. There is scope for further investigation into the extent to which the navvies remained to maintain the railways. This could counteract the knowledge gap about railway workers which confronts the researcher of navvies and enable a fuller understanding of the workers in this field.

A significant finding was that informal marriage was prevalent in the group. It was usually a practical alternative to an unattainable divorce or an illegal bigamous marriage. Occasionally, it followed the death of a spouse. It was found that informal marriage did not result in social exclusion. There was no evidence of notable public disapproval, even for people with a reasonably public profile. Informal marriage produced no records of its own and was seldom prosecuted when discovered. Henry Cheriton's bigamous marriage was both discovered and prosecuted but he escaped punishment. His first wife, Jessie, was likely living with another man in an informal marriage. Results like this show the potential of close study of a group in uncovering the extent of informal marriage and its social consequences.

Studies of physical mobility and persistence tend to demean the transient worker. However, it is seldom acknowledged that, in groups of labouring workers, single men had less job security than married men. They would be first put off the job when numbers were reduced. It was a cultural practice that recognised men with families were entitled to work to support not just themselves but their families. For single men, this would increase the need and inclination to move in search of work. They would be more likely to go to the places that married men might prefer to avoid. Many single men left the colony, probably chasing more railway work, always seeking better pay or better conditions. Few were sought as "missing friends", which implies their family network maintained contact over distance and time and knew of their whereabouts.

## Social Mobility

The second key question was of the chances for social and economic advancement. The evidence suggests few were able to take advantage of the opportunities for gains in their lifetime. Those who settled were the essential ingredient in populating the small towns that developed along the arterial routes linking one growing centre to another. They tended to live unremarkable lives in New Zealand's towns and cities and fulfilled a vital role in the productive part of the economy. The opportunities they were able to take advantage of were ones of space and good food to raise large families, providing New Zealand with the next generation of native-born children. A few started businesses which rose and fell in fortunes as the colonial economy ebbed and flowed. Most worked for others or the government. Some purchased land where they settled by taking advantage of the country opening up to get land cheaply on deferred payment schemes. Often it was lost as easily when payments were due. Some leased farmland and tried out farming. Others purchased a house or cottage in a town or city. Most were labourers when they arrived and labourers when they died. Their contribution was the muscle that underpinned development. It is questionable whether they were better off in New Zealand than if they had remained at 'home'. That many single men left implies they did not see any immediate benefit in remaining despite the ongoing railway building. The correlation of improvement after migration, with migration as the cause of this improvement, can also be questioned. In the case of Brogdens' Navvies, any improvement could also be linked to economic circumstances in the country over time.

The study of groups of settlers provide valuable information about who was acceptable, how they were received, the way they were written about, the culture they brought with them and its assimilation or adaptation in the new environment. While they transferred into another physical and social space settlers like the Brogdenites remained connected to their home places, to those they left behind even as they developed new connections. Brogdens' Navvies life-style showed that they were part of the labouring classes, but a group that challenged perceptions about, and stereotypes of, working class culture.

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*Evening Post*  
*Evening Star*  
*Globe*  
*Greymouth Evening Star*  
*Hawke's Bay Herald*  
*Herald (Melbourne)*  
*Illustrated Times*  
*Lyttleton Times*  
*Marlborough Express*  
*Marlborough Press*  
*Mataura Ensign*  
*Mount Ida Chronicle*  
*Nelson Evening Mail*  
*Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*  
*New Zealand Herald*  
*New Zealand Mail*  
*Northampton Mercury*  
*North Otago Times*  
*Oamaru Mail*  
*Observer*  
*Otago Daily Times*  
*Otago Witness*  
*Prahan Telegraph*  
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## Chapter Twelve: Appendix

Alphabetic list of those in the Brogdens' Navvies group found on passenger lists, immigration lists, newspaper reports and a ship's surgeons journal. Square brackets include additional or corrective information.

Surname	First name	Ship	Age	Occupation
Acton	Edwd	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	
Adams	Thos [Thomas George]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	
Adams	Saml.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	
Adams	Jane [Jane Hannah]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	
Aize [Aze]	James [James David]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	34	labourer
Aize [Aze]	Precilla [Priscilla]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	34	
Aize [Aze]	James [James Alfred]	<i>City of Auckland</i>		
Aize [Aze]	Charles [Charles Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1	
Alford	Walter	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Allan [Allen]	Thomas [Thomas Stephen]	<i>Crusader</i>	26	
Allen	Thomas [Thomas William]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	
Allen	Charles	<i>Zealandia</i>	19	
Allum	Mrs [Mary]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Allum	John	<i>Halcione</i>		
Amy	Thomas [Thomas Rundle]	<i>Bebington</i>	23	farm labourer
Anderson	James	<i>Schieballion</i>	24	
Andrews	James	<i>Ballarat</i>	38	
Andrews	Mary [Jane Mary]	<i>Ballarat</i>	30	
Andrews	John [Jos James]	<i>Ballarat</i>	-	
Andrews	Stephen [Stephen Henry]	<i>Ballarat</i>	1	
Andrews	Joseph [Josiah Roberts]	<i>Ballarat</i>	0	
Angel/Angell	Wm.	<i>Bebington</i>	21	navvy
Angove	George [George Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	carpenter
Angove	Ellen [Ellen Mary]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	
Angove (Angave in <i>Auckland Star</i> )	John [John Charles]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	farm labourer
Annear	William	<i>Schieballion</i>	34	
Annear	Uriah	<i>Forfarshire</i>	36	
Annear	John [John Hayes]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	13	
Annear	William [William Henry]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	7	
Annear	Frederick	<i>Forfarshire</i>	2	
Annear	Margaretta [Margarette Selina]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	11	
Annear	Bertha	<i>Forfarshire</i>	5	
Anthony	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	farm labourer
Applegate	Henry [Henry Neal]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Applegate	Grace [Grace Penrose]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Applegate	Frank	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Arnold	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	
Arnold	Eliz.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	
Arnold	Peter	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	22	navvy
Arnold	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	
Ash	Richard	<i>City of Auckland</i>	35	navvy

Attewell [Attiwell]	Joseph	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Attewell [Attiwell]	Elizabeth	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Attewell [Attiwell]	Mary [Mary Elizabeth]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Attewell [Attiwell]	Louisa	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Attewell [Attiwell]	Eliza [Eliza Jane]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Austin	Walter	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	navvy
Bailey	Joseph [Joseph James]	<i>Chile</i>	25	
Bailey	Mary	<i>Chile</i>	26	
Bailey	Frederick [Frederick William]	<i>Chile</i>	3	
Bailey	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Baker	[William]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	21	
Baker	Mrs Wm.	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Baker	James	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	19	navvy
Baker	James	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	26	navvy
Baker	James	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	22	navvy
Bale	William	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	railway labourer
Balls	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	navvy
Balter [?Baker]	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Banks	Saml. [Samuel John]	<i>Bebington</i>	27	carpenter
Banks	Florence	<i>Bebington</i>	20	
Barlow	[Mr] Edwin	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Barlow	[Mrs] Sarah	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Barlow	[Albert Edwin]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Barnes	Richard [Richard James]	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	18	labourer
Barnes	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Barnes	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	farm labourer
Barnett	Edwd	<i>Bebington</i>	21	labourer
Barrett	Mary E. [Mary Elizabeth]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	18	
Barrett	Margaret	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	m	
Barrett	Eleanor	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Barrett	Alfred [Alfred John]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Barrett	John	<i>Chile</i>	26	navvy
Bartlett	Alfred	<i>Halcione</i>		
Bartlett	William	<i>Zealandia</i>	30	
Batchelor	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	labourer
Batchelor	Thos. [Thomas White]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	35	miner
Batchelor	Ann [should be Sarah]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	37	
Bateman	Fredk [Frederick Thomas]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	18	farm labourer
Bates	John	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Baxter	Jesse [Jesse Francis]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	28	
Baxter	Thomas	<i>Bebington</i>	20	farm labourer
Bayliss	Fredk	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Beake	Jacob	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Beal [Beale]	Josh	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	labourer
Beamish	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	33	carpenter
Beamish	Ellen	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	
Beamish	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Beare	George	<i>Zealandia</i>	29	
Beare	Olivia Frances	<i>Zealandia</i>	26	

Bearé	Lavinia [Lavinia Winifred Louisa]	<i>Zealandia</i>	7	
Beck	Wm.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	farm labourer
Beck	Ann	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	
Beck	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	0	
Beck	I. (John)	<i>Halcione</i>		
Beckley	Alfred	<i>Forfarshire</i>	26	farm labourer
Becknall [?Bicknell]	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Bell	Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	navy
Bell	Mary	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	
Bellchamber	Abel	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	navy
Bennett	James	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	19	
Bennett	Mrs James [Mary]	<i>Chile</i>	21	
Bennett	Ralph	<i>Chile</i>	34	labourer
Bennett	Mary [Mary Ann Philp]	<i>Chile</i>	30	
Bennett	William [William John]	<i>Chile</i>	7	
Bennett	Henry	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Bennett	Sarah [Sarah Ann]	<i>Chile</i>	8	
Bennett	James	<i>Chile</i>	32	labourer
Bennett	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	B'maker
Bennett	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	21	
Bennett	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Benny [Benney]	Michael [Michael Augustus]	<i>Chile</i>	12	
Betts	Thomas	<i>Jessie Readman?</i>		
Betts	Elizabeth	<i>Jessie Readman?</i>		
Bicknell	John [Tallis]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	22	
Bigwood	[Mr] Jabez	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Bigwood	[Mrs] Emily Ann	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Bigwood	Charles John	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Bigwood	Caroline Rebecca	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Bigwood	William Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Bird	Robt	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	25	farm labourer
Bird	Charles	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Bird	Mary A.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Blondell	William	<i>Zealandia</i>	38	
Blondell	Emma	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Blondell	George Walter	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Blondell	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Blondell	Lucy Elizabeth	<i>Zealandia</i>	4	
Boddy	Mr [William]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Bond	Mesadia	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	22	
Bond	[Vincent]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Bonnay (try Bonner, Bonny)	Wm.	<i>Chile</i>	18	labourer
Booker	George	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Boundy	Thomas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	22	
Bowden	Thomas Hy.	<i>City of Auckland</i>	8	
Bowden	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	farm labourer
Bowden	Mary [Anne]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	
Bowden [maybe Bawden]	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	2	
Bowden [maybe Bawden]	Charles [Charles Edwin or Edwin]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1	
Bowland	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		

Box	Walter	<i>Lutterworth</i>	25	farm labourer
Boyd	James	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	34	navvy
Brabyn	Catherine	<i>Bebington</i>	21	
Brabyn	Joseph [Joseph Edgar]	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Brabyn	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Bebington</i>	9	
Brabyn	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Bradnock	Geo.	<i>Bebington</i>	32	labourer
Bradnock	Phillippa	<i>Bebington</i>	32	
Brake	Geo.	<i>Durham</i>	25	farm labourer
Brake	Jane	<i>Durham</i>	22	
Brake	Albert [Albert George]	<i>Durham</i>	2	
Brake	Louisa	<i>Durham</i>	1	
Branzell	Henry	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Bray	Edwin	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	miner
Bray	Fanny	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	
Bray	Nellie [Ellen Jane]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	7	
Bray	Alfred	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1	
Breen	Michael	<i>Schiehallion</i>	31	
Brennan	Josh [Joseph]	<i>Bebington</i>	31	labourer
Brennan	[Rosina]	<i>Bebington</i>	6	
Brennan	[Theresa Ellen]	<i>Bebington</i>	2	
Brennan	[Ellen]	<i>Bebington</i>	32	
Brewer	Marg [Margaret Rose]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	0	
Brewer	Thos [Thomas Henry]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	labourer
Brewer	Henry [Henry Tudor]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	25	
Brewer	Mary A [Mary Ann]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Brick	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Bridgeland	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Bridger	Alfred [Alfred Henry]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Bright [Blight]	Richard	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
Bristow [Burstow]	Michael [aka James in NZ]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Broad	Chas [Charles Edward]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Brockmaster [Bockmaster]	Robt [should be Joseph]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	farm labourer
Brockmaster [Bockmaster]	Emma	<i>Forfarshire</i>	27	
Brooker	Thomas [Thomas William]	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Brooker	Caroline	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Brooking	Samuel [Samuel Philip Patrick]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	27	labourer
Brooking	Mary	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	
Brooking	Hannah [Susannah]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	2	
Brooks	Thomas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	25	farm labourer
Brooks	Emily	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	
Brooks	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	27	farm labourer
Brooks	Wm.	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	26	navvy
Brooks {aka Smith}	Chas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	farm labourer
Brown	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Brown	Robert	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Brown	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	26	farm labourer
Brown	Ellen	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	
Brown	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Brown	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Brown	Emilie	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		

Brown	Grace (s/b Alice)	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Brown	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	34	labourer
Brown	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	31	
Brown	Chas Ben	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
Brown	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>	21	
Brown	Marian	<i>Zealandia</i>	26	
Bryan	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	32	platelayer
Bryant	Richard [?alias George BROWN]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	35	
Bryant	Mary	<i>Zealandia</i>	8	
Bryant	inf	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Bryant aka O'Brien	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Bryant aka O'Brien	Mrs James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Buckingham	R. [Richard]	<i>Chile</i>	26	labourer
Buckley	Jeremiah	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Buckley	[Mrs] Hannah [maybe Mary?]	<i>Zealandia</i>	28	
Buckley	Thomas	<i>Zealandia</i>	19	
Buckley	Ann	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Buckley	Catherine	<i>Zealandia</i>	[3]	
Buckley	Patrick	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Budd	Sarah [Sarah Elizabeth]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Budd	George	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Budge	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Bulman	Wm.	<i>Bebington</i>	26	farm labourer
Bunce	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Burborough	Thomas [Thomas Henry]	<i>Chile</i>	19	farm labourer
Burch	Frederick	<i>Halcione</i>		
Burch	Mrs [Mary Ann]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Burgess	George Richard	<i>City of Auckland</i>	44	carpenter
Burgess	Anne	<i>City of Auckland</i>	43	
Burgess	Alfred	<i>City of Auckland</i>	14	
Burgess	Ellen	<i>City of Auckland</i>	11	
Burgess	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Burgess	Joseph	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	labourer
Burgess	Thomas	<i>Charlotte Gladstone?</i>		
Burgess	Benjamin	<i>Charlotte Gladstone?</i>		
Burgoyne	Richard	<i>Chile</i>	30	labourer
Burgoyne	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	29	
Burgoyne	Edith	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Burgoyne	Beatrice [Beatrice Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Burke	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Burke	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Burke	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Burke/Bourke	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Burke/Burk	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Burley	Geo.	<i>Bebington</i>	27	labourer
Burley	Mrs. [Dorothy]	<i>Bebington</i>	24	
Burns	Joseph	<i>City of Auckland</i>	36	labourer
Burstow [Bristow]	Sarah [Sarah Ann]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Burstow [Bristow]	Louisa [Louisa Jane]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Burstow [Bristow]	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		

Burstow [Bristow]	Caroline	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Burtenshaw	Henry	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	navvy
Burton	John	<i>Bebington</i>	32	labourer
Busby	Jos.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	farm labourer
Bushnell	Chas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Butler	[Mr] Louis Thomas	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Callaway	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	farm labourer
Canaran [Canavan]	James [Henry]	<i>Bebington</i>	20	farm labourer
Cann	Elizabeth	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Cann	George	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Cant (Court in <i>Auckland Star</i> )	Alexander	<i>City of Auckland</i>	38	navvy
Cantelin (Combeline on pass list)	William [Wells]	<i>Chile</i>	24	labourer
Cantelin/Combeline	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Chile</i>	22	
Cantelin/Combeline	William [William Charles Richard]	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Cantelin/Combeline	Caroline [Caroline Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Carne	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	42	labourer
Carne	Isaac	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	labourer
Carpenter	Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Carrad	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	farm labourer
Carter	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Carter	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Carter	William, younger	<i>Lutterworth</i>	32	farm labourer
Carter	William	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Carter	Catherine	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Carter	Henry	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Carter	Jane	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Carter	Agnes [Agnes Annie]	<i>Zealandia</i>	8	
Carter	Charlotte	<i>Zealandia</i>	31	
Carter	William	<i>Zealandia</i>	32	
Carter	William Edward	<i>Zealandia</i>	[6]	
Carter	Alfred	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Carter	Mrs [Matilda?]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Carter	inf	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Carvell	Geo	<i>Halcione</i>		
Carvell	Martha	<i>Halcione</i>		
Chaffe (?Chaffey)	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	22	farm labourer
Chandler	James	<i>Bebington</i>	22	joiner
Chandler	John	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Channing	Thomas [Alice on death register, but Thomas on surgeon's report]	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Channing	Sarah [Cordelia Sarah]	<i>Bebington</i>	24	
Channing	James	<i>Bebington</i>	2	
Channing [Sykes]	Frances A	<i>Bebington</i>	6	
Channing/s	James	<i>Schieballion</i>	30	
Chapel/Chappell	Samuel [John Samuel]	<i>Chile</i>	21	labourer
Chapman	[Mr]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Charles	Joseph	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Charles	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Charles	Thomas [Thomas James]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Charles	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		

Charles	Agnes	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Chaston	[infant girl]	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Chaston	Arthur [Arthur Allan]	<i>Bebington</i>	29	carpenter
Chaston	Sarah [Sarah Maria]	<i>Bebington</i>	26	
Chaston	Emma [Florence Edith]	<i>Bebington</i>	2	
Cheal	Geo (known as Bandy)	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	22	navvy
Cherers [Chivers]	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Cherston [Cheriton]	Jessie	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Cherston [Cheriton]	Henry [Henry Hopping]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Chesham	Fredk [Frederick Augustine]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	38	
Chesham	Harriet	<i>Forfarshire</i>	40	
Chesham	Joseph [Joseph Augustine]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	7	
Childs	Albert	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	labourer
Chivers	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	farm labourer
Chorley	Alfred	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	labourer
Chubb (Hoskins alias Chubb)	James	<i>Schiehallion</i>	24	
Clark	Miles	<i>Ballarat</i>	29	
Clark	Elizabeth	<i>Ballarat</i>	29	
Clark	James	<i>Ballarat</i>	8	
Clark	Ellen	<i>Ballarat</i>	5	
Clarke	Wm.	<i>Bebington</i>	18	labourer
Clarke	H	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	labourer
Clarkson	Levi	<i>Bebington</i>	21	joiner
Clarkson	John	<i>Bebington</i>	19	bricklayer
Clatworthy	Mathias	<i>Bebington</i>	20	carpenter
Clatworthy	Margt.	<i>Bebington</i>	20	
Clements	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	gardener
Clifton	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	19	
Cock	John [John H]	<i>Bebington</i>	9m	
Cock [Cox/Cocks]	Robert	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
Cock [Cox]	Ann	<i>Bebington</i>	28	
Collins	Wm Geo	<i>Lutterworth</i>	24	farm labourer
Collins	Edward	<i>Lutterworth</i>	22	labourer
Collinson	Geo	<i>Lutterworth</i>	27	farm labourer
Collister	Thos	<i>Bebington</i>	20	labourer
Colwell	Chas	<i>Bebington</i>	25	labourer
Commett [Cometti]	Anthony [Antonio Arthur later Arthur]	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	21	carpenter
Cook	Ambrose	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	3	
Cook	Rahab	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Cook	Emily	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Cook	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	farm labourer
Cook	[Reuben James]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Cook	[Mary Jane]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Cook	William	<i>Chile</i>	36	labourer
Cook	Elizabeth	<i>Chile</i>	32	
Cook	Clara	<i>Chile</i>	9	
Cook	Albert (Albert William)	<i>Chile</i>	7	
Cook	Alice	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Cook	James	<i>Chile</i>	25	labourer
Cook	Mary	<i>Chile</i>	23	
Cook	Geo [George Thomas]	<i>Chile</i>	32	labourer

Cook	Sarah [Sarah Harriet]	<i>Chile</i>	29	
Cook	Joseph	<i>Chile</i>	8	
Cook	Ernest	<i>Chile</i>	6	
Cook	Ambrose	<i>Lutterworth</i>	25	labourer
Cook	Ellen (Ellen Marion Norfolk)	<i>Lutterworth</i>	25	
Cook	Geo	<i>Lutterworth</i>	3	
Cook	Emily	<i>Lutterworth</i>	1	
Cook	Charles	<i>Chile</i>	15	farm labourer
Cook	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	32	farm labourer
Cooke	Thomas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	23	
Cooper	Wm.	<i>Bebington</i>	21	labourer
Cooper	Thos	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
Cooper	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	40	carpenter
Cooper	Emma	<i>Bebington</i>	43	
Cooper	Emily [Emily Fanny]	<i>Bebington</i>	12	
Cooper	Wm. [William Arthur]	<i>Bebington</i>	10	
Cooper	Herbert	<i>Bebington</i>	4	
Cooper	Chr.	<i>Bebington</i>	2	
Cooper	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Cooper	Leah	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Cooper	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	navy
Cooper	Jane	<i>Forfarshire</i>	21	
Cooper	Phillip	<i>Schiehallion</i>	31	
Cooper	William	<i>Zealandia</i>	20	
Cornish	John Robert	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Cornish	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	31	
Cosbrook	Wm.	<i>Bebington</i>	19	labourer
Cosbrook	Geo	<i>Bebington</i>	16	/
Coster	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Coster	Matilda	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Coster	Elizabeth	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Cottrell	Richard	<i>Zealandia</i>	19	
Cottrell	Mrs [Elizabeth]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Cottrell	?	<i>Zealandia</i>	3	
Cottrell	inf [George Edgar]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Couch	Wm Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer
Couch/Couch	Richard	<i>Schiehallion</i>	19	
Cowley	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	25	navy
Cox	John	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	0	
Cox	Mr	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Cox	Mrs	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Cox	Thomas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	26	
Cox	Henry [George Henry]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	labourer
Crawford	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	31	farm labourer
Cripp [Crisp]	Christr.	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Cripps	Josh [Joseph]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	farm labourer
Crocker (or Cocker)	Wm Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	-	labourer
Crokes [Crocker]	Elizabeth [Elizabeth Ann]	<i>Chile</i>	30	
Crokes [Crocker]	John [John Henry]	<i>Chile</i>	8	
Crokes [Crocker]	William [William Thomas]	<i>Chile</i>	6	
Crokes [Crocker]	John	<i>Chile</i>	40	labourer
Cross	George	<i>Chile</i>	26	farm labourer



Crost [Crust]	William	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Crosweller	George J.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Crosweller	George [George James]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Crosweller	Maria	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Crosweller	Emilie [Emily Amelia (Milly)]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	5	
Crowson	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Curkeet [Keat]	James [James Hoskin]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Cuttress [Cuttriss]	Charles	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	navy
Dancer	Charles	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Dankley [Dunkley]	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	25	
Darke	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	labourer
Davies [Davis]	George [George Henry]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	4	
Davies [Davis]	Elizth [Elizabeth Sophia]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	2	
Davies [Davis]	William	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	navy
Davies [Davis]	Mary [Ann]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	26	
Davies [Davis]	Edwd [Edward George]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	10	
Davies [Davis]	Wm [William]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	8	
Davies [later Davis]	Geo [George Herbert]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	29	navy
Davies [later Davis]	Charlotte	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	
Davis	George	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Davis	Charlotte	<i>Bebington</i>	26	
Davis	Albert [Albert Benjamin]	<i>Bebington</i>	6	
Davis	Geo [George William]	<i>Bebington</i>	2	
Davis	T. [Thomas]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Davis	William	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Davis [Davies]	Albert	<i>Bebington</i>	29	/
Dawes	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Dawson	Robert	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Day	Joseph	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Day	Lucy	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Dean	Joseph	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Dean	Clara	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Dean	John	<i>Chile</i>	28	engine driver
Dean	Lydia	<i>Chile</i>	26	
Dearing	Chas [Charles]	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	navy
Deeble	On passenger list as Saml, but in court against John Henry Deeble F.W Westbury deposed John was only Deeble on the <i>Bebington</i>	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
Deeble	Jenifer/Jane	<i>Bebington</i>	24	
Dennis	M. (not Mathias (1831-1893))	<i>Lutterworth</i>	25	farm labourer
Dennis	Hy [Henry]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	25	farm labourer
Devenish	Hy	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	24	navy
Dickens	Chas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	21	navy
Dobson	J.	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	31	navy
Doidge	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	35	labourer
Domit [Dommett]	Thomas	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Donovan	Daniel	<i>Ballarat</i>	33	
Donovan	Cathe A.	<i>Ballarat</i>	30	
Donovan	John A.	<i>Ballarat</i>	8	

Donovan	Jeremiah	<i>Ballarat</i>	7	
Donovan	Michael	<i>Ballarat</i>	3	
Donovan	Mary	<i>Ballarat</i>	11	
Dordson	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Dorrell	H.	<i>Lutterworth</i>	25	farm labourer
Dorset	Geo	<i>Schiehallion</i>	31	
Dorset	David [William David]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	23	
Dougherty (Doherty/Doughty)	Luke	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	labourer
Downs	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	33	labourer
Downs	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	
Downs	Walter	<i>City of Auckland</i>	9	
Dowrick	Geo [George Rael]	<i>Bebington</i>	23	labourer
Dowrick	Francis	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	labourer
Dowrick	William A [William Real]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
			23/	
Dowrick	Tamazine	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	
Dowrick	William [William John]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	8	
Dowrick	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	7	
Dowrick	James [James Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	4	
Dowrick	George	<i>City of Auckland</i>		
Doyle		<i>Jessie Readman?</i>		
Doyle	Owen	<i>Bebington</i>	20	labourer
Draper	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	farm labourer
Drew	George	<i>Bebington</i>	21	farm labourer
Drew	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>Bebington</i>	20	
Drew	Sarah [Sarah Ann]	<i>Bebington</i>	3	
Drew	Elizth. [Elizabeth Jane]	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Drew	Edward [Edward James]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Driscoll	Dennis [Denis]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	navy
Dubber	Richard	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Duestow (Dueston in <i>Auckland Star</i> ) [Dustow]	Jno.	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Duestow [Dewstow]	William	<i>Chile</i>	23	navy
Dunford	Dav. [David]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	29	farm labourer
Dunford	Wm	<i>Lutterworth</i>	18	farm labourer
Dunn	John	<i>Chile</i>	25	navy
Dunstan	Richard	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Dwight	Alexander	<i>Forfarshire</i>	25	labourer
Dwight	Elizth.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	
Dyer		<i>Jessie Readman?</i>		
Dymock	Albert	<i>Zealandia</i>	28	
Dymock	Sarah	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Dymock	Albert	<i>Zealandia</i>	3	
Dymock	Alice	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Dymock	Thomas [Thomas Philip]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Dymock	Dinah	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Eales	John	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	navy
East	Mrs Edw.	<i>Halcione</i>		
East	Edward [later Edmund Gabriel]	<i>Halcione</i>		
East	Thomas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	farm labourer
Eddington [Edgerton/Edginton]	Mark	<i>Chile</i>	19	farm labourer

Edginton	Morris	<i>Zealandia</i>	21	
Edkins	George	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	27	
Edwards	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer
Edwards	John Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Edwards	Emanuel	<i>Chile</i>	-	navy
Edwards	Edward	<i>Schiehallion</i>	23	
Elkerton	Thos. [Thomas James]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Elston	Peter	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Elston	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Essex	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	labourer
Evans	Geo.	<i>Durham</i>	22	farm labourer
Evans	Sarah	<i>Durham</i>	21	
Evans	Alfred	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>	19	
Evans	John	<i>Chile</i>	20	farm labourer
Evitt [Evetts]	William	<i>Halcione</i>		
Ewen	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	38	
Farmer	Robt	<i>Forfarshire</i>	27	labourer
Farmer	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	25	labourer
Farr	Richard	<i>Lutterworth</i>	36	farm labourer
Farr	Sarah	<i>Lutterworth</i>	38	
Farr	Jane	<i>Lutterworth</i>	5	
Felgar	Geo.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Felgar (Foulger/Fullagar)	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Fell	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	33	navy
Fell	Mary	<i>Forfarshire</i>	34	
Ferris	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	24	farm labourer
Ferris	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Bebington</i>	24	
Ferris	Wm. [Wm. Henry]	<i>Bebington</i>	5	
Ferris	Edwd. [Edward Charles]	<i>Bebington</i>	4	
Ferris	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Field	Edwr A.J. [Edward Alfred John]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Field	William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Field	[Esther]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Field	Elizabeth Esther	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Field	Celia C [Cecilia Caroline]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Finch	Walter	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Fisher	Mary [Mary Elizabeth]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	
Fisher	Chas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	25	labourer
Fitch	William F [Frederick William]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	12	
Fitch	Charles	<i>Schiehallion</i>	10	
Fitch	Joseph [Joseph Shutler]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	4	
Fitch	Charles	<i>Schiehallion</i>	39	
Fitch	Mary	<i>Schiehallion</i>	37	
Fitch	Mary [Mary Elizabeth]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	1	
Fitt	Jacob	<i>Zealandia</i>	21	
Fitzsimmins	Arthur	<i>Bebington</i>	23	labourer
Fletcher	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	27	labourer
Flude	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	40	
Flynn	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Forbes	Robert	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		

Ford	Hugh	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	labourer
Ford	Lewis	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	26	navvy
Ford	George	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	navvy
Ford	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	platelayer
Ford	Anne	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	
Ford	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1	
Foster	Mark [Mark Wright]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Foster	Alice	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Foster	Wm [William Pender]	<i>Bebington</i>	36	labourer
Foster	Sarah [Sarah Ann]	<i>Bebington</i>	34	
Foster	Thos. W. [Thomas William]	<i>Bebington</i>	16	
Foster	Rob [Robert Stewart]	<i>Bebington</i>	7	
Foster	Beatrice [Beatrice Eva]	<i>Bebington</i>	5	
Foster	Samuel	<i>Halcione</i>		
Foster	Mrs Samuel [Hannah/Anna Mary]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Fowler	Charles	<i>Chile</i>	20	farm labourer
Fowler	Joseph	<i>Chile</i>	22	navvy
Fowler	Harry (Henry on IM list)	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	labourer
Francis	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	labourer
Franklin	George	<i>Chile</i>	29	labourer
Franklin	Emily	<i>Chile</i>	23	
Franklin	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Franklin	Sydney	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Freeman	Mrs [Ann or Philadelphia Ann]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Freeman	Daniel	<i>Halcione</i>	35	
Freeman	Thos	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
Freeman	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Freeman	Esther A.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Freeman [s/b Willis]	Sarah Ann	<i>Halcione</i>		
Freeman [s/b Willis]	Thomas Moseley	<i>Halcione</i>	14	
Friend	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Friend	Sarah	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Froom (Froome)	Henry	<i>Schieballion</i>	24	
Frost	James	<i>Bebington</i>	40	
Frost	Martha	<i>Bebington</i>	38	
Frost	James [James Edward]	<i>Bebington</i>	17	
Frost	Harriet	<i>Bebington</i>	9	
Frost	Charlotte	<i>Bebington</i>	7	
Fry	John	<i>Schieballion</i>	25	
Fry	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Fuge	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	34	labourer
Fulford		<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Fuller	Mary	<i>Zealandia</i>	27	
Fuller	[Mr]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Furse [Furze]	Elizabeth [Elizabeth Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	33	
Furse [Furze]	Zenobia	<i>Chile</i>	11	
Furse [Furze]	Mary [Mary Matilda]	<i>Chile</i>	8	
Furse [Furze]	Ann	<i>Chile</i>	6	
Furse [Furze]	Alma [Alma Amelia]	<i>Chile</i>	1.5 m	

Furse [Furze]	John	<i>Chile</i>	36	farm labourer
Gale	Geo	<i>Schiehallion</i>	23	
Gallagher	B.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Garrett	Thos	<i>Lutterworth</i>	28	labourer
Garrett	Elizth [Elizabeth Annie]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	5	
Garrett	Geo	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Garrett	Jane	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Garrett	James George Higbed	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Garrett	Maria [Mary Jane]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	27	
Garrett	Alfred	<i>Lutterworth</i>	0	
Garrett	Ellen	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Gaskin	Jane	<i>Chile</i>	24	
Gaskin	Jane [Elizabeth Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Gaskin	Samuel	<i>Chile</i>	25	labourer
Gibbs or Parker	George	<i>Crusader?</i>		
Gilbert	Richard G	<i>Chile</i>	20	navvy
Gilmore	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Gingell	Hy J. [Henry James]	<i>Lutterworth</i>		labourer
Glasson	Charles	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	labourer
Glubb	Richard	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Glubb	Elizabeth [Eliza Elizabeth]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Godwin	Isaac	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	navvy
Goldsmith	Alfred	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Goodman	William	<i>Chile</i>	24	labourer
Goodman	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	farm labourer
Goreham [Gorham]	Geo	<i>Bebington</i>	33	navvy
Goss	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Goss	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Goudge	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	labourer
Gould	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Gower	Thomas	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	18	navvy
Graham	Alfred	<i>Charlotte Gladstone?</i>		
Green	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	navvy
Green	Mr	<i>Halcione</i>		
Green	Joseph	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Green	Arthur	<i>Bebington</i>	23	labourer
Green	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	navvy
Green	Sarah	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	
Gregory	John	<i>Halcione</i>		
Gregory	[Sarah Anne]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Gregory	George	<i>Halcione</i>		
Gregory	Harriet	<i>Halcione</i>		
Gregory	Emily	<i>Halcione</i>		
Gregson	George	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
Gridler	Alfred Henry	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Gridler	Edward William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Gridler [Girdler]	[Edwin]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Gridler [Girdler]	Sarah	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Gunn	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	navvy
Gunter	Fredk	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	farm labourer
Gunter	Jane	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	
Gunter	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	labourer

Gurney	Joseph	<i>Bebington</i>	32	bricklayer
Gurney	Emma	<i>Bebington</i>	28	
Haddon	W. Henry	<i>Halcione</i>		
Haddon	Mrs [Annie Maria]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Haddon	[Frederick John]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hale	Charles	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Hale	Richard	<i>Zealandia</i>	24	
Haley	Richard	<i>Chile</i>	23	labourer
Haley	Maria	<i>Chile</i>	23	
Haley	Richard	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Haley	Elizabeth	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Hall	Wm	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	labourer
Halls	Joseph	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Hambin [Hamlin]	Geo.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Hambin [Hamlin]	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Hamilton	William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Hamlyn (Homlyn in <i>Auckland Star</i> )	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	railway porter
Hancock [Hancox]	Wm [William George]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	14	navy
Hancox	Eliza [Eliza Jane]	<i>Bebington</i>	23	
Hancox	Eliza [Elizabeth]	<i>Bebington</i>	3	
Hancox [Hancock]	James	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Hancox [Hancock]	James	<i>Bebington</i>	26	labourer
Hancox	John	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Hancox	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Hancox	Sarah [Sarah Ann]	<i>Bebington</i>	28	
Hancox	Alice	<i>Bebington</i>	3	
Hancox	Thomas	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	28	farm labourer
Hancox	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	33	farm labourer
Hancox	Annie (Anna Maria)	<i>Forfarshire</i>	33	
Hancox	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	11	
Hancox	Annie [Annie Matilda]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	2	
Hancox [Hancock]	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	24	navy
Hancox [s/b Prestidge]	Eliz.	<i>Bebington</i>	6	
Hanks	Fredk	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	navy
Harding	Chas	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	21	navy
Harding	James	<i>Chile</i>	32	labourer
Harding	George	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Hare	George	<i>Schiehallion</i>	34	
Hare	Anne [Annie Lyrad]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	34	
Harfot/Harfoot	Thos.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Harfot/Harfoot	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Harfot/Harfoot	Emma [s/b Elizabeth]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Harfot/Harfoot	Wm./John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	5	
Harfot/Harfoot	Sam.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Harman	Thos	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	19	navy
Harold	David	<i>Chile</i>	21	labourer
Harper	Fredk	<i>Bebington</i>	26	labourer
Harriott [Herriott]	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	22	
Harris	Wm	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Harris	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Harris	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	22	

Harris	William	<i>Ballarat</i>	27	
Harris	Georgina	<i>Ballarat</i>	28	
Harris	Geo. [George William]	<i>Ballarat</i>	3	
Harris	Richard	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Harris	Elizabeth	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Harris	Edwin	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Harris	Richard	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	farm labourer
Harris	Jonathan	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	navy
Harris	George	<i>Zealandia</i>	19	
Hart	Alfred [Alfred Thomas]	<i>Zealandia</i>	17	
Hart	[Mrs] Elizabeth	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Hart	Frederick	<i>Zealandia</i>	2	
Hart	John	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Hart	William John	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Hart	Elizabeth	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Harvey	Geo [George]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Harvey	Henry	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Harvey	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	27	labourer
Harvey	Louisa	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	
Harvey	Robt (not Robert Wilson)	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	farm labourer
Harwood	Jno	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Hatter	Chas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	25	farm labourer
Hawkins	Chas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	labourer
Hawkins/Hocking [Hocking]	Francis [Francis John]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	30	
Hawthorne	Jas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	35	farm labourer
Hawthorne	Eliza	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	
Hawthorne	James (should be Lilly)	<i>Forfarshire</i>	3m	
Haynes	[Mr]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Haynes	[Mrs]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Haywood	[Caroline Victoria]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Haywood	[John Henry]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Haywood	[Mary Ann]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Haywood	[Elizabeth]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Haywood	[James]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Haywood	George	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hazel	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	farm labourer
Hazel [Hazell]	Josh [Joseph]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	farm labourer
Heasman	Hy	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	navy
Helson	Chas. H.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Herbert	[H.A.] [Henry Alfred]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Herbert	Henry	<i>Crusader</i>		
Herriott	Martha	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Herriott	Jane [Jane Elizabeth Harriett]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Herriott	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Herver (Harvey?)	Edward	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Hibberd	Edward/Edwin	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hibberd	[Sophia Ann]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hibberd	[Sarah Ann]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hibberd	[Margaret]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hibberd	[Mary Matilda]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hicks	John [John William]	<i>Chile</i>	31	labourer
Hicks	Mary	<i>Chile</i>	31	

Hicks	William [Stephen William]	<i>Chile</i>	5	
Hicks	Mary [s/b Isabella Timms]	<i>Chile</i>	7	
Hicks	William H.	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Hicks	John	<i>Chile</i>	32	labourer
Hicks	Bertha J. [Bertha Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	9	
Hicks	Effie	<i>Chile</i>	5	
Hill	Josh R [James Rowland]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	navy
Hill	Ellen	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	
Hill	James [James Ernest]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	1	
Hillman	George	<i>Zealandia</i>	18	
Hills	Henry	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	26	navy
Hills	Edward	<i>Chile</i>	22	labourer
Hitchcock	William	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hitching [Hitchings]	Wm	<i>Chile</i>	19	labourer
Hobbing [Hobbins]	Mr [Benjamin]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hodge	R.	<i>Schiehallion</i>	32	
Hodges	Mr	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hodges	James	<i>Bebington</i>	28	labourer
Hodges	Lucy	<i>Bebington</i>	26	
Hodges	Wm.	<i>Bebington</i>	4	
Hodges	Sarah [Sarah Jane]	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Holland	Chas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	23	labourer
Holland	Geo	<i>Lutterworth</i>	26	labourer
Hollebon	Abel John	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Holt	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	navy
Hood	Wm	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Hooper	Samuel	<i>Zealandia</i>	29	
Hopgood	Edward	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Hopgood	Mrs [Susan Angelica]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Hopgood	[Charles Edward]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Hornsby	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	25	labourer
Horscroft	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Howell	Richard	<i>Lutterworth</i>	28	farm labourer
Howse	Thos	<i>Chile</i>		labourer
Howse	Caroline	<i>Chile</i>	22	
Howson		<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Hughes	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	31	labourer
Hughes	Sophia	<i>Forfarshire</i>	31	
Hughes	Wm [William Henry]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	1	
Hughes	John	<i>Lutterworth</i>	24	labourer
Humphreys	Hy	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	26	navy
Humphreys	A.	<i>Schiehallion</i>	20	
Humphreys	George	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Humphries	[Eliza]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Humphries	[Lucy Leah]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Humphries	[Emily Edith]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Humphries/Humphrey	W. [William]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hunn	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	navy
Hunn	Emma	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	
Hunn	Wm [William George]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	5	
Hunn	Oliver [Oliver John]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	9m	
Hunt	Matthew	<i>Chile</i>	23	labourer



Hunt	Catherine	<i>Chile</i>	20	
Hunt	Thos	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Hunt	[Richard]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Hunt	Thomas	<i>Bebington</i>	31	labourer
Hunt	Emma	<i>Bebington</i>	29	
Hunt	Eliz.	<i>Bebington</i>	6	
Hunt	Georgina	<i>Bebington</i>	4	
Hunt	Emma	<i>Bebington</i>	2	
Hunt	W.	<i>Chile</i>	21	labourer
Hunt	Wm	<i>Chile</i>	22	labourer
Hunt	Peter	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Hurrell	Richard	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
Hurrell	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	labourer
Hussey	Thomas	<i>Bebington</i>	23	navvy
Hussey	Mary	<i>Bebington</i>	22	
Hutson	Peter	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Hutson	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Hutson	Ben	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Hutton	James [James Muir]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Ireland	Jos. [Joseph aka Josiah?]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	25	farm labourer
Ireland	Maria	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	
Isom	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	26	
Ive	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
James	Ellis	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
James	Hannah	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
James	Frederick Ellis	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Jamieson	Chas	<i>City of Auckland</i>		labourer
Janken [Jenkins]	Edward	<i>Durham</i>		/
Jardine	Thomas	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	draining
Jefferies	Jasper	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Jeffery	Richard	<i>Chile</i>	12	navvy
Jeffery	George (or Granville on IM list)	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	labourer
Jeffrey	Ben	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Jeffreys	Henry	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	24	/
Jeffs	George	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Jenkins	Mary	<i>Durham</i>		
Jenkins	infant	<i>Durham</i>	0	
Jenkins	William [William Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Jenkins	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	
Jenkins	Ellen	<i>City of Auckland</i>	2	
Jenkins	William H [William Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	0	
Jerome/Jerrom	David	<i>Zealandia</i>	21	
Jerrom/Jerram	Thomas (alias Ginger)	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Jessop	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
Johnson	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Jones	George	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	navvy
Jones	Lydia	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	
Jones	Wm	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Jones	Mr (Chas)	<i>Halcione</i>		
Jones	J.	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	26	navvy
Jones	Geo.	<i>Lutterworth</i>	27	navvy

Jones	Fredk.	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	22	navvy
Jones	Robert [Robert William]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Jones	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	labourer
Jones	Hannah	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	
Jones	Eliza [Elizabeth Jane]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	6	
Jones	Emma	<i>City of Auckland</i>	4	
Jones	Hannah	<i>City of Auckland</i>	3	
Jones	Thomas [Thomas John]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1	
Jones	John H. [John Richmond Primrose Hull]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	36	
Jones	Sarah A [Sarah Ann]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	32	
Jones	John R [John Richmond]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	1	
Jones	Richard William	<i>Zealandia</i>	26	
Jones	Harry	<i>Zealandia</i>	35	
Jones	[Mrs]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Jones	Lucy	<i>Zealandia</i>	9	
Jones	inf	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Jones	Elizabeth	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Jordan	Joseph	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Judd	Henry	<i>Lutterworth</i>	27	navvy
Keat	Edward	<i>City of Auckland</i>	44	miner
Keat	Mary	<i>City of Auckland</i>	37	
Keat	John [John Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	10	
Keat	Charles [Charles Edward Ivey]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	5	
Keat	Leonard I [Leonard Ivey]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	miner
Keat	Susan	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	
Keat	J.	<i>Schiehallion?</i>		
Keen	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	labourer
Keen [Keene]	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	labourer
King	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
King	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	26	
King	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Knight				
Knight	Mrs			
Knight	Joseph [Joseph Francis]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	navvy
Knighton	Matthew	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Knighton	J. [James]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	22	
Koul/Kent (Korel in <i>Auckland Star</i> )	Patrick	<i>City of Auckland</i>	25	miner
Lampart [Lampard]	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	farm labourer
Landon	Thos	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
Lane	John	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Lane	Charles [Charles Mathew]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lane	Hannah	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lane	Agnes	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lane	Maria	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lane	George [George Charles]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lane	Thomas	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Lawrence	James	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Lawrence	Elizabeth Amelia	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Lawrence	Albert	<i>Chile</i>	-	navvy

Lawrence	Nicholas [Nicholas James]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Lawrence	James William	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Lay	Alfred	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lay	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lay	Annie [Annie Isabella]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lay	Charles	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Leach	Frederick	<i>Crusader</i>		
Leach	Chas.	<i>Bebington</i>	22	labourer
Lean	James	<i>Chile</i>	19	navy
Lear	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Lee	Danl.	<i>Schiehallion</i>	19	
Lee	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	farm labourer
Lee	Margaret	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	
Leggatt	George [George Edward]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Lethaby	John [John George]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lethaby	Elizabeth	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lethaby	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Levin	Lewis/Louis	<i>Schiehallion</i>	34	
Levin	Mrs Louis	<i>Schiehallion</i>	32	
Lewis	Edmd.	<i>Lutterworth</i>	22	labourer
Liddiard	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	navy
Lock	[Mr]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Lock	[Mrs]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Lock	Emily	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Lockett	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Lockett	[Annie]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Lockett	George [George Edwin]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Lockett	James Thomas	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Loder	Richard	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	navy
Longshaw	John	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Love	Charles	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Love	Louisa	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lovejoy	Alfred [Alfred Edward]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	navy
Low	Charles [Charles Scott]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone?</i>		
Low	Elizabeth	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Low	David	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Low	William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Low	Charles	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Low	James Watson	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Lowe	Elizabeth	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Lowe	Emma	<i>Bebington</i>	20	
Lowe	Thomas	<i>Bebington</i>	24	farm labourer
Luby [Luly]	William [William Henry]	<i>Chile</i>	20	labourer
Lucas	Richard	<i>City of Auckland</i>	33	labourer
Lummiss	Arthur [s/b Frederick]	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Lummiss	Arthur	<i>Bebington</i>	24	smith
Lummiss	Mary A. [s/b Maria]	<i>Bebington</i>	25	
Lusted [but used Collins]	Robt.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Lysaght	E. [Edward aka Ned]	<i>City of Auckland</i>		
Magill	Saml.	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	30	engineer
Mahoney	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	labourer
Mallows	Charles	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		

Mallowes	Julia	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Mallowes	Edward	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Mallowes	Henry [Henry Thomas]	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Mallowes	Mary Ann (aka Pollie)	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Mallowes	Harriett Eliza	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Malniss [Maling]	Alfred	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Manney/Mannie/Mamey/Marnie/ (Marney)	James	<i>Bebington</i>	21	labourer
Mant	James	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Marler (Marley, Marlow)	David	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	farm labourer
Marsh	Mr	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Marsh	Mrs	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Marsh	Z.	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	labourer
Marshall	Thos.	<i>Bebington</i>	23	labourer
Marshment	Thos.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	21	navy
Marshment	Charlotte	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	
Martin	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Martin	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer
Martin	Thomas	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	21	platelayer
Martin	Malcolm	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Martin	Christr.	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	22	navy
Martin	David	<i>City of Auckland</i>	25	labourer
Martin	William Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	25	labourer
Martin	James	<i>Schiehallion</i>	33	
Martin	[Mrs]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Martin	Frederick	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Martin	John	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Martin	Rebecca	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Martin	William	<i>Zealandia</i>	2	
Maskill	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Mason [Mosen]	Joseph	<i>Chile</i>	-	labourer
Mason [Mosen]	Emma [Emma Maria]	<i>Chile</i>	24	
Mason [Mosen]	Thomas [Thomas Joseph]	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Mason [Mosen]	Albert [Albert Edward]	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Mastin	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Matthews	James	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	labourer
Maugham	T. [Theophilus]	<i>Bebington</i>	20	labourer
Maund	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	33	labourer
Maunder	Alfred	<i>Schiehallion</i>	25	
May	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
May	Lucy	<i>City of Auckland</i>	27	
Maynard	John	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	navy
Maythew [Mayhew]	John [John Pond aka John Peter]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
McCoy	Thos.	<i>Bebington</i>	33	labourer
McCoy	Ann	<i>Bebington</i>	29	
McCoy	Geo	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
McGorim/McGoram	John	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
McGrale [later McGreal]	Michael	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer
McHatharm	William	<i>Bebington</i>	23	miner
Medlin	James	<i>Schiehallion</i>	26	
Melton	Wm	<i>Lutterworth</i>	34	farm labourer

Metcalf [Metcalf]	Wm	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	18	/
Middleton	George	<i>Chile</i>	-	farm labourer
Milden	Daniel [Daniel James]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	34	labourer
Milden	Kate	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	
Mildenhall	Thos [Thomas Johnson]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	labourer
Mildenhall	Elizth [Elizabeth]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	33	
Mildenhall	John [Thomas John]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	3	
Mildenhall	Annie [Annie Matilda]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	0	
Miles	Josh. [Joseph]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	27	farm labourer
Milford	Richard	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Millar	W.	<i>City of Auckland</i>		
Milles	Charles	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Millier	John	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	19	navy
Mills	Thomas Hannats	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Mills	Clara	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Mills	George Henry Thomas	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Mills	Thomas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	22	
Mills	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Mills	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	26	
Mills	William	<i>Zealandia</i>	25	
Miners/Minirs	Wm [William Henry]	<i>Bebington</i>	36	labourer
Minty	H. [Henry]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	labourer
Mitchell	Joseph	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	farm labourer
Mitchell	Joseph	<i>Zealandia</i>	22	
Mockford	Emma	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Mockford	[Hector]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Mockford	[Emma]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Mockford	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Mole [Moyle]	Thomas	<i>Bebington</i>	25	labourer
Mole [Moyle]	Caroline	<i>Bebington</i>	24	
Monaghan	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Moore	Fredk.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Moore	Ellen	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Morgan	James [James Henry]	<i>Chile</i>	25	navy
Morris	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	22	
Morris (Norris in <i>Auckland Star</i> )	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	navy
Morrish	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	navy
Mosen	Mark O. [Mark Oliver]	<i>Chile</i>	20	labourer
Mosen	Emma	<i>Chile</i>	20	
Mosen	Emma [s/b Eliza Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	3	
Moses	John	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
Moss	Matthew	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	farm labourer
Moyle	Wm. H [William Henry]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Moyle	Grace	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Moyle	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	8	
Moyle	Edward	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Moyle	Joseph	<i>Schiehallion</i>	24	
Moyle	Mrs Joseph [Selina Jane]	<i>Schiehallion</i>		
Moyle	inf [Joseph Edward]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	9m	
Mudge	Wm.	<i>Lutterworth</i>	23	labourer
Muir	Alexander	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	navy
Muir	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	

Muir	John [John Alexander]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	3	
Muir	Chas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1	
Muir	James	<i>Schiehallion</i>	34	
Muir	Emma	<i>Schiehallion</i>	34	
Muncey	Chas	<i>Bebington</i>	21	labourer
Murray	James	<i>Bebington</i>	33	platelayer
Nason	[R.] [Richard Cranner]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Neal	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	farm labourer
Neal	George	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Neal	Anne	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Neale	John [John Henry]	<i>Chile</i>	25	labourer
Neale	Emma	<i>Chile</i>	25	
Newell	Thomas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	25	farm labourer
Newport	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	labourer
Newton	Thomas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	24	
Nicholls	Emma	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	
Nicholls	John	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Nicholls	William	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Nicholls	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	farm labourer
Nicholls	Selina	<i>City of Auckland</i>		
Nicholls	James	<i>Chile</i>	26	labourer
Nicholls	Elizabeth [Elizabeth Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	25	
Nicholls	James [James Henry]	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Nicholls	Clara	<i>Chile</i>	3	
Nicholls	Thos	<i>Chile</i>	30	navy
Nicholls	Mrs Thos. [Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	30	
Nicholls	A.J. [Alfred James or John]	<i>Chile</i>	21	labourer
Nicklin	Frederick	<i>Zealandia</i>	1	
Nicklis	[Mrs]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Nicklis [Nickless]	[Mr]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Noarth/North	John	<i>Chile</i>	22	navy
Norris	Thomas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	farm labourer
Nowell [Howell]	R. [Richard]	<i>Lutterworth?</i>		
Noyes	Thomas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	26	farm labourer
O'Brien	Patrick	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Odey (Oddy/Oddie) (NOT Udy)	Chas (or H. on prom notes list)	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	labourer
Olive	Samuel [Samuel Thomas]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Olive	Jeremiah	<i>City of Auckland</i>	50	labourer
Olive	Mary	<i>City of Auckland</i>	50	
Oliver	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	35	
Oliver	Chas	<i>Bebington</i>	20	labourer
Oliver	Thomas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	25	
Opie	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Opie	John F [John Francis]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	labourer
Orchard	George Wm	<i>Lutterworth</i>	23	labourer
Orchard	Edward [Edward James]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	17	labourer
Owen	Geo	<i>Schiehallion</i>	24	
Owld	Wm [William George]	<i>Chile</i>	35	labourer
Owld	Mary [Mary Jane Martin]	<i>Chile</i>	33	
Owld	George [William George Devonshire]	<i>Chile</i>	0	

Packer	Job	<i>Chile</i>	26	labourer
Packer	Mrs [Annie Mary]	<i>Chile</i>	-	
Packer	Thomas [Thomas William]	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Packer	Julia [Julia Mary Ann]	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Packer	Amelia [Amelia Susan]	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Page	Robt	<i>Bebington</i>	22	labourer
Painting/Panting [Painton]	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	farm labourer
Painton	Josh	<i>Forfarshire</i>	26	farm labourer
Painton	Phillip	<i>Forfarshire</i>	25	navy
Palmer	Frederick	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Palmer	James Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer
Palmer	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Palmer	Dinah	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Palmer	Jesse	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Palmer	John	<i>Bebington</i>	23	labourer
Pardon	Alfred	<i>Chile</i>	19	navy
Park	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	27	labourer
Park	Sarah	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	
Park	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	1	
Parry	[Mr]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Parry	[Mrs] maybe Jane	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Parry	Jane	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Partridge	Richard	<i>Bebington</i>	27	labourer
Pascoe	Joseph	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Pascoe	Hugh	<i>Chile</i>	21	labourer
Pascoe	Harriet	<i>Chile</i>	20	
Pascoe	E.F. [Edward John]	<i>Chile</i>	22	navy
Pascoe	Edward [Edward John]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	farm labourer
Pascoe	Emily	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	
Pass	Elwin/Alvin	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	navy
Pass	Edmund	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	navy
Patrick [Petrick/Pethrick]	Richard	<i>City of Auckland</i>		labourer
Patrick [Petrick/Pethrick]	Jane	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	
Patrick [Petrick/Pethrick]	Elizabeth	<i>City of Auckland</i>	9	
Paul	William [William Henry]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Paul	Emma	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Paull	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	24	
Paull	Mrs. [Mary Ann]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	27	
Paull	Frank (Francis)	<i>Schiehallion</i>	4	
Paull	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	3	
Paull	Eliz.th A [Elizabeth Ann]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	1	
Paull	Alex	<i>Schiehallion</i>	19	
Pearce	George	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Pearce	Sarah Anne [Sarah Hannah]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	18	
Pearson	Charles	<i>Zealandia</i>	18	
Peguar (Pegler,Pegley)	Walter	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Penfold	Albert	<i>City of Auckland</i>	15	
Penrose	Thomas	<i>Chile</i>	20	labourer
Perrin	Geo.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Perrin	Harriet	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Perrin	Alfred	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Perry	William J.[William John]	<i>Bebington</i>	24	carpenter

Perry	Cath.e	<i>Bebington</i>	24	
Perry	Albert	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Perry	James	<i>Zealandia</i>	20	
Pert	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Pert	Eliza/Elizabeth	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pert	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pester	Sidney	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Phillips	Wm	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	26	navvy
Phillips	Samuel [Samuel Rodda]	<i>Chile</i>	21	labourer
Phillips	Elizabeth [Elizabeth Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	23	
Phillips	Edward	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	26	navvy
Phillips	Thomas	<i>Chile</i>	28	navvy
Phillips	Thomas	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Phillips	Samuel	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	navvy
Phillips	William	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Phillips	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Phillips	Mary Ann	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Philp	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	31	
Philp	Mrs. [Mary Jane]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	28	
Philp	Ellen	<i>Schiehallion</i>	7	
Philp	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	5	
Philp	Louisa	<i>Schiehallion</i>	3	
Philp	Mary A	<i>Schiehallion</i>	1	
Pickett	Chas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	labourer
Pike [Pyke]	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	labourer
Pine	Thomas [Thomas Youatt]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Pine	Ellen	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Pine	H.H. [Horatio Nelson]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Pine	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Pinfold	John	<i>Halcione</i>		
Pinfold	Job	<i>Halcione</i>		
Pinfold	Elizabeth	<i>Halcione</i>		
Pinfold	Mary Elizabeth	<i>Halcione</i>		
Pinnell	Elisha	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	labourer
Piper	Richard	<i>Chile</i>	28	labourer
Piper	Nancy	<i>Chile</i>	28	
Piper	Annie	<i>Chile</i>	9	
Piper	Mary	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Piper	Emma [Emma Alma]	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Pithouse	Geo	<i>Lutterworth</i>	28	labourer
Pocock	Henry	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Polglaze	Elizth. [Elizabeth Ann]	<i>Ballarat</i>	18	
Polglaze	Harry	<i>Ballarat</i>	0	
Polglaze [Polglase]	Saml.	<i>Ballarat</i>	22	
Pollard	Edward J [Edward John]	<i>Bebington</i>	20	carpenter
Pollard	Ellen	<i>Bebington</i>	23	
Pollard	Edward John	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Pomeroy	Philip	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Pomeroy	James	<i>Bebington</i>	22	carpenter
Pomeroy	Louisa	<i>Bebington</i>	19	
Pomiter	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Pond	Wm	<i>Bebington</i>	30	labourer



Pond	Elizth.	<i>Bebington</i>	26	
Pond	Edwd	<i>Bebington</i>	4	
Pond	Chas. (should be Henry Ernest)	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Pont	[Sarah Ann]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pont	Elizabeth	<i>Zealandia</i>	8	
Pont	George	<i>Zealandia</i>	2.5	
Pont	George	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pont	Susan (also Grace Susan)	<i>Zealandia</i>	20	
Pont	Denis	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pont	Eliza Adelaide	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pool	Thomas	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Pope	Wm [William John]	<i>Bebington</i>	25	labourer
Pope	Cathe.	<i>Bebington</i>	25	
Pope	John [William John]	<i>Bebington</i>	2	
Pope	Jos.h [Thomas Henry]	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Portch	E.A [Edward Hippsley]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	25	farm labourer
Porter	Samuel J	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	24	farm labourer
Potter	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Potter	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Potter	Alfred	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	navvy
Powell	Reuben	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Powell	Clara	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Powell	William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Powell	Mrs Wm. [Martha Sarah]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Powell	William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Powell	Thos.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Powell	Harriet	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Preston	George William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Preston	Walter John	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Preston	William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Preston	Eliza Ann	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Preston	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	22	labourer
Preston	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Price	Thos	<i>Bebington</i>	26	labourer
Price	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	labourer
Priddix [Prideaux]	Charles	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer
Prisk	Samuel	<i>Schiehallion</i>	22	
Prisk	Mrs. [Mary]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	20	
Prisk	Henry [Samuel Henry]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	9m	
Prisk	Eliz. [Elizabeth M.J.]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	2	
Pritchett	Emma Elizabeth	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Pritchett	Henry	<i>Bebington</i>	32	smith
Pritchett	Elizabeth	<i>Bebington</i>	20	
Prout	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	labourer
Pryn (Prim in <i>Auckland Star</i> ) [Prin]	Richard [Richard Stevens]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	25	farm labourer
Pumphrey	[Mrs] Mary Ann	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pumphrey	Thomas	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pumphrey	Mary	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Pumphrey/Pumphry	[James Henry]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Purnell	William or Henry?	<i>Zealandia</i>	19	

Purser	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	navvy
Quinn	Charles	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
Rabone	Samuel	<i>Schiehallion</i>	40	
Rabone	Marg [Margaret]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	34	
Rabone	Elizth J. [Mary Jane]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	13	
Rabone	Saml.	<i>Schiehallion</i>	9	
Rabone	Eliza [Elizabeth Ann]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	7	
Ramsay/Ramsey	Geo	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Rance	Henry	<i>Lutterworth</i>	18	navvy
Randle	James	<i>Schiehallion</i>	38	sub-contractor
Randle	Elizabeth	<i>Forfarshire</i>	33	
Randle	Walter	<i>Forfarshire</i>	15	
Randle	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	10	
Randle	Joseph	<i>Forfarshire</i>	4	
Randle	James [James Henry]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	2	
Rawlins	Thomas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	28	
Reading	C.	<i>Halcione</i>		
Reardon	Catherine [Caroline Sophia]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Reardon	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Reardon	George	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Reardon	James {known as Bricky}	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Reason	Edwd [Edwin]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	16	navvy
Redden	Thomas	<i>Jessie Readman?</i>		
Redding	Thomas jun.	<i>Schiehallion</i>	19	
Redding	Thomas sen	<i>Schiehallion</i>	42	
Redding	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	11	
Redmond	Mary	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Redmond	Dennis	<i>Bebington</i>	26	miner
Redmond	Mary	<i>Bebington</i>	22	
Ree	Mark	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	navvy
Reed/Reid	James	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Reeve (Revie on IM list)	Alexander	<i>City of Auckland</i>	31	labourer
Reeves	John	<i>Lutterworth</i>	27	farm labourer
Reeves	Sarah [Sarah Ann]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	22	
Reles/Rehes/Reher/Raher	Thomas	<i>Bebington</i>	30	labourer
Reynolds	R. [Richard]	<i>Chile</i>	28	labourer
Reynolds	Sophia	<i>Chile</i>	30	
Reynolds	William [William Charles]	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Reynolds	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Reynolds	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	30	
Reynolds	James [James Hocker]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	26	labourer
Reynolds	Mary	<i>Forfarshire</i>	26	
Reynolds	Richard [Richard Chidley]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	labourer
Reynolds	T. (Thos)	<i>Halcione</i>		
Reynolds	Mary A [Mary Ann]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	
Reynolds	John [John Henry]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	9	
Reynolds	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	3	
Reynolds	Mary [Mary Anne]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	7	
Reynolds	Bessie	<i>Forfarshire</i>	6	
Rhodes	Chas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	navvy
Richards	William	<i>Zealandia</i>	30	
Richards	Henrietta	<i>Zealandia</i>	8	

Richards	son	<i>Zealandia</i>	8	
Richards	inf	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Richards [Rickard/s]	Henry	<i>Chile</i>	23	labourer
Richards [Rickard/s]	Grace [Grace Ann]	<i>Chile</i>	23	
Richards [Rickard/s]	Thomas [Thomas John]	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Richards or Thomas	Thomas or Richard	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	labourer
Richardson	Joseph	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Rickards	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	34	
Rickards	Elizth S. [Elizabeth Sutton]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	10	
Rickards	William [William Henry]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	7	
Rickards	Edward	<i>Schiehallion</i>	4	
Rickards	Eliz. [s/b Catherine]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	33	
Rider [Ryder]	Thos.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Rixon	James	<i>Lutterworth</i>	36	farm labourer
Rixon	Louisa	<i>Lutterworth</i>	28	
Rixon	William [William Edwin]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	6	
Roberts	Chas	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	27	labourer
Roberts	Richard	<i>Schiehallion</i>	39	
Roberts	Mrs. [Elizabeth Ann]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	37	
Roberts	James [James John Lobb]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	9	
Roberts	Elizth. [Elizabeth Edith]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	-	
Roberts	James	<i>Bebington</i>	26	labourer
Roberts	Ann	<i>Bebington</i>	24	
Roberts	Matthew	<i>City of Auckland</i>	36	labourer
Roberts	James	<i>Schiehallion</i>	19	
Robins	John F.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Robinson	Thomas William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	navy
Robinson	Eliza [Eliza Maria Sage]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	
Robinson	T. [Thomas?]	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Rogers	Edward [Edward John]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1y6 m	
Rogers	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	navy
Rogers	Thomas Hy.	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	engine driver
Rogers	Mary Anne	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	
Rogers	James	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Rogers [Rodgers]	H. (Henry, Hamilton, Hugh)	<i>Lutterworth?</i>		
Rogers [Rodgers]	Thomas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	18	farm labourer
Romdall	Thomas	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Ronne	Sarah	<i>Chile</i>	20	
Ronne	George	<i>Chile</i>	20	labourer
Rossiter	I or E	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	labourer
Roulter [Rutter]	Vincent	<i>Schiehallion</i>	24	
Rouse	Edward	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Rowe	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Runall	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Russ	William	<i>Lutterworth</i>	22	farm labourer
Russell	Thomas	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Salmon	William [William Thomas]	<i>Bebington</i>	26	labourer
Salter	Henry	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	21	labourer
Sammons	John [John Yeoman]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Sammons	Harriett	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	

Sampson	Francis	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Sampson	Ellen	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	
Sanctuary	Thomas	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Sandercock [Saundercock]	Joseph [Joseph John]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	29	
Sandford	George [maybe Henry]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Santillo	Peter [Peter Vincent]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	labourer
Sargeant (Sergent in <i>Auckland Star</i> )	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	labourer
Sargent	Josh [Joseph]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	32	navy
Sargent	Fanner [Fanny]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	
Saunders	Henry	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Saunders	James	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	shepherd
Saunders	inf	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Saunders	[Mrs]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Saunders	Sarah	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Saunders	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Saunders	Eliza	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Sawle	Thos [John Thomas]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	navy
Scarlett	Thos	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	labourer
Scarlett	Mary E. [Eliza]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	
Scott	Albert	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	25	navy
Scott	Thomas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	24	
Searle	Richard (junior)	<i>Schiehallion</i>	27	
Searle	Richard (senior)	<i>Schiehallion</i>	42	
Searle	Mary	<i>Forfarshire</i>	40	
Searle	William	<i>Forfarshire</i>	14	
Searle	Harriett	<i>Forfarshire</i>	10	
Searle (should be Mills)	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	13	
Secker	Martin [Martin John]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	22	
Sedgemond [Sedgmen]	Stephen	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	labourer
Selway	A. [Alfred]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	18	
Sewell	Anthony	<i>Bebington</i>	21	labourer
Shadwell	Edward	<i>Lutterworth</i>	21	farm labourer
Sharp	Joseph	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Sharpe	?	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	labourer
Shaw	Frederick [Frederick R]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Shaw	Naomi	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Shaw	Malcolm	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Shefford	John	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	labourer
Sheridan [Cheriton]	Charles	<i>Forfarshire</i>	16	
Sheridan [Cheriton]	George	<i>Forfarshire</i>	13	
Sherwood	Samuel	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Short	William	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	19	navy
Silvester	Frederick - is Henry on passenger list - WHY do I have Frederick??	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	18	navy
Silvester	Alfred	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Silvester	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Simpkins	Jasper	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Simpkins	James	<i>Lutterworth</i>	17	labourer
Simpson	S.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Simpson	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	navy

Simpson	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	
Simpson	Cathie [Caroline]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	2	
Simpson	Wm [William Henry]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	1	
Sims	Arthur	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Sims	Lucy [Lucy Martha]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Sims	Arthur [Arthur William]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Sims	Albert [Albert Edward]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Sims	Elizabeth [Elizabeth Lucy]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	4	
Sings	Sarah J. [Sarah Jane]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	22	
Sings	William	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	22	
Slade	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	farm labourer
Smith	Harry	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Smith	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Smith	Mary	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Smith	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Smith	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	navvy
Smith	Wm	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Smith	Thos	<i>Schiehallion</i>	24	
Smith	Isaac	<i>Lutterworth</i>	22	farm labourer
Smith	Henry W.	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	28	labourer
Smith	George	<i>Chile</i>	31	farm labourer
Smith	Maria	<i>Chile</i>	31	
Smith	George [George Plummer]	<i>Chile</i>	11	
Smith	Ellen	<i>Chile</i>	9	
Smith	Lydia	<i>Chile</i>	0	
Smith	James	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Smith	Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	labourer
Smith	Ellen	<i>City of Auckland</i>	25	
Smith	Alfred	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Smith	Frederick	<i>Chile</i>	22	farm labourer
Smith	Wm	<i>Chile</i>	19	farm labourer
Smith	Daniel	<i>City of Auckland</i>	32	bricklayer
Smith	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	34	navvy
Smith	Ann	<i>Forfarshire</i>	32	
Smith	Eliz.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	10	
Snell	Joseph	<i>Chile</i>	33	labourer
Snell	Jane	<i>Chile</i>	32	
Snell	William [William James]	<i>Chile</i>	4	
Snell	Joseph [Joseph Henry]	<i>Chile</i>	2	
Snell	Ellen [Ellen Jane]	<i>Chile</i>	6	
Solomon	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Somers	Peter	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Southby	Ric.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	navvy
Southworth	Wm	<i>Bebington</i>	32	farm labourer
Spargo	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Sparkes	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	21	farm labourer
Spittle	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Spittle	[Mrs] Annie/Ann Hawthorne	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Spratley	James	<i>Jessie Readman?</i>		
Squire	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Stallard	Edward [Edwin]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Stanborough	George	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	

Stancombe	David	<i>Schiehallion</i>	19	
Stanley	Wm. [William Bateman ]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Stanley	Margaret [Margaret Ann]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Stanley	Wm J.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Stanley	Alpheus	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Stanley	Ada E. [Ada Eliza]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Stanley	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Stannett	Silas	<i>Lutterworth</i>	23	gardener
Stanton	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	27	labourer
Stark	James	<i>Schiehallion</i>	40	
Stark	Susan	<i>Forfarshire</i>	40	
Stark	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	7	
Stark	William [William John]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	4	
Stark	Alice	<i>Forfarshire</i>	2	
Statham	George	<i>Zealandia</i>	21	
Stephens	William	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Stevens/Stephen	William H.[William Henry Hawken]	<i>Chile</i>	-	labourer
Stevens/Stephen	Priscilla	<i>Chile</i>	20	
Stilles	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Stone	John	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Strongman	James [James Francis]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	28	
Stunnett [Stunell]	[Henry]	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	19	navvy
Styles	Alfred	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Sullivan	Edwin	<i>Forfarshire</i>	26	navvy
Sullivan	Daniel	<i>City of Auckland</i>	32	farm labourer
Sullivan	Margaret	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	
Sullivan	Johanna/Anna	<i>City of Auckland</i>	9	
Sullivan	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	5	
Summers [Barlow]	Geo.	<i>Ballarat</i>	28	
Summers [Barlow]	Emma	<i>Ballarat</i>	26	
Summers [Barlow]	Anne	<i>Ballarat</i>	2	
Summers [Barlow]	James [s/b Jane Summers]	<i>Ballarat</i>	0	
Summeston [Summerton]	Walter	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Swain	Solomon {aka Henry}	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	navvy
Sweet	Henry	<i>Chile</i>	18	labourer
Swinnock	Elizabeth A.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Swinnock	Edward	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Symons	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	31	blacksmith
Tame	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	31	navvy
Tame	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	farm labourer
Tandy	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	32	gardener
Tantrum	Edwin	<i>Lutterworth</i>	23	farm labourer
Tantrum	Mary	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	
Tapp	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Tarr	Mr (John or James?)	<i>Halcione</i>		
Tasker	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Tasker	Martha	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Tate [Tait]	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	24	
Tate [Tait]	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Taylor	Geo.	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Taylor	Robt	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	navvy

Taylor	Wm	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	23	navvy
Taylor	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	31	navvy
Taylor	Rose [Rose Ann]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	
Taylor	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	5	
Taylor	James [James William]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	1	
Taylor	George	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Taylor	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>	19	
Taylor	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	20	
Taylor	Mrs	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Telling	Emanuel	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	labourer
Temby	William Henry	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Temby	Hannah (Annie)	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Terry	Wm	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	22	carpenter
Terry	Wm	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Terry	Ann	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Terry	Mary A [Mary Ann]	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Terry	William	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Terry	Edwin	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Tester	Richard	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	29	navvy
Thacker	William	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Thacker	Ellen	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Thacker	Matilda	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Thacker	Rosetta [Ellen Rosetta]	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Thacker	Elizabeth [Elizabeth Ann]	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Thady [Thodey]	Wm. [William Henry]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Theobald	Jacob	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Thomas	John	<i>Charlotte Gladstone?</i>		
Thomas	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	33	
Thomas	John	<i>Chile</i>	25	carpenter
Thomas	Ann	<i>Chile</i>	25	
Thomas	Daniel	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	sawyer
Thomas	Jane	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	
Thomas	Alfred	<i>Forfarshire</i>	8	
Thomas	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	2	
Thomas	Annie [Annie Maria]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	0	
Thomas	Joseph	<i>Chile</i>	20	labourer
Thomas	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	labourer
Thomas	Elizabeth [Elizabeth Jane aka Eliza]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	
Thomas [Bawden but used Bowden]	Emily [Eliza Jane]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	9	
Thomas [Bawden, but used Bowden]	Richard Morcom	<i>City of Auckland</i>	14	
Thomas [Bawden, maybe used Bowden]	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	7	
Thomas [Bawden, used Bowden]	Josiah	<i>City of Auckland</i>	11	
Thompson	Geo.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Thompson	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer
Thompson	William [William John]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer
Thrupp	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	32	navvy
Thrupp	Mary	<i>Forfarshire</i>	27	
Thrupp	Anne	<i>Forfarshire</i>	3	

Tillett	Chas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	21	sawyer
Timblick	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	farm labourer
Timblick	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	
Timblick	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	21	farm labourer
Tippett	Richard	<i>Schiehallion</i>	23	
Tippett	Chas	<i>Schiehallion</i>	18	
Tipping	John [John P]	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Tollison	Edward/Edwin	<i>Chile</i>	18	navy
Tomlin	Edwin	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	navy
Tong	Charles [Charles Samuel]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	43	labourer
Tong	Selina	<i>City of Auckland</i>	40	
Tong	Edith [Edith Annie]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	11	
Tong	Eliza [Eliza Edwina]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	10	
Tong	Julia	<i>City of Auckland</i>	8	
Tong	Emma [Emma Josephine]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	6	
Tout	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	25	
Tovey	Joseph	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Town	Charles	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Town	Matilda	<i>Zealandia</i>	21	
Town	Charles	<i>Zealandia</i>	2	
Toy	Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	19	labourer
Treasure	F or T	<i>Lutterworth</i>	24	labourer
Treasure	R. [Richmond Rich]	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	labourer
Trebelcock [Trebilcock but used Wasley]	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	5	
Trebelcock [Trebilcock but used Wasley]	Elizabeth (Bessie)	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	3	
Trebelcock [Trebilcock but used Wasley]	Caroline	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Trebelcock [Trebilcock]	William/John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	0	
Trebelcock [Trebilcock but used Wasley]	William	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Tregeda [Tregidga]	George	<i>City of Auckland</i>	29	labourer
Tregeda [Tregidga]	Mary [Mary Jane]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	
Tregeda [Tregidga]	William [William John]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	8	
Tregeda [Tregidga]	James	<i>City of Auckland</i>	6	
Tregeda [Tregidga]	Thirza [Thirza Robins]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	4	
Tregeda [Tregidga]	Clara	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1y3 m	
Trembling [Trembin]	Elijah	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Trethewey	John	<i>Chile</i>	23	labourer
Trethewey	Mary	<i>Chile</i>	33	
Trillo	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>	20	
Trinder	David	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
Tripeoney [Tripconey /Tripcony]	Benjamin	<i>Chile</i>	21	labourer
Tripeoney [Tripconey /Tripcony]	John [John Harris]	<i>Chile</i>	-	labourer
Tripp	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	20	
Troon	Joseph	<i>Chile</i>	21	labourer
Troon	Mary [Mary Bennett]	<i>Chile</i>	19	
Trow	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Truan [was Truran]	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Tull	Benjamin	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Tull	Sarah	<i>Zealandia</i>		



Tull	David	<i>Zealandia</i>	3	
Turner	George	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	labourer
Tyack	John	<i>Chile</i>	20	navvy
Underwood	Thomas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	labourer
Underwood	Caroline	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	
Upton	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Upton	Ann	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Urne [Ure]	William [William Reid]	<i>Chile</i>	36	miner
Vercoe	T.F. [John Franklin]	<i>Chile</i>	22	labourer
Vincent	George	<i>Chile</i>	32	labourer
Vincent	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	labourer
Vivian	Jacob	<i>City of Auckland</i>	27	farm labourer
Vivian	Elizabeth	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	
Vivian	Mary	<i>City of Auckland</i>	2	
Vivian	Josh. [Joseph]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1	
Wadling [Watling]	Henry	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	farm labourer
Wait	Geo	<i>Lutterworth</i>	26	labourer
Waitman	Samuel	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Wakefield	Mathias	<i>Lutterworth</i>	42	farm labourer
Wakefield	Wm	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Wakeham	Thomas [Thomas Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	32	farm labourer
Wakeham	Mary [Mary Ann]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	31	
Wakeham	Miss F [Florence Matilda Annis]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	1	
Wakeley or Weakley	Dalton/Robert	<i>Lutterworth</i>	22	farm labourer
Walker	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Walker	Harriett	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Walker	James	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Walker	William	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Walker	John	<i>Zealandia</i>	23	
Wallbanks	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	26	
Wallis	Wm	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	labourer
Wallis	Eliza	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	
Walls	William	<i>Schiehallion</i>	33	
Walsh	Michael	<i>Chile</i>	22	labourer
Wansbone	Joseph	<i>Forfarshire</i>	21	farm labourer
Wansbone	Sarah	<i>Forfarshire</i>	19	
Ward	Geo.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Ward	Ellen	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Ward	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Ward	Hy	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	farm labourer
Warden	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Warne	Thomas	<i>City of Auckland</i>	25	labourer
Warneford	Charles [Charles Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	31	railway worker
Warneford	Jane	<i>City of Auckland</i>	24	
Warneford	Charles	<i>City of Auckland</i>	3	
Warner	Geo	<i>Bebington</i>	27	labourer
Warren	John	<i>Schiehallion</i>	33	
Washer	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Washer	James	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Washington	Wm	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	31	navvy
Waters	Richard	<i>Chile</i>	19	labourer

Waters	John	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Watt(s)	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	23	labourer
Wattes	John	<i>Chile</i>	25	farm labourer
Watts	Robt	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	labourer
Waygood	Joseph	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Waygood	Richard	<i>Jessie Readman</i>		
Weatherdon	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Weaver	Jesse	<i>Forfarshire</i>	28	navy
Weaver	Henry	<i>Forfarshire</i>	14	navy
Webb	Peter O[liver]	<i>Bebington</i>	24	labourer
Webb	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	labourer
Webb	Mary	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	
Webb	George	<i>Halcione</i>		
Webb	Mrs [Ellen Jane]	<i>Halcione</i>		
Webb	Walter George	<i>Halcione</i>		
Webb	Flora Emma	<i>Halcione</i>		
Webber	Peter	<i>City of Auckland</i>	32	labourer
Webber	Robert [Robert Henry]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	33	labourer
Webber	William	<i>City of Auckland</i>	32	farm labourer
Weeks	Henry John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Weeks/Weekes	Wm [William Abbott]	<i>Bebington</i>	22	farm labourer
Welbelove	Samuel	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Weller	John Henry	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Weller	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>	20	
Wellman	Chas	<i>Forfarshire</i>	24	navy
Wells	Robt	<i>Bebington</i>	25	labourer
Welsh	Charles	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
West	Caleb [Caleb John]	<i>Bebington</i>	29	navy
Westbury	Frederick William	<i>Bebington</i>	33	ganger
Westbury	Ann [Hannah Maria]	<i>Bebington</i>	30	
Westbury	Luther [Arthur]	<i>Bebington</i>	6	
Westbury	Emily	<i>Bebington</i>	3	
Wheatley	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>	20	
Wheeler	Jasper	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	farm labourer
Wheeler	George	<i>Chile</i>	23	navy
Wheeler	John	<i>Charlotte Gladstone</i>		
Whipp	Jesse	<i>Zealandia</i>	19	
White	Thomas 23 or John 25	<i>City of Auckland</i>	23	platelayer
White	Thos	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	labourer
White	Geo	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	21	navy
White	John	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	navy
White	Rose [Rose Hannah ]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	25	
White	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	30	navy
White	Sophia	<i>Forfarshire</i>	27	
White	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	3	
White	James	<i>Forfarshire</i>	1	
White	James	<i>Lutterworth</i>	19	farm labourer
White	George	<i>Zealandia</i>		
White [should be Brown]	Geo.	<i>Forfarshire</i>	6	
White [should be Brown]	Kate [Kate Rosa]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	4	
Whitehall	Charles	<i>Zealandia</i>	22	
Whiteway	Thos	<i>Bebington</i>	23	labourer

Wilkins	Geo	<i>Lutterworth</i>	32	farm labourer
Wilks	James	<i>Zealandia</i>	26	
Willcocks/Willcox/Wilcox	Joseph	<i>City of Auckland</i>	20	labourer
Williams	Wm	<i>Bebington</i>	21	/
Williams	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Williams	Sarah (wife of William)	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Williams	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>	12	
Williams	James	<i>Halcione</i>		
Williams	John	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Williams	Rose Hannah	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Williams	Rebecca	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Williams	Mary Elizabeth	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Williams	Ellen	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Williams	Thomas William	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Williams	Richard	<i>Chile</i>	23	labourer
Williams	Ann	<i>Chile</i>	26	
Williams	Joseph ( <i>Auckland Star</i> has a J and a John both aged 18)	<i>City of Auckland</i>	18	labourer
Williams	Joseph or John?	<i>City of Auckland</i>	18	labourer
Williams	George	<i>Zealandia</i>	24	
Williams	H	<i>Zealandia</i>		
Willis	Thomas	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Willis	John H [s/b James]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	35	
Willis	Harriet	<i>Schiehallion</i>	41	
Willis	William [William James]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	4	
Willis	Fanny	<i>Schiehallion</i>	11	
Wills	W. [William]	<i>Chile</i>	22	navy
Wilson	Wm.	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Wilson	William	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Wilson	Arch W. [Archibald William]	<i>Schiehallion</i>	21	
Wilson	John	<i>City of Auckland</i>	25	navy
Winterbottom/Winterbone [Winterbourn]	Geo	<i>Forfarshire</i>	22	navy
Winzar	William [William Henry]	<i>Zealandia</i>	18	
Witney	Benjamin G [Benjamin Gates]	<i>Chile</i>	29	brickyard labourer
Witsey	Florence/Flora	<i>Bebington</i>	1	
Witsey	Wm	<i>Bebington</i>	25	farm labourer
Witsey	Jane	<i>Bebington</i>	23	
Wood	George	<i>City of Auckland</i>	32	navy
Wood	Clara [Clara Jane]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	30	
Wood	George [Edward George]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	10	
Wood	Eliza [Elizabeth]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	4	
Wood	Sarah [Sarah Elizabeth]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	2	
Wood	Henry	<i>Schiehallion</i>	33	
Woodrow	Fra. [Francis John/Frank]	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	20	navy
Woodward	? [John]	<i>Zealandia</i>	21	
Woodworth	Charles	<i>Bebington</i>	0	
Woodworth	Wm.	<i>Bebington</i>	23	mason
Woodworth	Mary [Mary Ann Ninness]	<i>Bebington</i>	22	
Wooff	Geo [George]	<i>Forfarshire</i>	20	farm labourer
Woolcock	Nathaniel	<i>City of Auckland</i>	21	labourer

[Wilcock/Willcock/Willcocks]				
Woolcock/Woollcock (Wolcock in <i>Auckland Star</i> )	James [James Pascoe]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	26	labourer
Worcester	Henry	<i>Zealandia</i>	25	
Wren	George Sydney	<i>City of Auckland</i>	28	labourer
Wyatt	Henry	<i>Crusader</i>	40	
Wyatt	Marion	<i>Crusader</i>	40	
Wyatt	Rachel	<i>Crusader</i>	13	
Wyatt	John [John George]	<i>Crusader</i>		
Yabsley	Robt	<i>Lutterworth</i>	20	railway policeman
Yelland	Thomas [Thomas Clark]	<i>City of Auckland</i>	22	labourer
Yeo	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Yeo	Mary [Mary Elizabeth]	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Young	Alfred	<i>Forfarshire</i>	18	labourer
Young	John	<i>Christian McAusland</i>		
Young	Joseph	<i>Lady Jocelyn</i>	28	navvy