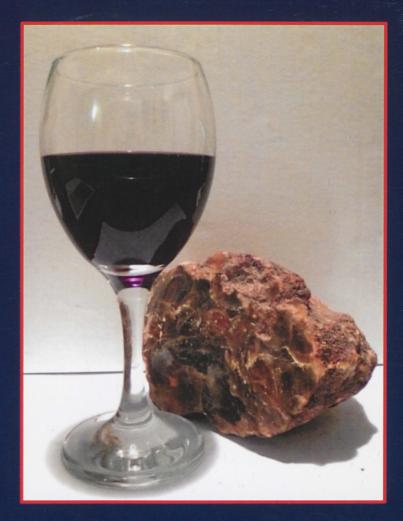
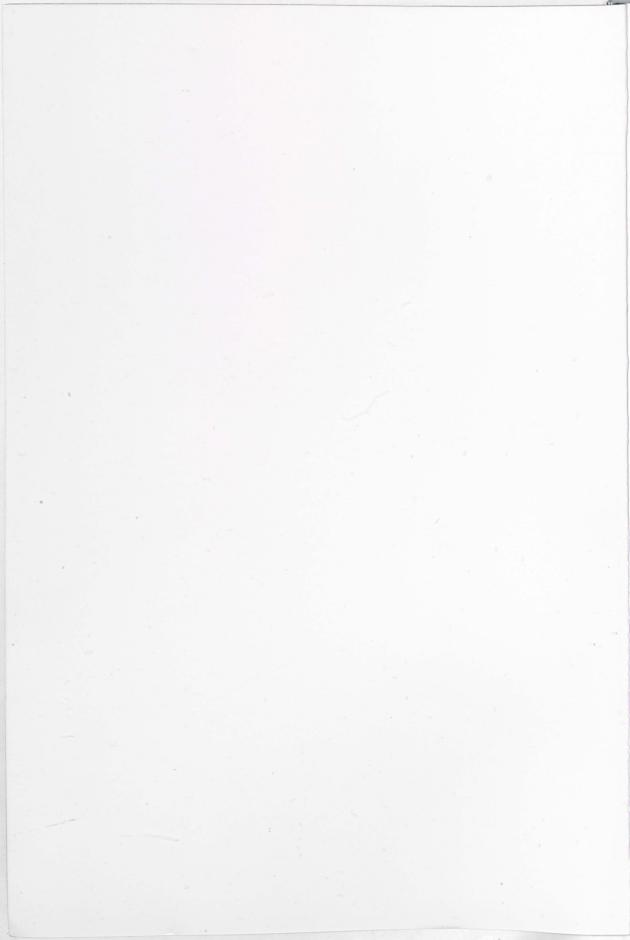
Red Wine to Kauri Gum

The history of Dalmatian emigration to New Zealand's Kauri Gumfields prior to World War I



P. D. Mataga



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Cover Photo

A glass of red wine made in New Zealand by Dalmatian winemakers and a piece of kauri gum washed and hand-scraped to achieve the 97% purity required for it to be used in making varnish. Paul Lupis, the initiator of the emigration of Dalmatians to dig kauri gum was born on the Peljesac peninsula, home to the renowned Dingac red wine. In the 1890s the islands of Brac, Hvar, Korcula and Vis, the Makarska coast and the Peljesac peninsula had almost as much land under grape cultivation as New Zealand has today. Political and natural impacts on this winemaking industry were a significant influence on the Dalmatian emigration to New Zealand.

The gum sample was supplied courtesy of the Matich family of Waiapakauri.

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Data Disk: Tables 1 to 10 are summaries of data collected for *The Stayers* and *The Transients*, together with further research. The data, including all the lists used in compiling it, can be viewed in electronic form on the included disk.

Part 1 Narrative



INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Two earlier books, *The Stayers* and *The Transients*, sought to provide a factual explanation for various aspects of Dalmatian immigration to the New Zealand gumfields prior to World War I. The research for *The Transients* revealed some information that affected some of the reasoning and conclusions reached in *The Stayers*.

The numbers of transients (that is those who came for a short term and then returned to Dalmatia) far outnumbered the stayers (that is those who came to New Zealand to settle). Of about 5,600 known arrivals between 1892 and 1914 (see table 5), about 1800 men were resident in New Zealand in 1916 (see table 3). Of those in New Zealand in 1916 it is likely that about a third had arrived as transients, and had been trapped by the advent of World War I. This appears to be confirmed from passenger lists, with about 500 of those in New Zealand in 1916 returning to Dalmatia by the end of 1923 (see table 6). On this basis, all but about 1300 of those in New Zealand in 1916 were transients, i.e. over three quarters of the arrivals up to 1914.

Furthermore, all but an insignificant minority were active gumdiggers or had a very close association with gumdiggers. This an unusual pattern of immigration.

Both books contain substantial databases used to confirm the narrative portions of the books and to provide information for others researching this immigration. These databases are not repeated in this combined volume, but the tables showing the results of the analyses of the databases are included.

The databases were too voluminous to be incorporated in this volume, but they are recorded in electronic form on the disk included with it. References in the text to information on the disk are shown as those on the Index of Materials on the data disk.

Information relevant to pre-World War I Dalmatian immigrants found on the disk includes: Legislation; Naturalisations to 1916; the 1917 Register of Aliens; the 1918 List of Jugoslav and Austrian Aliens; Passenger names Sydney to Auckland 1887 to 1924; Passenger names Auckland to Sydney 1908-1923; Immigrant marriage lists to 1932; and World War 1 servicemen.

References cited in the text and footnotes are:

The Stayers: P. D Mataga, 2013

The Transients, P.D. Mataga, 2014

Jelicich: From Distant Villages, Stephen Jelicich, 2008

Kraljevic: Vinogradarski slom i demografski rasap juzne hrvatske u osvit 20 stoljeca, Rudolf Kraljevic, 1994

Ordish: The Great Wine Blight, George Ordish, 1972

Trlin: Now Respected, Once Despised, Andrew Trlin, 1979

I would like to thank Dick Martinovich, the late Andrew Trlin, Ilija Sutalo and the staff of New Zealand Archives, the Kauri Museum and the Auckland City Library for help in preparing this volume.

An understanding of the kauri gum industry was gained with Fred Matich and the late Ivan Matich in researching and presenting the paper "Mining Buried Resin (Kauri Gum) – An Engineering Perspective" to the 16th Heritage Engineering Australia Conference. (The author and the Matich brothers are all sons of Dalmatian gumdiggers and graduates in Civil Engineering from the University of Auckland.)

Valuable advice on Dalmatian immigration, World War I servicemen and Dalmatian marriages was provided by Stephen Jelicich. Stephen also consented to the inclusion of some quotations from *From Distant Villages*.

Special thanks are also due to Stephen for procuring (courtesy of Branka Bezic-Filipovic of Split) the book *Vinogradarski slom I demografski rasap juzne hrvatske u osvit 20. stoljeca* by Rudolf Kraljevic, and to Davorin Ozich for assistance in translating pertinent parts of the book.

Photographs were made available by:

The Kauri Museum, Matakohe Auckland City Library Alexander Turnbull Library Dargaville Museum

The digitised records of passenger lists from the Family Search website and the digitised "Shipping" information from the "New Zealand Herald" provided material that was absolutely vital to research for the book.

Invaluable input on editing and publishing were provided by Scott Mataga and Dr Peter Cleave.

1. PREAMBLE

The author's father, Petar Mataga, was born in Podgradina, a suburb of the town of Opuzen on the Neretva river in Dalmatia in 1886. Dalmatia had been ceded to Austria after the Napoleonic wars and remained part of Austria until the end of World War I.

In 1898 Petar's oldest brother, Stanko, followed the many other Dalmatians who had travelled to New Zealand to earn money digging kauri gum. Petar joined him as a 17-year-old in 1904 and remained in New Zealand after his father died. Stanko returned to Dalmatia in 1905.

Petar became naturalised in 1913, describing himself as a gumdigger although documents supporting his application for naturalisation show that he had worked in other labouring occupations as well. In 1915 he and another Dalmatian, Ivan Nikolich, who was of similar age and had arrived at the same time as Petar bought a 45 acre (18 hectare) farm near Papakura for £1000 free of mortgage. They would have required additional funds for equipment and livestock. The farm was sold in 1918 for about £1,600.

He was then directed into work on the railways under War Regulations, but in 1923 bought a third share of an excellent 143 acre dairy farm close to Waiuku. One of his co-owners was another ex-gumdigger, George Yelchich, who already owned a 90 acre farm in the same area. Petar married a non-Dalmatian woman, Olga Williams, in 1924. With one exception all the other Dalmatian settlers in the Waiuku area at that time had married local girls.

The Stayers was researched and written to address issued raised in the author's readings about the experiences of his father's fellow Dalmatian immigrants. The experiences of Petar, Ivan and George did not fit the perceptions to be gained from writings such as Amelia Batistich's portrayal of tight-knit Dalmatian communities or Andrew Trlin's portrayal of persistent prejudice against Dalmatian immigrants.

Nor did their life histories fit with the finding of the 1898 Royal Commission into the kauri-gum industry that a digger earned about £50 per annum, particularly as the industry was in decline when they had arrived in New Zealand.

For instance:

- A well-known outcry against Dalmatian gumdiggers led to a Commission into the kauri-gum industry in 1898, and subsequent legislation aimed at limiting Dalmatian access to gumfields. Despite this legislation and direct immigration controls, the number of Dalmatian arrivals recorded in the Census increased dramatically from 1896 to 1901.
- 2. In the early 1900s gum production soared to over 11,000 tons per annum, dropped to under 6,000 tons per annum and then increased to over 8,000 tons per annum in less than 10 years (see table 4).
- 3. Anecdotally, fear of conscription was given as a reason for immigration to New Zealand, but of Dalmatian arrivals up to 1900 over almost 90% returned to Dalmatia (see table 2). However, there was a marked change from 1907 to 1916 with only about 50% of arrivals returning to Dalmatia (see tables 2 and 5).

The research for *The Stayers* highlighted the vital role played by the transient Dalmatian immigrants in the kauri gum industry in New Zealand.

The transients developed the techniques and organisation to economically mine kauri gum and to adapt these techniques as the end uses for the gum changed. The desire to acknowledge this led to further research and the publication of *The Transients*.

Although *The Stayers* and *The Transients* dealt with separate aspects of Dalmatian immigration to New Zealand, the two were inextricably linked and this book will provide a more coherent and cohesive portrayal of this immigration.

Six reasons have been put forward for Dalmatian immigration to New Zealand over the pre-World War 1 period:

- the repressive and negligent Austrian Government of Dalmatia
- general poverty
- population increase and land shortage
- the impacts of the phylloxera grape vine disease on the wine industry in Dalmatia
- the ability to make money digging kauri gum
- · avoidance of military service.

The reasons covered by the first three bullet points persisted for the full period under study, but the last three had variable effects on emigration to New Zealand. Furthermore, rapid increases in the number arriving in New Zealand sometimes resulted in local reaction which slowed the immigration rate. The sequence of events that drove immigration and the reactions to the immigration stream are set out in this volume.

The effects of World War I and the associated legislation on pre-war Dalmatian immigrants were touched on but not fully covered in *The Stayers* and *The Transients*. The immigrants were deprived of many rights and these rights were not restored to all the immigrants until May 1924, almost 6 years after hostilities had ended in Europe. This issue is addressed in Chapters 11 and 12 of this book.

2. DALMATIA'S HISTORY AND ITS ECONOMIC SITUATION c.1890

Dalmatia is a narrow strip of land of more than 400km on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, together with its offshore islands. To its east, mountains rise to over 1000 metres and for millennia have set a barrier between the land power controlling the Balkans and the sea power that controlled the Adriatic Sea. Dalmatians are ethnically Croatian and have maintained that identity despite being separated from the rest of Croatia for over 500 years.

Between the 13th and 18th centuries the control of the coastline of Dalmatia had been divided between the Republics of Venice and Dubrovnik. Both republics had flourished by acting as the gateway between Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire, which in turn controlled trade to the Far East. Their fleets also traded widely to Western Europe as far as London. The Peljesac peninsula was part of the Republic of Dubrovnik and most of the republic's mariners came from there. ¹

The trade of the two republics was diminished by the opening of sea trade directly between Europe and the Far East, but they continued trading with areas controlled by the Ottomans until the end of the nineteenth century.

Napoleon Bonaparte occupied both republics in the early 1800s and when he in turn was defeated, Venice and Dubrovnik were handed to Austria. Austria and the Ottomans had been hostile for centuries, so there was no real chance of a revival in the republics' trade.

Austria-Hungary for the first time secured a coastline and developed its northern harbours such as Trieste and Fiume as a basis for a mercantile marine and navy. These harbours had direct connections with the heart of the Austrian Empire and the long coastline of Dalmatia became a

¹ Dubrovnik: A History, Robin Harris

backwater. About its only value to Austria was as a source of seamen for its fleets.

The people in the area had little or no political influence. The official languages were Austrian and Italian. Trade and political decisions were made in Vienna with little, if any, consideration of the effect of these decisions on the people of Dalmatia.

As late as 1910 Dr Smodlaka, the member for Split in the Austrian Parliament complained that more than half Dalmatian villages had no clean drinking water, in its richest county 28 of 48 villages had no school, and the rate of illiteracy was close to 100% in over half the country.²

For the most part, Dalmatians had to get by on their basic livelihoods – fishing, winegrowing and olives. The area of cultivable land was small with few areas of high fertility. The population continued to increase over the second half of the 19th Century resulting in land being cut into smaller and smaller holdings.³

There had been a brief revival of maritime enterprises in the 1860s using sailing vessels, but this faded as steam powered vessels dominated the trade. However, many from the traditional seafaring parts of Dalmatia did make a career at sea and brought back to Dalmatia their experience of the outside world.

Phylloxera, a deadly grape disease devastated the wine growing industry in France and other areas of Western Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, creating a high demand for imported wine in those parts. For a time this resulted in a boost for those areas of Dalmatia that produced wine commercially.

Apart from those who took up an occupation at sea, the pressure that resulted from large families and limited land availability presented two options to young men in 1890.

² Address to the Austrian Parliament, 3/12/1910

³ Table 1.2, Once Despised, Now Respected, A. Trlin

- a) For those who believed there was more chance of a better life elsewhere, to emigrate permanently
- b) For those who did not wish to leave their homeland permanently, a term abroad to make enough money to set themselves up on return to Dalmatia.

Many Dalmatians took one of these two options, emigrating not only to New Zealand but to Louisiana, California, Chile, Argentina and Australia. These emigrants had few skills, so looked for an avenue whereby money could be made quickly by dint of hard work. In the main, the first Dalmatian settlers in New Zealand in the 1860s to 1880s had followed the gold rushes. The story of these early settlers is recounted by Andrew Trlin in *Once Despised, Now Respected*. Following the end of the gold rushes there was only one comparable industry in New Zealand – mining kauri gum.

3. THE KAURI GUM INDUSTRY AND NEW ZEALAND'S ECONOMIC SITUATION c.1890

The kauri tree produces large quantities of a resin commonly called "kauri gum". It is found in a range of sizes from over 30cm to sand sized particles. The resin is durable and lasts for centuries amid the remains of the forests that produced it. This durability and other qualities was the basis for production of the best quality varnish in the world prior to the development of synthetic varnishes and lacquers in the late 1920s.

Most gumfields were areas considered to be of no use for agriculture, largely low fertility scrub-covered land or flax swamps. They were found as far south as Te Rapa in the Waikato but most were in North Auckland and the Coromandel.

The kauri gum industry had a major impact on the economy of the Auckland province from 1840 to World War I. For instance, kauri gum exports from Auckland were equivalent in value to the combined exports of timber and gold in 1885.⁴ In the period 1890 to 1915 the value of kauri gum was equal to the value of dairy farming production in Auckland.

While the kauri-gum varnish was a premium product, it required the gum to be 97% pure to be marketed. This meant that the gum had to be of selected quality and scraped clean to remove dirt and oxidation. It also meant that only the largest pieces of gum were worth collecting.

Until about 1860 most gum was dug by Maori. Settlers then became the main suppliers, with most people associated with the land using gum to supplement their income and a sizable number of others involved full time. Initially the gum could be picked up off the surface or was uncovered during operations such as ploughing new fields.

⁴ Historical Atlas of New Zealand, p.48



This digger returns with equipment suitable for digging range gum and the product of his day's efforts. Northwood Collection,

Alexander Turnbull Library

In 1890 New Zealand was nearing the end of a lengthy depression. Prices of agricultural products had been poor and there was no dole. The dairy industry in Auckland province was in its crude infancy with butter and cheese largely produced on farm. Gumdigging was seen by farm owners as a means of supplementing their meagre incomes. Many used gum income to cover the costs of breaking in and improving their farmland. For the unemployed, gumdigging was, in many cases, the only way of supporting their families. Furthermore, money earned by diggers was largely spent locally, benefiting the whole community. On larger farms the digging was sometimes done by diggers on a royalty basis and there

were other large blocks that had been bought for the potential value of buried gum and made available to diggers on a similar basis.

However, the removal of 120,000 tons of gum by 1892 had depleted the gum to be found in the top metre or two, particularly in areas that had been settled for some time. The Crown owned 175,000ha of gum land and in 1890 anyone could win kauri gum from this land without paying royalties or having any obligations to care for or restore the land.

The general method of mining was by spearing to find gum and excavating local holes or "potholes". Most gumdiggers up to this time had been individuals, or worked in small groups, and dug potholes to depths of one to seven feet (30cm to 2m).⁵ This generally lead to Crown gumfields requiring substantial restoration costs before they could be used for other purposes.⁶ Equipment was generally inexpensive, in the main a spade, axe, short gum spear, apron, pikau, scraping knife and gumboots. Many diggers were part timers relatively inexperienced in gumdigging and did not find all the gum in the areas they had "mined".

Sir Alfred Reed describes this mining method in some depth,⁷ and it became known as the "British" method, although used by Maori and many nationalities. The method persisted until well after World War 1, but became insignificant compared to collective mining methods.

⁷ The Kauri Gumdiggers, A.H. Reed, Chapter 8

⁵ Report of the 1898 Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry

⁶ 1914 Report on Kauri Gum Reserves, p.10

4. THE INITIAL CONNECTIONS BETWEEN COASTAL CROATIA AND THE KAURI GUM INDUSTRY

There has been much speculation about how Dalmatians first became aware of New Zealand and began to arrive in that country. These speculations include deserters from ships, including the Austrian warship, the Novara, in 1859. While there were undoubtedly ship desertions there is no evidence that these had any significant impact on immigration to New Zealand.

The evidence points heavily to the discovery of gold and the subsequent gold rushes in Australia and New Zealand led to a flood of temporary immigrants to both countries, some of whom decided to settle there. The Australian rushes started in Victoria in 1851 and spread throughout that State and into New South Wales in 1860s. There were some minor finds in NZ in the late 1850s followed by major rushes to Otago early in the 1860s and the West Coast in 1865.

Sutalo records about 300 coastal Croatians who arrived in Victoria and New South Wales in the 1850s and 1860s and subsequently settled there. ⁸ Just under half of these gave their occupation as "Miner". The total number of Coastal Croatian goldminers would probably have been about 5 to 10 times the number of those who settled. About 40 of the settlers had surnames and places of origin which appeared as immigrants to New Zealand some decades later in the 1880,s and 1890's.

Country boundaries meant nothing to those following goldrushes. Trlin traces early New Zealand pioneers citing about 100 who settled in New Zealand. Some or their close relatives appear in Sutalo's list, in some cases as early as 1853. Some of Trlin's pioneers did not marry. Those who did almost invariably married New Zealand women and opted out of

⁸ Croatians in Australia, I. Sutalo

⁹ Trlin

Croatian culture. With a few notable exceptions, the settled miners did not form the basis for chain migration from Croatia.

The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 allowing vastly improved passenger services from the eastern Mediterranean (see appendix 5). By then the peak of the gold rush was over and despite the improved passenger services, the numbers of coastal Croatians who settled in Victoria and New South Wales in the 1870s were only about two-thirds the numbers who had settled in each of the previous two decades. Those giving their occupation as "miner" fell to under 30% of those who settled.

A similar situation applied to New Zealand. Only about a dozen of those on the Register of Aliens 1917 stated that they had been in New Zealand prior to 1890 (about 20% did not state the length of time they had been in New Zealand)¹⁰ and apart from 3 families they did not appear to play a significant role in chain migration.

At the same time the kauri gum industry had become well established in the Auckland Province. Exports of gum reached 4000 tons in 1870 and averaged just over 3500 tons per annum over the next decade. The price of gum was relatively stable over that period at about £40 per ton.¹¹

Most of the goldmining pioneers who had settled in New Zealand had done so in the South Island. With one exception, those who had settled in the Auckland Province appear to have shown no more than a possible passing interest in the kauri-gum industry. Blasch and Obuglien became involved in hard-rock goldmining, Scopinich in the fishing industry, Sentch in telegraph, and Carina became a trader. Stories of the lives of these pioneer immigrants are fully told by Trlin and Jelicich. Two other pioneer families, Arnerich (from the West Coast) and Vela (Wellington) joined the "gum rush" but only in the 1890s when arrivals to mine gum were occurring in large numbers. These two families did, however, contribute to chain migration of permanent settlers, unlike many of the other pioneers.

¹⁰ The Stayers, Appendix A

¹¹ The Ahipara Gumfields, P.R.McConnell

Paul Lupis was the exception. He was an immigrant to New Zealand from Nakovan in the Peljesac who started a chain migration that led to the permanent settlement of immigrants from Central Dalmatia in New Zealand

He had arrived in New Zealand in 1866¹² and others of that name from the Peljesac, Florius (arrived 1879) and John (arrived 1883) would have been the core of a chain migration from that area. Paul made a number of trips to New Zealand and his story is told in some detail by Stephen Jelicich.¹³ Nicholas Sentch giving evidence to the 1898 Commission on Kauri Gum, recounted,

"There is a person out here of the name of Paul Lopez (I am speaking of 18 years ago); he was digging gum at Dargaville and made a little money. He went home to Austria, got married there, and brought his wife back with him, and also some of his relatives, and since then it seems to me, by him giving them the idea that money could be made in the country from gumdigging, they have been advancing money to each other to come out."

Another giving evidence to the Commission, Louis Kinkella, also alluded to Paul Lupis,

"The influx of Austrians started this way: Three or four Austrians went ashore in Sydney, and found their way to the New Zealand gumfields, and there was one of their countrymen – Paul Lopez- who for years had been following the occupation of fisherman in New Zealand. These men wrote to their friends, and got their nephews and relations out, and the new arrivals acted in a similar way, and the influx of Austrians increased every year."

Paul returned to Dalmatia on the first of 3 visits in 1880, married Maria Pervancic, and after a stay of 3 years returned to New Zealand. His success in that country must have been noted by others in his district.

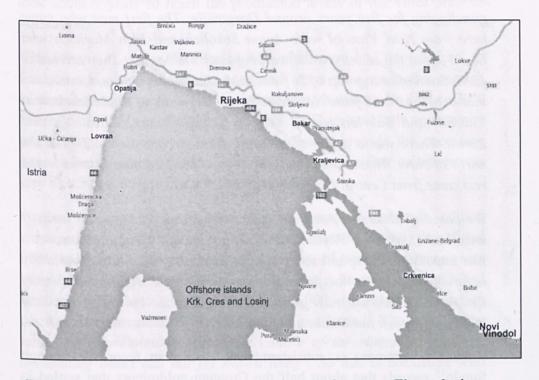
¹² Trlin

¹³ Jelicich

Unfortunately the passenger lists to Auckland from 1883 to the time of the first wave of immigration to New Zealand have not been fully digitised at the time of writing (May 2015). However 1890, 1891 and 1892 are complete with some listings for sailings from 1887, 1888 and 1889. Even these incomplete lists note 14 passengers with the name Lupis. Other well-known names from the Peljesac/Korcula area begin to appear; Clarich (Klarich), Salle and Mazuran in 1887; Covacich, Suhor and Vicelich in 1888; Jericevich, Lipanovich, Ciprian and Curac in 1890; Cebalo and Skokandich in 1891; and Tvrdeic, Belic and Batistic in 1892 (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland* on the disk)

The flow from south Central Dalmatia steadily built up the numbers of arrivals to over 100 by 1889 but arrivals received a boost in 1890 from Istria and its offshore islands.

5. ARRIVALS FROM ISTRIA AND OTHER NORTHERN COASTS



The East Coast of Istria. Rijeka was a major port known as Fiume during the goldrush era, and the coastline and adjacent islands in its area were the source of most Croatians in the Australian and New Zealand goldrushes. However, most of the immigrants who came to New Zealand from this area to mine Kauri gum gave Novi Vinodol (on the far right) as their place of origin.

Stephen Jelicich has translated comments from Ivan Kabalin in 1948 regarding the start of immigration to the kauri gumfields by Croatians from the Istrian coast and islands.¹⁴

¹⁴ Jelicich, p.113

The item is worth reproducing in full as it gives valuable insights into these early times,

"I am 71 years of age and have been in the Paeroa area for 28 years. I first arrived in New Zealand as a lad of 18 in June 1896 and went gumdigging for five years around Dargaville. The first men who came here from Novi Vinodol were Anton Sokolich and Ivan Maricich who heard about the country while working near Melbourne. They arrived in 1885. Soon after a group of 26 from Australia followed them. I would say that between 50-60 from Novi were here – 30 working for Mitchelson at Flaxmill and Babylon camps, the rest scattered around Kaikohe and Poroti. There was a group of about 50 from Hreljin about 25km to the north of Novi. These two groups were from the Croatian Littoral – the rest came from Central Dalmatia and the islands.

We came of necessity, not from choice, from our poor coastal lands. I once had 1500 vines. Phylloxera wiped out the lot. Without an income it was impossible to replant so we sought work elsewhere in the world. By nature Novjani are not fishermen or mariners, therefore the men of Crikvenica fished our rich grounds and sold to us, but there was little money, so we left our homes and families".

Kabalin's statement is consistent with Australian records. Although Sutalo¹⁵ records that about half the Croatian goldminers that settled in Victoria and New South Wales from 1850 onwards came from the Rijeka area, his table showing origins does not record any settlers from Hreljin or Novi Vinodol who arrived before 1889.

A number of points in Kabalin's statement need comment.

Phylloxera is an infestation of the roots of grape vines that originated from grape plants in North America. The infestation was spread somehow to Europe in the mid-19th century and had a devastating effect on the European wine industry. By 1890 the French had established that the only effective response to an infestation of phylloxera was to dig out

¹⁵ Croatians in Australia, I. Sutalo

existing vines and replace them with wine grape varieties grafted on to resistant American rootstock.¹⁶ In France the cost of doing this and maintaining the vineyard until the first picking at 4 years was 3,200 to 4,200 francs (£128-£168) per hectare.¹⁷ Once replanted, the new vines took about 7 years to reach the production levels of the vines prior to infestation.

The owners of vineyards infested with phylloxera had two choices: to fund the replanting and running costs until vines were productive enough to sustain them or to go out of the winemaking business. (In France 30% of vineyards had been abandoned by 1896.¹⁸) There was little opportunity to earn enough money in Istria or Dalmatia to provide the necessary support for replanting, so temporary immigration to richer countries was seen as the best way to provide the needed funds.

Phylloxera's first impact was on Western Europe's vineyards, cutting wine production dramatically. Istria and Dalmatia initially benefitted from the shortfall and production and exports of wine from these areas were boosted. By 1890 phylloxera had made its way east and had attacked 15,000 hectares out of a total of 60,000 hectares of vineyards in the Austrian provinces of Styria, Carniola and Istria. The same report states that "in Dalmatia where the culture of the vine is largest, the devastating insect has not yet shown itself". So this is consistent with Kabalin's statement that phylloxera was the reason for high emigration from the Istrian littoral in the early 1890s.

Dalmatians on the passenger lists between Sydney and Auckland are available in digitised records from the 1880s. (*D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland* on the disk). Of the recognisable passenger names in 1891, 22 out of 77 came from Novi and other Istrian areas, and in 1892 31 out of 47 came from Novi and other Istrian areas (see Table 1). The numbers increased in the surge of 1896 and 1897, but the area was never

¹⁶ Ordish

¹⁷ Ordish, p.164

¹⁸ Ordish, p.148

¹⁹ Report to the Superior Commission on Phylloxera, M. Tisserand, 1891

again a significant percentage of the stream of immigrants. The totals shown in Table 1 record about 340 names from the area out about 3,700 Dalmatian arrivals whose names were recognisable. Furthermore, of about 250 recognisable Istrian names who arrived before 1910 less than 25 are recorded in New Zealand in 1916 (see *A 1917 Registration and 1918 List. 1. Reconciled 1917 Register and 1918 List.* on the disk). This ratio of 1 stayer out of 10 arrivals indicates that most northerners were transient immigrants seeking to earn money and return home.

The families of the two men who started the Novi gumdigging exodus to New Zealand arrived in some numbers, 46 Sokolichs and 18 Maricics among the recognisable names. Other Novi families well represented were Pericic (12), Baran (15), Piskulich (19) and Deranja (11) with recognisable arrival names. There were some 28 Jovanovich arrivals, but some may not have come from Novi. (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland*. 1. Alphabetic Lists Sydney to Auckland on the disk).

That the Novi emigrants to New Zealand were transients is borne out by the pre-1916 naturalization figures. Of the 149 men mentioned in the previous paragraph, only 4 had become naturalized by 1916 (although some who were trapped by the outbreak of war later settled in New Zealand). Of 35 who were in New Zealand in 1916, only 2 had been in New Zealand for more than 6 years (see *A 1917 Registration and 1918 List. 3. Reconciled 1917 Register and 1918 List.* on the disk).

Furthermore only two families from Istria can be recognised in the passenger lists (Jovanovich in 1910 from Novi, and Diracca in 1913 from Fiume) [see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 1. Alphabetic Lists Sydney to Auckland* on the disk].

The Novi emigrants differed in a number of ways from the emigrants from Central Dalmatia (see next chapter). They were dominated through to 1911 by transient diggers sending money back to Dalmatia to support their families; with the exception of a minority from the Istrian littoral and the islands such as Losinj, the emigrants came from Novi and despite the fact that emigration continued for nearly 30 years did not spread to

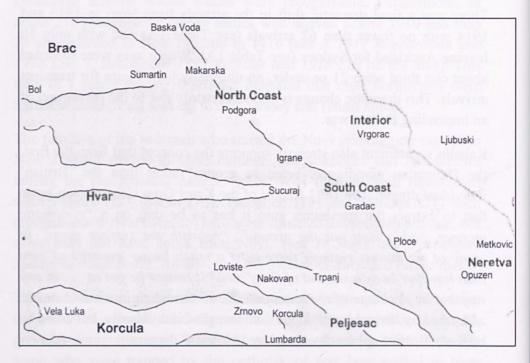
other areas of the Istrian littoral; less than 10 family names contributed over half the recognisable emigrant names.

There was a final dramatic shift in the arrivals from Novi in 1913 and 1914 with no fewer than 62 arrivals (see Table 1A) and with only 10 leaving Auckland for Sydney (see Table 1A). Where ages were recorded about one third were 21 or under, an unusually high figure for transient arrivals. This dramatic change is almost certainly due to the perception of an impending Balkan war.

Kabalin's statement also strongly supports the concept that from the first, the Dalmatian gumdiggers acted as groups rather than the 'British' individual digger. The 1893 Report of the Kauri Gum Commission notes that to extract the maximum gum it has to be dug on a "systematic manner, paddocking out the ground", "beneath the surface gum.....in many of the known swamps there exist a much larger quantity of gum than has ever been taken out of them" and "it cannot be got at . . . in any way but by drainage of the swamps". These considerations could not be addressed by 'British' gumdiggers who worked individually, but could be by the collective approach offered by 'Austrian' diggers.

The early arrivals based themselves largely at Dargaville. The 1893 Report of the Kauri Gum Commission gives the total number of Austrian' gumdiggers as 452 at the time evidence was taken, but in Richard Mitchelson's evidence to the Commission he states that there were 267 'Austrians' on the Mitchelson's land at Dargaville alone. As there were other large landholders who also engaged "Austrians", it appears that even at this early date "Austrian" diggers were favoured by landholders and were not dependent on access to Crown gumlands.

6. AN EARLY WAVE OF ARRIVALS



Central Dalmatia, the source of most Dalmatian emigrants to New Zealand

Passengers from Dalmatia to New Zealand almost invariably travelled to Sydney then changed vessels for the Sydney-Auckland leg of the journey. So the passenger lists from Sydney to Auckland capture virtually all the Dalmatian arrivals in New Zealand (see Appendix 5). However, the passenger lists up to 1891 may not be complete, so could understate the number of arrivals and the recognisable Dalmatian names on the arriving vessels. It seems likely that the numbers following Paul Lupis' footsteps from Central Dalmatia to New Zealand up until 1893 was low, possibly not exceeding 20 per annum (see Table 1A).

Although early arrivals were overwhelmingly transients the names of stayer families start to appear on the passenger lists; C(K)larich, Suhor, Salle, and Mazuran in 1887; Vicelich and Covacic in 1888; Matic,

Jericevich, Lipanovich, Ciprian, and Curac in 1890; Salle, Cebalo, Skokandich, Tomic, Marinovich, Boric, Zimic, Dominikovic, Mastilica, Antunovic and Cibilic in 1891 (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland*. 1. Alphabetic Lists Sydney to Auckland on the disk).

This migration pattern continued in 1892 with the recognisable names of new arrivals including Batistich from Lumbarda; Belic and Tvrdeic from Zrnovo; Seput and Barach from Trpanj and Stuk, Bogdan, and Musin from elsewhere on the Peljesac or Korcula (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland*. 1. Alphabetic Lists Sydney to Auckland on the disk).

The number of annual Dalmatian arrivals increased sharply from about 70 in 1892 to over 300 in 1893 (see Table 5). Family names that started to appear in 1893 were Jelicich, Petricevich, Bartulovich, Kumarich and Bulat from Hvar; Farac, Bilis, Pausina, Posa, Bakaric, Unkovich and Botica from Korcula and Peljesac; Talijancic and Kosovich from the coast south of Igrane; Sulenta as one of a few arrivals from north of Igrane; and Tolich, Begovich and Grljusich from the small number from the inland area. (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 1. Alphabetic Lists Sydney to Auckland* on the disk).

The names in the passenger lists are poorly recorded for that year, with only about half the Dalmatian names being decipherable. Nonetheless it is clear that the Korcula/Peljesac area was by far the dominant source of arrivals in 1893 with contributions from Novi, Hvar and the south coast of the mainland from Igrane to Ploce.

Of the recognisable names on the passenger lists there was an increase in arrivals from Central Dalmatia from about 20 in 1891 and 1892 to over 100 in 1893 (see Table 1A). A 5-fold increase in the annual arrival rate in 1893 seems out of step with normal chain migration so presumably there was another cause for this sudden increase.

Ages of immigrants were given on a few ships for the first time in 1893. Of the recognisable Dalmatians with recorded names, the average age for the year was over 30 (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 2. Passenger Lists Sydney to Auckland, by year* on the disk), and there were

none under the age of 21. This appears to make fear of conscription unlikely as a driver for this increase in immigration, so we must look to other factors.

In 1892 Istrian and Dalmatian winegrowers had been dealt an additional blow. A consequence of the eastward spread of phylloxera was that Austria could no longer produce all the wine it consumed and had changed from a net exporter of wine to a net importer of wine in 1891. ²⁰ In 1892 Italy was persuaded by Austria and Germany to join their defensive military alliance. Part of the 'persuasion' was that Italian wine could be imported into Austria on very favourable terms²¹ undercutting Dalmatian wine producers. The average price of Dalmatian wine halved between 1892 and 1894 (see Table 8). This meant that in winegrowing areas the wine selling price was cut, as was the value of all maturing wine stocks.

Despite the lower prices, a record wine production volume in Dalmatia for 1893 and high volumes in 1894-6 probably reduced emigration pressures (see Table 8).

Another likely booster to arrival numbers in 1893 was the price of gum. According to the 1898 Kauri Gum Commission, prices for gum had risen from a range of £33-0 to £46-0 in 1889 to £46-10 to £73-10 in 1892. The shine went off this in 1894-5 with the prices in the latter year ranging from £39-0 to £54-0. If, as seems likely, most arrivals went to the Hobson County area which had been worked over for many years, many would have struggled in an area unless they were able to link up with experienced groups. With the number of Dalmatians doubling on the gumfields in one year it is likely that many were unable to do this and moved to new gumfields in the North.

In 1893 New Zealand was still in the grip of a long depression. Settlers in Hobson County were struggling to make ends meet and supplemented their income by digging gum. Unemployed from Auckland and even the

²⁰ Ordish, p. 171

²¹ Trlin, p. 15

²² Report of the Commission, p. 15

South Island had found their way to Hobson County to make a living gumdigging. It is not surprising that a large influx of new gumdiggers would cause a reaction. The reaction would also have been influenced by the greater returns of the Dalmatian co-operative working methods.

Protests against Dalmatian diggers started in May 1893²³ at which time there would have been less than 300 Dalmatians in the field. This would be far less than 10% of the total number of gumdiggers found by the 1893 Commission. There is no doubt that the protests were fuelled by wild rumours of Dalmatian numbers both in New Zealand and on the way. In a letter to the *New Zealand Herald* on 23 May 1893, Charles Hardy offered the following:

"There is indisputable evidence that they number at least 800 able bodied men; and moreover we are assured by no mean authority that there are 5,000 others either on the way or about immediately to start for this country" and

"In the event of that slender thread being broken by which hangs the peace of Europe, an inevitable collapse of the gum trade would certainly immediately ensue. In which event, besides the thousands of colonists on the gumfields who would have to be provided for by the Government or by private benevolence, there would be thousands of famishing Austrians roaming through the country like hungry wolves . . ."

No fewer than 7 petitions were presented to Parliament and a Private Members Bill, the Gum and Gumfields Bill was put forward in Parliament. ²⁴ The Government set up a Commission to report on the issue.

The Commission reported to Parliament that the fears on immigration were exaggerated,

"In thus casting about for evidence, it has been a necessary consequence that we have tried to elicit information where none of any value could be

²³ Letter to the Editor, New Zealand Herald, 23/5/1893

²⁴ Slightly Intrepid, Dr Rebecca Foley, p.1

obtained; that a great many things were said which were perhaps hardly worth saying; and a great many more which were only worth saying once have been many times repeated"

Furthermore, it was an election year and candidates allied to J.M. Dargaville attempted to make political capital from it.

Our watchwords are—Roads and other facilities for settling men in homes of their own.

NO MORE AUSTRIANS!
NO EXPORT DUTY ON GUM!
NO GUMFIELDS TRUCK SYSTEM!

Be Watchful! Be United! and be Staunch to the Liberal Cause which is the cause of all Working Men.

TOM SOMERS, Chairman of Committee. E. H. FAIL, Secretary.

Northern Wairoa, Sept. 18th, 1893.

Excerpt from an Advertisement in the "Observer" on October 16 1893, for Liberal Party candidates for the 1893 Parliamentary Elections. The anti-Austrian approach was a campaign ploy, but did not result in the Liberal candidates securing any seats.

The Commission recommended certain steps to be taken. In the event, the Gum and Gumfields Bill was not enacted and the recommendations of the Commission were ignored.

While there is ample evidence of support for Austrian immigrants in the press, in parliament and by supportive letter writers, it is likely that some

resentment remained, particularly with the gumdiggers in the Hobson County.

Away from Hobson County considerable support for the Dalmatians was expressed by newspapers and individuals. The only serious objection raised was that they did not settle in New Zealand but returned to Dalmatia with their earnings. The solution seen to this was to encourage them to settle in the country as desirable immigrants. Two editorials by the New Zealand Herald sum this up. The editorial of May 19, 1893 said:

"Those who know them say that they are very frugal and abstemious till they earn money and then live as well as others. They make it a rule, however, never to go into debt, and that in New Zealand renders them objects of pity and contempt. These Austrians could readily assimilate with our population, and would make excellent settlers".

The editorial on June 8, 1893, after referring to Belgian- and Gaelic-speaking settlers said

"Why should we not have a settlement where Croatian is the prevailing tongue? Several of the Austrians have settled, and we believe that if the Government were to do its duty to afford them the facilities to go on the land, the majority of them would take advantage of these and leave the gumfields forever. They have been bred to agricultural labour, they are accustomed to cultivation of the vine, and to other crops which would succeed in the North. We would be delighted to see them cleared off the gumfields and made permanent settlers of."

The Dalmatians also had influential friends in the form of landowners, such as the Mitchelson brothers, who wished to have drained cultivable land once the kauri gum had been extracted. The owners were starting to realise that restoring potholed land was expensive and insist that digging be done on a 'full face' method. For 'full face' mining, the whole area was progressively excavated taking out all the gum (see photo below). This had the advantages for the landowner of leaving the area level, removing buried timber and, where there was a clay pan below the surface, the excavation broke up the pan and enhanced the land quality.

In addition, many landowners realised that gum-bearing swampy areas were potentially fertile so deals were struck to exchange digging rights for drainage of swamps.²⁵

Dalmatian collectives were the only organisations who could offer this service, and evidence to the 1898 Commission of Enquiry showed that they had established themselves in this field.

However, not all Dalmatians worked in the collective groups, and even when they did there were times when they were unable to work on their collective project. For instance, some swamp drainage work could not be carried out in winter. In these cases the Dalmatians would become direct competitors with the 'British diggers'.



An example of shallow face digging showing the dug over land, which was clear of buried timber and suitable for conversion to pasture. Courtesy of The Kauri Museum, Matakohe, A.1992.915.201

²⁵ Report on the Kauri Gum Industry 1898, p.15

Whether it was because of bad local feeling or whether there were better prospects elsewhere by 1896 there were more Dalmatians in the four Northern counties than in Hobson County (see Table 7).

Overall wine production in Dalmatia was still very high in 1893 and 1894 (see Table 8) and arrivals dropped back to 21 and 74 in 1894 and 1895, respectively.

Family names of those who were major sources of arrivals to 1914 were, Batistich, 20; Belich, 26; Botica, 40; Cebalo, 26; Curac, 20; Farac, 41; Salle,30; Segedin, 30 and Unkovich, 40. (see *D Ships and Passengers, Sydney to Auckland. 1. Alphabetic lists Sidney to Auckland* on the disk).

Of the 273 men in these families, only 31 who had arrived in New Zealand before 1910 were still in New Zealand and only 45 had become naturalised by 1916. So most members of these families were transients, although families such as the Boticas and Unkovichs were moving more towards settling prior to World War I. [Lupis is considered to be a special case of a committed settler family.]

7. THE FIRST SURGE OF ARRIVALS FROM CENTRAL SOUTH DALMATIA, 1897-8

Central South Dalmatia stretches from Split to Ston on the Dalmatian coast and is the source of most Dalmatian immigration to New Zealand. The core of this area is the islands of Hvar, Korcula and Vis, the Peljesac peninsula and the Makarska coast. Wine production was the dominant occupation in the 1890s.

The total area of vineyards in this core in 1894 was 16,000ha (see Table 8) about half the area of New Zealand vineyards in 2013. Fringing this core were Brac island and the Vrgorac and Metkovic districts, which had combined plantings of 12,000 ha and contributed to immigration to New Zealand, generally at later dates than the core.

The number of arrivals in New Zealand in 1894, 1895 and the first half of 1896 was lower than the number who arrived in 1893, and stabilised at the rate of about 70 per annum. Despite the lower prices a record wine production volume in Dalmatia for 1893 and high volumes in 1894-6 probably reduced emigration pressures (see Table 8)

From the middle of 1896 arrivals increased dramatically (see Table 5) with about 221 arrivals in the last 6 months of 1896, 370 in 1897 and 750 in 1898, that is, a total of 1340 in two and a half years. This represents about 23% of the total arrivals over 22 years.

Ages were given more frequently in this period than in previous years. Of the 350 recorded ages, only 25 were in the range 15-21, with a further 11 boys under 15 (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 2. Passenger lists Sydney to Auckland by year* on the disk).

For these young men the prospect of conscription would have been an incentive to leave. John Billich stated in evidence to the Commission on the Kauri-gum Industry in 1898 that:

"Those that come out very young escape military service but if they go home will be drafted in, if fit for service. Any of the young men who have left home after signing any of the military papers and return to Dalmatia again will be punished, in addition to serving in the army. Those who have left before twentyone years of age, and who return to Dalmatia when they have reached middle age, will in most cases not be drafted into the military service."

Joseph Franich, giving evidence to the same Commission, stated:

"There are a good many of the younger men who come out here because they get out of serving in the army. After 3 years' service, I am liable to serve one month each year, and this I have not performed, and I am liable to get into trouble if I go back."

While conscription was a factor in the emigration of the younger men, it would seem that because of the low percentage of under-21 year old arrivals, fear of conscription was not a substantial factor in the rise in total arrivals.

After dropping to a low in 1894 the price of kauri gum rose to about the 1893 high price for 1896 and 1897 (see Table 4). Furthermore, ample gum was available to be won. Gumfields had developed in Mangonui, Hokianga, Bay of Islands and Whangarei Counties by 1896 (see Table 7) and production of gum increased from 7,100 tons in 1896 to 9,900 tons in 1898 while maintaining its high price (see Table 4).

During this period Istrian and Dalmatian gumdiggers had gained an understanding of kauri gum's distribution within gumfields and had improved their ability to mine gum efficiently. Their collective mining approach allowed them to dig deeper potholes than individuals or small groups where this was appropriate.

However, their favoured method of collective mining was to dig on a face to depths well outside the reach 'British' diggers

Private landowners had already shown that they preferred their land to be dug on a face. This method recovered all the gum whereas potholing recovered 50% or less. On land with farming potential digging on a face meant that the land was drained, buried timber removed, clay pans broken up and the ground surface left ready for cultivation.

Once started, the face digging of an area of land had to be carried on to completion so the gumdigging group had to have the experience to assess whether a field had sufficient gum to merit excavation. If new arrivals joined an experienced group (and it seems likely that this was often pre-arranged within families or villages) they would probably earn good money from digging. If they were unable to join an experienced group they would struggle initially on the same footing as 'British' diggers.



An example of deep potholing by a cooperative group with a hand pump at the back to dewater the hole. Courtesy of the Kauri Museum, 1.1992.915.71



Digging on a face, which superseded the shallower "paddocking" and required larger groups. From Kauri Gum and the Gumdiggers,

Bruce Hayward

When arrival numbers were very high, many must have had to scrabble a living for 'tucker'.

Even more experience was required where an agreement with a landowner required a swamp to be drained before gumdigging could start. Arrangements between diggers and owners could be substantial. In submissions to the 1898 Commission Antonio Falconetti stated:

"I left Parengarenga to join the party here to drain and work Harding's swamp. Our arrangement with Mr Harding is to this effect: We pay him only half royalty - that is 5s. per quarter per man instead of 10s. which other diggers have to pay to work on any part of the lease; in return for this he will have his swamp drained . . . Under this arrangement we have the right to dig gum on the swamp for ten years . . . We are working on the co-operative principle. There are twelve married men and eight single men in our party."

Some of these projects were quite large. Richard Mitchelson mentions two projects in his submission to the 1898 Commission by referring to earlier completed drainage projects.

"Drain at Long Gully, being dug by Austrians, a mile and a half, consisting of cross drains; area of swamp. One mile long by 800 yards wide; depth of drain, 8 feet; width of drain at top 10 ft; at bottom, about 6 feet; number of men in party, 22.

Drain at Flax Mill swamp, about a mile and a half long; area of swamp, same as above. Drain about 5ft. by 4 ft. by 2 ft., running smaller at the top of the swamp. These swamps are given over to those who are draining them for the term of our lease, subject to the usual conditions, we to protect them from other diggers not being of the party. The number of men in this party is twenty"



A Dalmatian collective draining a swamp about 1898 to secure the right to dig gum on the property. The site is in Northern Wairoa, and as its source is a Mitchelson family album it is likely to be a project mentioned by Richard Mitchelson in his submissions to the 1898 Kauri Gum Industry Commission. Photo made available by Christine White, Sir Edwin Mitchelson's great- granddaughter.

By the end of 1897 submissions to the Kauri Gum Industry Commission noted that 6 major swamp drainage projects were under way or had been completed (see photo on page 34).

The digging group had to assess whether there was sufficient gum in the swamp to make it worthwhile and this assessment had to take into account the weeks of unpaid work draining the swamp before mining could start.

All of this points to collective groups that were very professional in their approach to mining gum and were capable of negotiating agreements with landowners for rights to mine gum over a period of years.

While the gumdigging industry in New Zealand was buoyant and many in Dalmatia had connections with successful gumdiggers, this buoyancy cannot have been the reason for the huge surge in arrivals in 1897 and 1898.

It is likely that it was responsible for the increase numbers from Istria where phylloxera had already taken its toll.

Phylloxera spread slowly down the Dalmatian coast but did not have a significant effect on wine growing in south Central Dalmatia until about 1910.²⁶ While phylloxera was the ultimate vineyard destroyer, annual vintages could be devastated by the fungus grape disease, rust.²⁷ This occurred in 1897 and 1898. Average wine production for Dalmatia from 1885 to 1894 was 1,270,000 hectolitres per annum. Production collapsed to an average of 850,000 hectolitres in 1897 and 1898 (see Table 8) largely due to attacks of rust. This dramatic reduction, coupled with the greatly reduced wine prices as a result of the trade agreement between Austria and Italy, had a devastating effect on Dalmatian areas dependent on wine production.

Over the period 1896 to 1898 recording of passenger names was poor. This was despite the fact that two lists, one for departures and one for

²⁶ Kraljevic

²⁷ Kraljevic, p. 273

arrivals, were to be kept for each voyage from Sydney to Auckland. Manuscript names in lists were often hard to decipher and it became fairly regular for one of the two lists for any voyage merely to note "53 Austrians" or similar, making it impossible to use one list to check the other. To be fair to the shipping companies, there was no requirement until 1899 for migrants to have had even basic literacy skills. Schooling in Dalmatia was poor²⁸ and many Dalmatian arrivals at this time were illiterate. For these reasons, only about half the names of arrivals were clear enough to be recorded in the Passenger Lists included on the Disk. This in turn meant that the origins of less than half of arrivals over this period could be ascertained.

Of those whose origin could be ascertained, there were strong contributions from Novi, the Peljesac and Korcula and the coast south of Igrane; a build-up in numbers from Hvar and the coast from Drasnice north in 1897 and 1898; and some numbers coming from inland of Makarska in 1898 (see Table 1A).

Unsurprisingly, family names of earlier arrivals occur frequently.

Family names of arrivals that are later represented as settlers include: Borich, Brajkovich, Erstic, Franicevich, Jurlina, Kostanich, Mihaljevich, Veza and Vujnovich first recognisable in 1896; Bilac, Cvitanovich, Curin, Dean, Jukich, Matijasevich, Srhoj and Ujdur first recognisable in 1897; Aleksich, Barbarich, Babich, Erceg, Glamuzina, Huljich, Lipanovich, Matich, Nobilo, Silich, Simich, Sutich, Vrsaljko, Vodanovich and Vulinovich first recognisable in 1898 (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 2 Passenger Lists Sydney to Auckland by year* on the disk).

Despite the large number of familiar names of families who later settled in New Zealand there is hard evidence that the overwhelming majority of arrivals to 1898 were transients.

²⁸ Address by Dr Joseph Smodlaka member of parliament for Split, to the Austrian Parliament, 3/12/1910

Given the amount of firm data available, it would appear that the likely cause of the exodus from Dalmatia for 1896-98 was the devastating attack on vineyards by rust coupled with the low prices due to imports of cheap Italian wine, and that New Zealand's high gum prices made it a preferred destination option over other countries. However, the dramatic increase from 370 arrivals in 1897 (the highest annual total until then) to 750 in 1898 warrants some investigation and explanation. A review of the monthly arrivals reveals an even greater anomaly. In the last 6 months of 1898 over 570 arrivals are recorded, i.e. over 10% of the total arrivals between 1892 and 1914 arrived in this six-month period.

It appears possible that this late surge may have been amplified by steps being taken by legislators to slow down the rate of 'Austrian' arrivals.

The number of 'Austrian' arrivals had picked up in the second half of the election year, 1896, but this increased immigration does not appear to have led to its use as an electioneering tactic, nor does it seem to have created protests in the press or at meetings. The arrivals increased again in 1897 and again they do not seem to have raised any significant outcry. However, the government decided that there should be a full inquiry into the kauri gum industry and set up a Commission to carry this out in December 1897. The Commission heard submissions from settlers, merchants, landowners, some individual gumdiggers, and some of the few Dalmatians who had settled in New Zealand. It did not receive submissions from key transients such as the Sokolich and other families from Istria (see chapter 5) or the Belich and other families from Peljesac/Korcula (see chapter 6). It is likely that the Commission had no factual information on the earnings of these transients working collectively.

Most other submissions probably described a reasonable profile of characteristics (other than earnings) of the overwhelming majority of Austrian diggers who were transients at the time of the 1898 Commission. They kept to themselves; few could speak good English (or had any interest to do so); they were frugal; they repatriated most of their earnings back to Dalmatia.

Some impression was given in the submissions that money was being earned by young men to start a better life back in Dalmatia. Ages given in the passenger lists show that most were mature males and it is probable that they had come to New Zealand to earn money to support impoverished families in Dalmatia. Ages are given for over 90% of 1896 arrivals, and the average age is just over 30 (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 2 Passenger Lists Sydney to Auckland by year* on the disk).

This probably held true for those who came to New Zealand as transients through to World War I.

The Commission reported back in March 1898. It highlighted the main problem with 'Austrian' gumdiggers – they were a sober, honest and hardworking group, but were not settlers; existing settlers were in danger of being forced off their land because the 'Austrians' had worked out gumfields that settlers had previously used to provide cash while farms were being broken in; money earned by the 'Austrians' was sent out of the country.

The key recommendation of the Commission was that gumdiggers would require a licence to dig which could only be obtained after 12 months residence in the country.²⁹

After the Commission's Report was presented in March 1898, Legislation was drafted to restrict immigration of aliens and a further Bill to limit access by aliens to dig gum on Crown land. The number of Dalmatian arrivals soared in 1898 driven by the collapse of the wine industry in Dalmatia and the threat of impending immigration restrictions and denial of access to gumfields.

The New Zealand Herald's dream in 1893 of "sweeping the Austrians off the gumfields" and making them into settlers had proved to be illusory.

About 170 who had arrived by the end of 1899, out of a total of just over 2,000, were still in New Zealand in 1916 (see Table 2 and A. 1917

²⁹ The Report of the Commission into the Kauri Gum Industry , 1898, p.14

Registration and 1918 List 3. Reconciled 1917 Register and 1918 List on the Disk). That is, about one in 12 stayed. Of these about 130 were naturalized by 1916 (see *B Naturalization 2. Naturalization of Dalmatian Immigrants by year* on the disk and Table 9).

However, a number of these stayers were the core to the chain migration of permanent settlers in New Zealand. There are 15 Alachs, 12 Babichs, 17 Borichs,14 Cvitanovichs,15 Dragicevichs, 12 Franichs, 10 Kokichs, 11 Leticas, 10 Lupis's, 10 Marinkovichs, 9 Marinovichs, 9 Matutinovichs, 9 Mihaljevichs, 14 Nolas, 12 Pivacs, 9 Radovancichs, 20 Silichs, 9 Sumichs, 9 Sundes, 11 Unkovichs, 36 Urlichs, and 11 Viskovichs in New Zealand in 1916 (see *A 1917 Registration and 1918 List 3. Reconciled 1917 Register and 1918 List* on the disk). Most stayers did not see gumdigging as their permanent occupation, but rather as a means to start a new occupation or to provide cash flow while a new enterprise was starting.

With the wine-producing background of most immigrants many looked to wine making as their future (e.g. Herekino area 1898, Pahi area 1898, Yelas at Henderson 1898, Frankovich brothers Whangaparoa 1898). However, even after buying land and breaking it in for viticulture it took about 4 years for the first significant crop to be produced, with probably a further year before sellable wine available. Over this period many grape growers would have continued gumdigging to provide a living. Ironically, phylloxera, which had yet to reach the home vineyards of Central South Dalmatia arrived in New Zealand and wiped out the vineyards at Pahi and some other northern areas.

Apart from the well-established Lupis and Vela families most Dalmatians engaged in rural settlement were not in a position to marry until the early 1900s.

Other stayers saw a future in occupations that serviced the gum industry or Dalmatian immigrants. Some became storekeepers and/or gumbuyers. Some provided accommodation for immigrants arriving in New Zealand or for diggers seeking some town life after a stint on the gumfields. For

Red Wine to Kauri Gum

instance, Josip Franich, Lui Kinkela and Ivan Bilich had boarding houses in Auckland prior to 1900

For this group it was possible to get married (to Dalmatian or New Zealand women) and have a family at an early stage. Josip Franich married a New Zealander, Kathleen Keane, in 1899 and Ivan Bilich had married in Australia prior to arriving in New Zealand.

8. REACTION TO THE FIRST SURGE

The Government went well beyond the recommendations of the 1898 Commission into the Kauri-gum Industry in its efforts to restrict 'Austrian' immigration. The Commission reported to Parliament in March 1898 and the Government introduced two bills into Parliament to accomplish its aims in controlling immigration.

The first was the Kauri Gum Industry Bill 1898 which created kauri-gum reserves which could only be exploited by British citizens, and required a licence to dig on other Crown land. A licence could only be obtained after 12 months residence in New Zealand and only to those of British nationality. Parts of this Bill were to provide incentives in access to gumfields to long term immigrants, particularly those who became naturalized citizens.

The second was the Immigration Restriction Bill 1898. This was essentially 'White New Zealand' legislation making it very difficult for 'Asiatics' to immigrate to New Zealand. However, it could not be seen as based on race so its restrictive provisions applied to all arrivals (other than British or Irish). These provisions required an immigrant to put up a deposit of £100 on landing which would be refunded after passing a basic literacy test.

The Bill provided under Section 3:

"Except in so far as is otherwise provided in the subsequent sections of this Act, it shall not be lawful for any person of any of the following classes (hereinafter called "prohibited immigrant) to land in New Zealand, that is to say:-

(1) Any person other than of British (including Irish) birth and parentage who, when asked to do so by an officer appointed under this Act by the Governor, fails to himself write out and sign, in the presence of such officer, in any European language, an application in the form numbered two in the Schedule hereto, or as such other form as the Colonial Secretary from time to time directs:...."

and under the Schedule:

"FORM 2 – APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION INTO NEW ZEALAND.

Under the provision of "The Immigration Restriction Act, 1899", I [Full name, occupation and address], hereby make application for admission into New Zealand, and declare that I am not a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of that Act.

And I further declare as follows:-

My last place of abode during the last twelve months has been,

Dated at , this day of

[Signature of Applicant]"

If the applicant was unable to complete this form, he was to be declared a prohibited immigrant and forfeited his deposit. The shipping company and the ship's master would be held jointly and severally liable for a penalty of £100, the Government's expenses for the immigrant's detention and maintenance and the cost of removal from New Zealand.

While the Bill's real purpose was to restrict 'Asiatic' immigration, the high monetary deposits and penalties could be used to control immigration of non-Asiatics. The *Auckland Star* of 28 September 1898, reporting on the debate on the Bill in the Legislative Council states:

"The Bill is one of considerable importance to us in Auckland in that among its provisions are clauses intended to check the influx of Austrians to our gumfields. This trouble has been assuming during the last few months even more serious proportions than at the time of the sitting of the Kauri Gum Commission about the beginning of the present year.", and,

"It is the educational test clause which would exclude the majority of the Austrians now flocking to our Northern gumfields."

It would be very likely that Seegner, the German consul, and Langguth, the Austrian consul, would have been apprised of these Bills at an early stage. Their partnership, Seegner Langguth & Co had the agencies for

both the Bremen-Italian ports-Sydney-Auckland and Trieste-Alexandria-Sydney-Auckland services bringing Dalmatians to New Zealand and so had a commercial interest in the 'Austrian' immigration.

The Bills as drafted would have drastically reduced the number of Dalmatian men arriving in New Zealand to make money on the gumfields. A reasonable number were illiterate, few would be able to put up the £100 on arrival and the need to reside for 12 months before starting to dig gum would have imposed insuperable barriers for most potential gumdiggers. Furthermore, shipping lines would not be prepared to expose themselves to the penalties they would face for bringing in prohibited immigrants.

However, there was a window of time available for migrants until the Bills were dealt with by Parliament and became law. So the door did not close as quickly or as completely as the Bills contemplated. In the case of the the Kauri-gum Industry Act 1898 (see Appendix 1) the Legislative Council (New Zealand's upper house at that time) reduced the required residence in New Zealand to obtain a gumdigging licence from 12 months to 3 months³⁰ and removed the requirement for the licence holder to be a British citizen. The Act was to come into force on January 1 1899.

The more onerous Immigration Restriction Bill 1898 was passed by Parliament, but because an Act passed the previous year to restrict 'Asiatic' immigration had been refused Royal Assent, the Bill was reserved, i.e. was not put into force until Royal Assent had been received. It was further debated and passed in October 1899 and it appears on the Statute Book as the Immigration Restriction Act 1899 (see Appendix 2) to come into force "on such date as shall be notified by Proclamation in the Gazette". The report on the debate in the Otago Witness on 19 October 1898 demonstrated Prime Minister Richard Seddon's anti-Austrian bias:

"Only a year ago 1000 Dalmatians entered the colony and so soon as the gumdiggings failed they would overflow the colony and enter into

³⁰ New Zealand Herald, 27/10/1898, p.6

competition with our own people in different sections of labour, intermix with the people, and degrade our race."

The Act's primary purpose was to restrict Asian and other non-European immigration, but it could be and was used for non-British European immigrants as well. For instance a Spanish stowaway was prosecuted in 1904 under this Act.³¹

For the first 6 months of 1898 arrivals from Dalmatia were 183, a comparable rate to 1897. The number of Dalmatian arrivals trebled over the last six months of 1898 and it would need a great stretch of the imagination to believe that this increase was not influenced by the prospect of a closure to the immigration door in the immediate future.

In any event, immigration at the numbers of arrivals in the last six months of 1898 was unsustainable and concerns over this flood were raised and in some cases acted upon by those concerned. Langguth, the Austrian Consul, actively attempted to find employment for those who arrived, including alternative employment in Tasmania. In addition, the issue was taken up with the British Government by the Austrian Ambassador.³² The Dalmatian journalist Matthew Ferri wrote to Governor of Dalmatia and the Bishop of Ragusa late in 1898 seeking them to deter Dalmatians from coming to New Zealand.³³

These Acts, particularly with the unknown start date of the Immigration Restriction Act, had created an air of uncertainty and caution with the shipping companies. Passenger lists seem to have been biased (e.g. the Mokoia sailing which arrived in December 1898 had no Austrian passengers on its list but landed 123).

Late in December 1898 Seddon, concerned that "some 300 to 400 Austrian gumdiggers here who must be a burden on someone"³⁴ advised that "no more would be allowed to land unless they have the means to

³¹ Evening Post, 18/11/1904

³² Otago Daily Times, 14/1/1899

³³ New Zealand Herald, 27/12/1898

³⁴ West Coast Times, 24/12/1898

keep them for three months" (the time that they could not dig gum under the new Act).

The Mokoia's first sailing of 1899 arrived on the 16th of January with 88 Austrians on board. It is likely that these arrivals had started their journey from Dalmatia over two months previously. Some preparations had been made to provide jobs for them and they were all landed. However, only 34 Dalmatians arrived in the remaining eleven and a half months of 1899.

Legislation on the industry was amended in October 1899 by the Kauri Gum Industry Act Amendment 1899. It was a short Act tightening up on the licences required to dig on kauri-gum reserves. The debate on the Bill had some interesting exchanges.³⁵ The Prime Minister and a Member were at odds over the minimum time it took to become naturalised, with no satisfactory answer being given during the debate. The Prime Minister confirmed that only small areas in the vicinity of settlements would be taken for reserves.³⁶ However, the Act as passed made it clear that owners of freehold land could allow gum to be mined on that land without any licence. It is likely that the amendment permitting this was at the behest of landowners who valued the Dalmatian approach to mining.

Despite the many claims of the deleterious effect Dalmatian immigration would have on the kauri-gum industry that were made in submissions to the 1898 Commission, the arrival of over 780 Dalmatians in the 12 months after the Commission reported seems to have taken place without any serious immediate disruption to the industry. The legislation passed during 1898 and 1899 appears to have satisfied those protesting against Dalmatian immigration.

In 1900 only 166 Dalmatians arrived. All but a handful of these were brought in by Union Steamship vessels, so it is possible that that shipping line was able to screen potential customers for literacy; it is also possible that this relatively small number of passengers did not come directly from Dalmatia but had lived in Australia (or even New Zealand) previously. A

³⁵ Auckland Star, 3/10/1899

³⁶ In the event 92,000 hectares were taken.

Mr Lupis produced New South Wales naturalisation papers on the Westralia sailing which arrived in Auckland on 23 January 1899.

However, as numbers of Dalmatians attempted to enter the country by such means as buying tickets using English names³⁷ the matter was raised in Parliament in August 1900 and the Prime Minister decided to take tougher action. The Prime Minister stated that "The Government had notified the Shipping Companies that under existing circumstances they would not permit any more Austrians to land, and he hoped the House would support the Government on this."³⁸

The effect of this was immediate and the New Zealand Herald ran an article from the Sydney Daily Telegraph in September 1900 stating that a large number of Austrians were stranded in Sydney "in consequence of the refusal of the New Zealand Government to permit them to land in that colony". ³⁹ About 80 of the stranded men took up an offer of employment in New Caledonia and the remainder were returned to Austria at the expense of the Austrian Government. The Prime Minister's action effectively stopped Dalmatian immigration from then to the end of 1901 and only allowed minimum access to New Zealand until the last quarter of 1902.

From mid-January 1899 to the end of September 1902 less than 250 Dalmatians entered New Zealand, that is less than 70 per annum (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 3. Ships and Passenger numbers, Sydney to Auckland* on the disk).

Seddon not only blocked or constrained the number of Dalmatian arrivals over this time, but made it very difficult for Dalmatians to become naturalized, despite the thrust of the 1898 Commission towards turning transient gumdiggers into settlers. Aliens could become naturalized in less than three years. No Dalmatians were naturalized in 1900 and only 4 were naturalized in 1901 despite the hundreds of arrivals who had

³⁷ One group was caught out when they could not remember their 'English' names at ship's muster.

³⁸ New Zealand Herald, 31/8/1900

³⁹ New Zealand Herald, 24/9/1900

decided to settle in New Zealand. By the end of 1902 less than 80 out of the nearly 2000 Dalmatians who were in New Zealand at the end of 1898 had become naturalized, and of these 80, less than 20 gave gumdigging as their occupation when becoming naturalized (see Table 9).

As a secondary effect the Immigration Restriction Act excluded those who could not write in their own hand a certification that they were not a prohibited immigrant, in a European language, and sign their name. This would mean that illiterate Dalmatians would not have been allowed to land after 1898.

The Kauri-gum Industry Act 1898 was aimed in part to protect the ability of settlers to dig gum by setting aside kauri-gum reserves available solely to British nationals. Crown land not in reserves was available to holders of an ordinary licence which could be obtained by those who had resided in New Zealand for three months prior to their application for the licence. This area of land totalled 83,000 hectares.

Holders of ordinary licences could also dig on Native (Maori) land with the owners' consent and on land occupied or owned by a person with such person's consent (sections 11(4) and 11(5) of the Act).

The Kauri-gum Industry Act Amendment 1899 had removed the need for licences on the huge areas of freehold gumlands. Edwin Mitchelson gave evidence to the 1893 Commission on Kauri Gum that the Mitchelson family had leasehold interests over more than 16,000 hectares.

Making the kauri gum reserves unavailable to Dalmatians (at least until they became naturalised, as some did) certainly reduced the options on where to dig, but the remaining area of Crown land available was still considerable. Furthermore, it took some time to gazette all the kauri-gum reserves and a note in *The Figs and the Vines* puts the area of reserves at 17,000 hectares in 1899, rising to 86,000 hectares in 1901.

Native land could also be made available for a royalty or annual payment. 40 Despite some hostile submissions to the Commission against

⁴⁰ Evidence of Matthew Tupuni, The Report of the Kauri Gum Commission 1898, p.45,

Dalmatians by Maori at Te Kaeo relations overall appeared good, with intermarriage in Mangonui in particular and the friendly 'Tarara' connection.

Relationships with private landowners varied widely. In the Far North the Yates family controlled tens of thousands of acres of rough country and appear to have farmed out the gumdigging rights to land which possibly appeared at that time to have little future for any other use. ⁴¹

Others, such as the Mitchelsons in Hobson County may initially have had the same gum royalty approach, but later realised that by draining swamps and/or excavating the field on a face had the result of significantly enhancing the value of the land. 42

From submissions made to the Kauri Gum Commission in 1897 it appeared that Dalmatians preferred to dig on private land, with 6 major land-owning submitters recording that they had some 800 Austrians digging on their fields alone.

As the Dalmatians were the only group who worked collectively and used this technique they were used by landowners with gumland potentially usable for farming. Digging an area on a face implied that all of a particular area had to be dug over, which meant that regardless of gum yields there would be a commitment with the landowner to complete the project. It also meant that the gumdigging group must have had the experience to gauge whether the gum yield would justify the excavation. In this field Dalmatians were not in competition with British diggers or settlers.

Arrangements were more complex where land included drainage of swamps but major drainage projects continued to take place on private land in the following years. Agreements with landowners on the major drainage contracts must have required negotiation and must have been based again on the collective's assessment of the amount of recoverable

⁴¹ Evidence of Gustavus Yates, The Report of the Kauri Gum Commission, 1898, p.46

⁴² Evidence of R Mitchelson, The Report of the Kauri Gum Commission 1898, p.28

⁴³ Dabbling in Drains near Dargaville, Dick Martinovich

gum in the area to be drained. It would also have required a clear understanding within the collective as each member's rights as that member's 'capital' in the project was the unpaid time it took to drain the swamp prior to any income being derived. As some agreements were for rights to dig for up to 10 years⁴⁴ there must have been agreements over changes of membership of the collective during the project.

Finally, where a landholder was merely using the land for its gum revenue, the Dalmatian work methods recovered a much greater tonnage of gum from any area than the individual pothole method used by British diggers.

So with clear advantages over British diggers on privately controlled land and with access to both Crown land and native land, it is not surprising that Dalmatians with reasonable experience seldom needed to pursue gum in the reserves.

The number of 'Austrians' in Hobson County increased by about 200 between the 1896 and 1901 censuses, a relatively small proportion of the arrivals (see Table 7). Coromandel County increased its numbers by 330 and Mangonui County by 180, with substantial increases in Whangarei, Otamatea, and Rodney Counties. It would seem likely that many of the large numbers of new diggers that arrived in the latter half of 1898 were inexperienced and may have sought new gumfields being opened up rather than competing on established fields. It would also seem likely that those without the assistance of experienced collectives would have fared poorly.

By mid-1901 it appears that many had given up. Reports of up to 200 leaving for Sydney in the first half of 1901⁴⁵ while possibly inflated, indicated higher than usual numbers returning to Dalmatia. Further reports were of Dalmatians leaving for New Caledonia for work at modest rates of pay. 46

⁴⁴ See Falconetti's submission, p.33

⁴⁵ Auckland Star, 21/5/1901

⁴⁶ New Zealand Herald, 1/7/1901

So what actually happened to the gum industry? Gum production rose from 6,600 tons in 1897 at an average price of £60.3 per ton to 10, 200 tons in 1900 at an average price of £60.1 per ton (see Table 4). Average prices had dropped just under 10% in 1899 on record production of 11,100 tons, but part of this drop may be attributed to the acceptance of lower grade gum by the market.⁴⁷

In 1901 and 1902 gum production dropped to 7,500 tons at an average price of £59.3 per ton and 7,400 tons at an average price of £60.8 per ton (see Table 4). So the prices were holding up but it must have been harder to produce the gum economically. This is unsurprising as the easiest gum to produce would have been extracted first. And once again gum could be produced most economically by the most experienced and best organised groups leaving inexperienced newcomers struggling.

The drift of inexperienced Dalmatians back to Dalmatia or to places such as New Caledonia in 1901-2 is therefore understandable.

⁴⁷ Report on the Kauri Gum Industry, R.W.Firth, 1922

9. THE SECOND SURGE OF ARRIVALS FROM CENTRAL SOUTH DALMATIA, 1903-5

Prime Minister Richard Seddon's steps to restrict Dalmatian immigration were initially effective, but Dalmatian immigrant numbers started to increase again in June and July 1900. In July 1900 the Waihora arrived in Auckland with about 20 Dalmatians aboard. They did not appear on one passenger list and on the other, although noted as Austrians, about half had given British surnames. In *From Distant Villages*⁴⁸ Jelicich recounts that the Dalmatians were not allowed to land in Auckland and continued on to Wellington. Here the established Dalmatian immigrant Mariano Vella intervened with Seddon who permitted the immigrants to land provided that they did not go north to the gumfields

However, this incident provoked Seddon into tightening up on Dalmatian immigration. On 31 August 1900 the New Zealand Herald reported that the Prime Minister had been advised that Dalmatians were arriving in New Zealand using British names. He replied that the shipping companies had been advised that no more Austrians would be allowed to land. The *Sydney Telegraph* reported that Austrians had been stranded in Sydney with some being redirected to New Caledonia and some returned to Austria at that government's expense.⁴⁹

Over the next two years less than 50 Dalmatians landed

From the arrival of the ss Mokoia on 16 January 1899 until the end of September 1902 less than 250 Dalmatians arrived. That is less than 70 per annum. (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 3. Ships and Passenger numbers, Sydney to Auckland* on the disk)

With a handful of exceptions the Huddart Parker line brought in no Dalmatians from Sydney over this period; the Union Steamship line

⁴⁸ p. 33

⁴⁹ New Zealand Herald, 24/9/1900

brought in the remainder. The Immigration Restriction Act 1899 was still in force and continued for many years fulfilling its main purpose of excluding or severely curtailing 'Asiatic' immigration to New Zealand. Shipping companies' exposed to penalties for landing immigrants who could not make the mandatory immigration statement in a European language (see Appendix 2) protected themselves by carrying out the test before allowing passengers to disembark.

Some of the arrivals may have been naturalised in New Zealand or Australia. Certainly some came as settlers; the Silich family of six, the Didovich family of three, the Francovich or Franchi family of six and seven members of the Lupis family. Mrs Dragicevich and Mrs Zenovich also arrived with settlement in mind (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 2. Passenger Lists Sydney to Auckland by year* on the disk). The numbers of Dalmatians who left during this period of control would have far outnumbered arrivals. Some of these would have been successful transient diggers returning to Dalmatia after making the cash they were seeking when they ventured to New Zealand, but many of those who were unsuccessful turned to Australia or New Caledonia as alternative destinations.

The situation changed dramatically from October 1902 starting the second surge of immigration.

82 Dalmatians arrived from October to December, over 520 in 1903 and 600 in 1904 (see Table 5). Seddon may have come under pressure from the British Government, as in July 1902 he was reported to have advised the Austrian Ambassador to Britain, while there, that no distinction was made between Austrians and others. This was patently untrue and correspondence to the *New Zealand Herald* demonstrated just how untrue this was. For instance, Joseph Franich wrote on 25 July 1902 that he had applied formally for naturalization twice since December and had not even received a reply. Franich was a prime applicant. He had been in New Zealand for 9 years, he had his own boarding house business and he

⁵⁰ Auckland Star 18/7/1902

had married a New Zealand woman in 1899. He went on to point out the refusal by Seddon to allow shipping companies to land Austrians.

The matter was also taken up in Parliament by Mr Fowlds, who gave notice that he would ask the Colonial Secretary whether his attention had been brought to the meeting between the Prime Minister and the Austrian Ambassador in London, and to "substantiate the Prime Minister's statement by immediately causing naturalisation papers to be issued to those Austrians who have made applications and complied with the law."

Seddon appeared to have made a complete change in dealing with Dalmatian immigration, but claimed that his policies had enabled him change his stance. He was quoted as saying at a banquet in 1903 that "There was a time when the Auckland people were afraid of the Austrian influx and the Government introduced legislation to deal with the question, but now we find that Austrians make good citizens and become enamoured of our institutions. Let 'em all come."

The Austrian Government continued to monitor events and as late as 1905 sent the warship Panther to New Zealand "in consequence of complaints from Austrian settlers in New Zealand regarding alleged grievances."⁵²

As with the number of Dalmatian arrivals, the number of Dalmatian naturalizations increased dramatically. From only 25 naturalizations in 1902, they increased to 100 in 1903, 184 in 1904 and 126 in 1905 (see Table 9).

Generally speaking, names were more clearly and correctly recorded than on vessels arriving in the 1800s and names could be responsibly attributed to about 75% of the passengers. Although ages were supposed to be recorded on the passenger lists, the overall percentage of ages recorded in 1903 and 1904 was under 50%.

⁵¹ New Zealand Herald 25/7/1902 and 14/8/1902

⁵² Auckland Star 4/2/1904

Up until the end of the first quarter of 1903 the overall age range was similar to earlier years and may have reflected the return to New Zealand of earlier transients and those who had had to stop over in Australia or New Caledonia when restrictions were eased.⁵³ (The Huddart and Parker ships kept nearly full records and had age ranges similar to those of earlier arrivals throughout 1903 and 1904. It is possible that the Union Steamship line had an exclusive arrangement with the Orient Line and Nord Deutsch to carry Dalmatia to New Zealand passengers on the Sydney-Auckland leg of the journey.)

Typically the number of arrivals 21 years of age or under in earlier years was well under 10% of the total. The age distribution changed dramatically after the first quarter of 1903 with 32% of the total recorded ages being 21 or under (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland.* 2. Passenger Lists Sydney to Auckland by year on the disk). If the assumption that the Union Steamship line was the only line carrying immigrants travelling directly to New Zealand was correct, the percentage rises to 39%.

The proportion of the immigrants coming from different districts had also changed (see Table 1). Noticeably the proportion from the coast near Podgora stepped up and those from the inland area around Vrgorac increased dramatically. Numbers from the Neretva appear for the first time. The immigrants come from villages spread right across Dalmatia and didn't seem to be dominated by those villages with a heavy reliance on wine production.

There had been obvious changes at both ends of the immigration trail in the 5 years from the crisis of 1898.

In Dalmatia the persistent drivers of emigration, poverty, overpopulation, lack of land and Austrian maladministration, remained. So transient emigration to support families in Dalmatia or to earn sufficient money to create an acceptable life there continued.

⁵³ New Zealand Herald 29/1/1903

The sudden increase in the number of young men of conscription age arriving in New Zealand points to a new reason for emigration founded on permanent rather than transient emigration. This may also have been the reason for others leaving permanently who may have completed their conscription service but would have been mobilised into the armed forces in the event of a war breaking out.

So what political changes had occurred since the turn of the century to change the attitude towards conscription?

In 1892 Italy had joined Germany and Austria to form a defensive alliance. Italy had been bought off in the negotiations by the trade agreement that allowed Italy to sell a wide range of goods, particularly wine, to Austria at very low duties.

By 1900 it was obvious that the Ottoman Empire was crumbling and while some Balkan peoples strove to become independent the major European nations also sought to take advantage of this. In 1902 Italy and France made a secret agreement to establish their claims in North Africa that effectively nullified Italy's obligations under the 1892 agreement with Austria and Germany. As contemplated in the agreement with France, Italy seized Libya in 1911 by going to war with Turkey. It did not support its fellow members in their defensive pact at the start of World War I and was bought off again by France and Great Britain with promises of further land gains, and instead went to war against Austria and Germany.

Italy also declared an interest in Albania on the eastern side of the Adriatic, an area that Austria considered its sphere of interest.⁵⁵ By 1905, Italy was opening up communications with eastern parts of the Adriatic and establishing an official presence there.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ The Neutralization of Italy, Camille Barrere, Chapter V

⁵⁵ New Zealand Herald 7/9/1904

⁵⁶ New Zealand Herald 8/2/1905

The reaction of Austria was that it should not allow Italy to dominate the Adriatic and commenced a major expansion of its Mediterranean fleet.⁵⁷ The British Ambassador reported that the Austrian policy was to have 50% advantage over the Italians and their shipbuilding program from the early 1900's was to commission one new battleship with supporting fleet each year.⁵⁸ As coastal Istria and Dalmatia were the only Austrian seacoasts it is likely that the seamen recruited for this expansion would come largely from these areas. Furthermore the conscription period was for 4 years in the Navy against 3 years for the Army (note that Smodlaka in 1910 states that there was an extra 2 years in the Navy).

Finally the chances of conscriptees being involved in a real war rather than serving a peaceful period of time in the armed services must have appeared to have become increasingly likely. This would also have been of concern to men who had completed their compulsory service but who would have been called up in any general mobilization.

Despite the fact that about the same numbers (1120) of Dalmatians arrived in 1903 and 1904 as arrived in the peak years of 1897 and 1898 the reaction of the people and the government was much more restrained. A review of references to "Austrians" in the *New Zealand Herald* discloses none of the anti-Austrian sentiment in its letters to the editor or editorials that were common in the 1890s. It would appear that the opposition to Dalmatian immigration on economic grounds had subsided if not disappeared. Furthermore, some news items were constructive, seeking to assist in allowing the Dalmatians to settle and become naturalized.⁵⁹

Many aspects of life in New Zealand had changed in the six years between the two surges of immigration. As a whole, New Zealand had come out of a prolonged 1880/1890s depression. Many of the farms in North Auckland that were being broken in in 1897 were now in

⁵⁷ New Zealand Herald 18/5/1904

⁵⁸ Wikipedia List of Ships in the Austro-Hungarian Navy

⁵⁹ Auckland Star 21/1/1903

productive pasture. The dairy industry was developing rapidly there with factories to take farmer's milk to make into saleable butter and cheese.

In many areas the possibility of farmers supplementing their incomes had become academic as the gum that could be exploited by a single digger or even groups of 2 or 3, in more settled areas had largely been extracted. Many of those who would have dug gum as unemployed labourers in the 1890s were now able to find work in a more buoyant economy.

While the vast majority of Dalmatians were still transients, sufficient numbers had settled to change the perception that all were short term arrivals taking money out of the country. Of those who had arrived in New Zealand by the end of 1905, about 250 had already become naturalized (see Table 9) and 450 of these arrivals were still in New Zealand in 1916 (see Table 2). By the end of 1905 Dalmatians were farming and making wine at Herekino, storekeeping throughout Northland, buying gum in Northland and Auckland, flaxmilling at Waipapakauri, fishing on the Kaipara harbour, winegrowing and owning orchards at Oratia and Whangaparoa, and owning restaurants in Taranaki.

440 became naturalised over the period 1906-1910, of whom about two thirds gave their occupation as gumdiggers. The remainder were spread over a wide variety of occupations.

For those who had chosen to settle in New Zealand marriage would have been a major issue. Many of these stayers would have arrived at an age well below the age they would have married in Dalmatia and with no possibility of accruing enough savings to marry for some time after their arrival. To bring a fiancée from Dalmatia was expensive. New Zealand women were potential brides, but Dalmatians would have had to overcome the language, and in some cases, prejudicial barriers in addition to having the requisite financial resources to marry.

Nonetheless, numbers of Dalmatians married in New Zealand were increasing and 50 Dalmatians had married local European or Maori women between 1900 and 1909 (see Table 10). There would have been many more commitments to marriage by 1909 given the long

engagement times of that era and the need for a groom to be confident he had the resources to support a non-working wife and family. Dalmatian marriages to their countrywomen would have been affected by the immigration restrictions between 1900 and 1902 and only seven such marriages are recorded between 1900 and 1904. However, this stepped up between 1905 and 1909 with 35 recorded marriages.

Many transients were married with wives in Dalmatia, but during this period only a few appear to have changed their stance on emigrating and brought out their wives to settle (see *E Women and marriages* on the disk)

Seddon, who had virtually closed the gate on Dalmatian arrivals in 1899, may not have seen any political mileage in repeating the process in 1905. Despite Seddon still having all the legislation in place that allowed him to take action in 1899, no action was taken by his government to restrict the increasing Dalmatian immigration. Transients were allowed to continue to come to New Zealand with only a few restraints such as the basic literacy test.

Families with histories as transients since 1892 appear again in 1903-1905, but the overall pattern of arrivals has changed. For instance, on the February 1904 sailing of the *Waikare* from Sydney to Auckland (which carried the author's father) the *New Zealand Herald* reported that of the 60 Austrians on board 15 were to be involved in vinegrowing, 15 were going to Taranaki and only the remaining half were to become gumdiggers.⁶⁰

Apart from the kauri gum reserves, Dalmatians had come to dominate the mining of gum through their collective approach and mining techniques. From census figures (see Table 5) "Austrians" in New Zealand in 1896 were about one quarter of the number who gave their occupation as "gumdigging".

⁶⁰ New Zealand Herald 2/3/1904

In 1906 the number of "Austrians" in New Zealand was about two-thirds the number who gave their occupation as "gumdigging". The impact of the arrival of 1100 Dalmatians, most of whom became new gumdiggers contributed to production of gum rising from 7,400 tons in 1902 to 10,900 tons in 1905. The average price per ton dropped from £60.8 per ton in 1902 to £51.5 per ton in 1905. Although the decrease in price may have been affected by the additional production, it is likely that the quality of gum dug was lower on average with the consequent effect of lowering the average price.

The high rate of extraction of quality grade gum was not sustainable and annual production of all gum dropped dramatically from 10,900 tons in 1905 to 5,500 tons in 1908. Up until this time the major market for kauri gum had been in the manufacture of top quality varnishes, and when the availability of gum of the required quality declined the volume mined also declined.

The shallow easily-won quality gum had been the first gum mined, and winning quality gum required increased sophistication and organisation. It had become difficult for individuals or even family groups of 3 or 4 diggers to succeed.

Furthermore, merely increasing the size of a group did not necessarily lead to success. For a group to succeed it had to be led by an experienced digger or be an experienced gang. To dig a pothole a metre or so deep and find nothing is not a big deal, but to dig one three metres deep, or commit to a major face digging project without finding substantial gum would be disastrous. Even worse, some swamp drainage was done for nothing except access to the gum in the swamp, and as this was cash negative, judgement of the amount of the gum was critical.

A factor in this was interpreting the result of gum spearing investigations using spears running up to 7 metres in length. A suggested investigation

put to the 1914 Commission was for 6 men over 2 weeks with 16-foot gumspears (see photo below).⁶¹



Site investigation at Alfriston in 1910 with a long spear. Courtesy of the Kauri Museum A1. 1992.915. 44

Some swamp drainage projects during this period, such as the Omamari and Notorious drains near Dargaville were of significant size employing large parties of gumdiggers.

⁶¹ Report on Kauri Gum Reserves, p.68



The Omamari Drain, one of many drains to allow digging in swamps as other gumfields became exhausted. Despite the size of this undertaking it was not a financial success, see Jelicich, p. 59.

Courtesy of the Kauri Museum, A1.1992.915.78

Over 1300 Dalmatians arrived in the years 1903-1905, most of whom were greenhorns as far as mining gum was concerned and were entering an industry with rapidly decreasing yields of quality gum. Their prospects of success in the gum industry would have been patchy and limited unless they were able to attach themselves to an experienced group. Those who came from villages with large numbers of diggers in New Zealand would probably have fared best.

The inexperienced arrivals who were squeezed out of the gum industry by the dramatic reduction in gum production from 1905 to 1908 fared much better than the surplus arrivals in the first surge 0f 1896-1898. The New Zealand economy was buoyant. The wine industry in Dalmatia had stabilised lessening demand for support, so in the main they were young, energetic, often independent men determined to make a life in a new country, rather than men supporting their families in Dalmatia. Further,

there was a network of settled Dalmatians throughout the Auckland province that they could utilise.

Dalmatian annual arrivals dropped to the low figure of 131 in 1908, with arrivals from 1906-1908 inclusive totalling 526 (see Table 5), and it is likely that as many returned to Dalmatia or other destinations in the same period. Age records on passenger lists were poorly kept, with no records at all for 1906, but of the low number of those recorded about 18% were 21 or under. Areas of origin were well spread apart from Novi, but the area inland from Podgora continued to provide the largest numbers of any of the areas. About 340 of those on the Register of Aliens 1917 claim to have arrived in in this period (see Table 2).

If they had arrived in New Zealand intending to return to Dalmatia, they would have had 6 years at least to earn their targeted savings prior to the outbreak of World War I. This means that it is likely that most of the 340 had arrived intending to stay. Even after making allowances for errors in the Register, this represents a major shift in arrivals from transients to stayers.

Furthermore, it would mean that the immigration numbers for transients would have dropped to just over 100 per annum. This possibly reflects that the reduction in availability of gum was conveyed to potential transient diggers in Dalmatia.

The stayers who arrived in the second surge were very young. Of those who arrived from 1903 to 1910 who were still in New Zealand in 1916, 20% were under 15 years old on arrival, 48% were from 16 to 20, and 15% were from 21 to 25 (see *A 1917 Register and 1918 List. 3. Reconciled 1917 Register and 1918 List* on the disk).

Arrivals increased to about 250 per annum in 1909 and 1910. It is likely that the increase was in part due to the increased volume of gum available, but it is also likely that some increase was due to the increasing instability in the Balkans. Age records for 1910 arrivals are poor, but from fairly good passenger list records for 1909 about 35% were 21 or younger.

16 of the arrivals were Dalmatian women (see *E Women and marriages* on the disk). About 220 who are on the 1917 Register of Aliens claim to have arrived over those two years out of the 500 arrivals. Once again there may be inaccuracies in the Register, and some transients may have intended to stay longer than 4 years, but this is still a high ratio of stayers to arrivals. If correct it would put the transient arrivals at about 140 per annum for the two years.

The naturalization records for 1906-1910 show an ever widening range of occupations for the stayers. The wine industry naturally favoured by many continued a frustrating course, the frustrations in this case being the rise of the temperance movement which led to severe sales restrictions. Grape growing reached a peak of 320 hectares in 1910 but rapidly declined after that. Many Dalmatians, particularly in West Auckland turned to fruitgrowing or other farm activities.

A major change occurred in the market for kauri gum from about 1908. Poor quality and low purity gum which had not been saleable in quantity found buyers in linoleum producing companies. Gum with a purity as low as 70% could be used for linoleum manufacture albeit at a much lower price than varnish grade gum. It follows that gum deposits with large volumes of the lower grades, preferably mixed with some varnish grade gum, would be needed for economic extraction. Most of such deposits were in layers fairly deep in the ground and needed the collective Dalmatian approach to mining. To get the maximum recovery from the areas being dug, gum bearing soil had to be washed clear of dirt, the resulting gum dried and then winnowed to remove small wood or other light impurities. This meant that for individuals or small groups water had to be procured by bucket or hand pump and used to wash the gum-bearing soil through a hand sieve.

It is not surprising that the number of "gumdiggers" in the 1911 Census was about the same as the number of "Austrians" in the census (see Table 5). Obviously, not all "Austrians" were Dalmatian gumdiggers, but it

⁶² Jelicich, p.101

⁶³ The Stayers, p.14

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gives an indication of the dominance that the Dalmatians were exerting over that occupation.

Gum production rose to 8,300 tons in 1909 and remained at between 7,600 tons and 8,800 tons per annum until World War I disrupted the gum trade. Prices declined to a low of £51 per ton reflecting the amount of lower quality of gum, then rose to about £60 per ton by 1914 (see Table 4).

Much has been written on the estimated earnings of gumdiggers over the period 1896 to 1916. There are many industry factors that influence earnings, from increasing difficulties as easier deposits have been worked out to the changes in acceptable quality of gum. However it is certain that the superior working methods of the Dalmatians led to their dominance of the industry.

Census data

Year	Gumdigger	s Austrians
1896	3340	881
1901	3200	1874
1906	3234	2212
1911	2163	2131

While it is not possible to accurately demonstrate the earnings per digger, the statistics show that as Dalmatian dominance increased the average production and earnings per digger rose substantially.

Production (from Table 4 and the Census)

Year	Production (tons)	Diggers	Tons/digger
1896	7100	3340	2.1
1901	7500	3200	2.3
1906	9,200	3234	2.8
1911	7600	2163	3.5

Production (from Table 4 and the Census)

Year	Value,£	Diggers	£/digger
1896	431,000	3340	129
1901	446,000	3200	139
1906	522,000	3234	161
1911	396,000	2163	183

If an allowance is made for transport and exporter's margin of 33% the average income per year in 1911 when the industry was largely Dalmatian would have been about £120 per annum – far higher than the £50 often cited. And this is despite deposits being more difficult to work and the lower price paid for poorer quality gum in 1911. This higher earning rate goes some way towards explaining the rapidity of some stayers to save money and acquire land.

10. THE FINAL WAVE BEFORE WORLD WAR I

While the New Zealand gum industry had settled into a new phase with the new market for linoleum grade gum, the political situation in the Balkans was becoming more unstable. Italy and Austria remained nominal allies but the Austrians still retained their aim of surpassing Italy's sea power and continued to commission additional battleships and supporting fleets. This in turn increased the numbers of naval conscripts needed to man the vessels.

Events on land as the Ottoman Empire continued to crumble were on the march that led to World War I. Austria had administered Bosnia for some decades even though it was part of the Ottoman Empire, but in 1908 Austria annexed Bosnia into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This enraged Serbia as many of Bosnian's citizens were Serbs (a situation to be repeated in 1992 when Bosnia declared independence). Worse still, Austria placed a garrison on Turkish territory that blocked Serbia from contact with their fellow Serbs in Montenegro and access to the Adriatic Sea.

Balkan Wars erupted in 1912 and 1913 with Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece combining to defeat the Turks. These countries took over all but a small area of the Turkish territory in the Balkans and forced the withdrawal of Austrian garrisons outside of Bosnia. This completely frustrated Austrian ambitions to acquire further territory in the Balkans by peaceful means and led eventually to the outbreak of World War I. ⁶⁴

Dalmatian arrivals in New Zealand for 1911 through to 1914 have the appearance of people escaping from a dangerous place as well as the earlier reasons for leaving Dalmatia for New Zealand. Arrivals in 1912, 1913 and 1914 had almost full age records in the passenger lists. For 1912 about 50% of arrivals who remained in New Zealand in 1916 are 21 or younger, for 1913, about 42% and for 1914 about 47%. For the first

⁶⁴ Balkan Wars, 1912-13, Richard Hall

time significant numbers of 15 major transient families were 21 or younger. (see *D Ships and Passengers Sydney to Auckland. 2. Passenger Lists Sydney to Auckland by year* on the disk).

The numbers of emigrants were well spread over the whole of the Dalmatian region and there was no apparent indication of a local problem that could drive emigration from that area. The shift to permanent immigration increased during this three and a half year period. At least 43 Dalmatian women arrived from 1911 to 1914, of whom 25 were already married, with the remainder almost certainly destined to marry immigrants already in New Zealand (see *E Women and Marriages. 4 Female Arrivals and Departures* on the disk). From 1910 to 1916 there were 59 Dalmatian/Dalmatian marriages and 70 Dalmatian/local marriages (see Table 10).

550 Dalmatians were naturalised from 1911 to 1914 inclusive, a steep increase in the annual rate, and brought the total number of Dalmatian naturalisations to 1344.

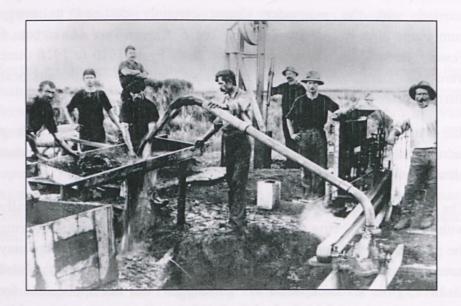
The occupation of those naturalized (from Table 9) changed dramatically with "gumdigger" being given for less than half those naturalised during the period (see *B Naturalizations* on the disk). Even this percentage may have overstated the situation. For instance, the author's father, naturalised in 1913, gave his occupation as "gumdigger" but his application for naturalisation showed that he had worked for a winegrower and on public works as well. "Labourer" was given by about 30% and probably reflects those engaged in infrastructure such as railway construction in Northland and drainage work on the Piako swamps. "Farmer" and "settler" make up about 15%, a significant increase. Occupations connected with winegrowing virtually disappear, probably reflecting the collapse of that industry due to temperance legislation.

Despite the trend towards other occupations the majority of Dalmatians, including those not naturalised, were still involved in gumdigging at the outbreak of World War I.⁶⁵ The superior approach of the Dalmatians to

⁶⁵ Trlin, Table 3.2.

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mining gum, particularly their ability to mine large quantities of low quality gum increased their dominance of the industry. About 1910 they started to use motor driven water pumps. This allowed them to dewater deeper excavations, but more importantly allowed them to wash gum on a large scale rather than washing small volumes by hand. Water was pumped over the unwashed gum placed on a large metal screen greatly reducing the man-hours needed to wash the gum.



An early (c.1912) gum-washing operation using a motor-driven water pump to clean gum by washing over a metal screen. Photo courtesy of the Kauri Museum, A1.1992.915.26

The start of World War I in August 1914 brought an end to the emigration of transient Dalmatian gumdiggers to New Zealand. It had started in the 1880s, but of over 5600 Dalmatian arrivals since 1891 only about 1700 men remained in New Zealand in 1916 (see Table 2). (This 1700 included some transients who had been trapped in New Zealand by the start of the war, and who returned to Dalmatia when they were able to after the war.) Some had achieved their goals of supporting their families

in hard economic times in Dalmatia or of earning enough to give them a reasonable start to life when they returned to Dalmatia. Others had not had the toughness to survive the harsh way of life of the gumdigger or had arrived at a time when new Zealand conditions were too difficult to make a reasonable living, so returned to Dalmatia or ventured to other countries. While there were over 5,600 pre-war arrivals noted it is impossible to determine the numbers who ventured to New Zealand more than once, although there enough family records of this to confirm that it was not an unusual occurrence.

From a New Zealand historical perspective the transients could be seen as akin to those who arrived in the 19th century gold rushes. Their period of influence, particularly in North Auckland lasted for almost 30 years and the work methods they developed resulted in a greater recovery of kauri gum than would have otherwise been achieved. Furthermore, by mining by a full face method, often coupled with land drainage, they turned much gum wasteland into productive farmland. So despite the fact that most of their earnings were transmitted overseas they had a considerable positive impact on the Auckland economy.

Their lengthy period of involvement also allowed them to encourage and provide initial support for the permanent immigrants from Dalmatia who have since contributed so much to New Zealand.

11. WORLD WAR I DISRUPTION

There is ample evidence that by 1914 Dalmatians were seen as excellent immigrants and that the prejudices of the 1890s had long since disappeared. There is the record of editorials and letters to the editor of major newspapers. Leading up to the crisis due to the flood of Dalmatians in 1898 there were many hostile letters written against Dalmatian immigration, particularly of the transient variety who represented the vast majority of Dalmatian immigrants at that time. From 1900 through to 1913 a search of the *New Zealand Herald* on Papers Past using the key phrases "Austrian influx", Austrian immigration" and "Austrian gumdiggers" found only one mildly anti-Austrian letter and a number of articles which were in fact favourably inclined to the "Austrians".

In 1909 a further Commission of Inquiry into the Kauri Gum Industry was carried out by Mr Gow. Mr Gow was in favour of retaining the gum reserves and Crown-owned gum-bearing swamps for British gumdiggers (presumably including naturalised Dalmatians), but then identified some difficulties with the "British" way of mining gum:

"I may remark that the great success of the Austrians on the fields has been owing to their co-operative system of work as against the Britishers' individualistic methods";

"After seeing the excellent work done by the Austrians in the Port Albert Reserves I am afraid the suggestion [to cut the land into 1 acre sections and issuing them to individual diggers] is unworkable. To my mind it would be utterly impossible for one man to work an area of swamp land as to leave it in a satisfactory condition"; and

"All Austrians should be debarred from working in the Government swamps or reserves, as they can get full employment from private holders of gum lands or swamps. I understand that private owners prefer the Austrians to the British diggers."

Gow's report shows a significant shift from the report of the 1898 Commission in that "settler" sentiment which was so anti-Austrian in the submission to that

Commission has now changed to support, due to the land improvements that can be achieved through collective, full-face digging.

A further Commission was appointed in 1914 to report on the Crown's kaurigum reserves. 66 It criticised the management of gum mining in the Government's Reserves compared to land under private ownership.

"He would be a most indifferent private individual who would have allowed his land to be dealt with in such a manner. If the private owner ever did allow his lands to be so injuriously dealt with he has long since acquired wisdom. The State, however, has failed to profit by experience, and the serious injury to the land is still proceeding."

The Report goes on to dramatically show examples of the management of adjacent land parcels, one privately owned and the other Crown land. Dalmatians were the only diggers who mined the gum and left it in a suitable state for cultivation. The relationship was of mutual benefit to digger and landowner and consequently there was no hostility between them. Even the argument that the transient diggers were taking up gum and exporting its value overseas had lost most of its force where digging took place on private land where the upgrading of the land left an asset in place of the gum.

Social relationships flourished in many areas and by 1914 over 130 Dalmatian arrivals had married local women (see Table 10).

1344 Dalmatians had become naturalised New Zealanders by 1914 (See Table 9) showing their strong commitment to their new country, and most of these would have been alive and living in New Zealand at the outbreak of war.

When World War I broke out in 1914 it disrupted all aspects of life for Dalmatian immigrants. Immigration to New Zealand stopped, and no Dalmatians returned there until 1919 when about 100 were repatriated (see *C Ships and Passengers Auckland to Sydney. 3 Men Repatriated in 1919* on the disk). Dalmatians in New Zealand were unable to send money or other support to families in Dalmatia. About half the gum exported had been going to Europe and this market ceased overnight (see Table 4). Just over half of the Dalmatian

⁶⁶ Report of the Commission on Kauri Gum Reserves 1914

immigrants living in New Zealand in 1916 were naturalised British subjects, but the others were still Austrian citizens, i.e. enemy aliens and were not eligible to become naturalised (see *A 1917 Registration and 1918 List. 1. Reconciled 1917 Register and 1918 List* on the disk).

While the advent of war had a major impact on the gum industry, it is difficult to measure its effects. In 1914 the Government was empowered to buy gum by paying 50% of the market price initially and with a further sum of the net proceeds on sale of the gum after all of the Government's costs.⁶⁷ Marginal producers would not have been able to survive such an arrangement. In any event, the Government had only £50,000 to finance this operation so its impact may not have been large. In addition, the Government was empowered to mine gum on all Crown lands (see Appendix 4). The following year the Government's options were broadened, but without increased funding.

It is difficult to determine the amount of gum produced during war years accurately. Export volumes did not reflect production of gum over the war years. Exports were dependent on the availability of shipping space. Some gum was stockpiled by Government and there are reports that other gum was stockpiled by other producers waiting for better prices. An unusual use of kauri gum was as filler in the production of the explosive, Sabulite, at Henderson.⁶⁸

As mentioned in the previous chapter, while gumdigging was the main occupation for Dalmatians, many had moved to other occupations by 1914. A move into other activities after the start of the war was made easier by the entry of tens of thousands of New Zealand men into the armed forces.

By the time of the census in October 1916 only 735 "Austrians" out of 1237 (60%) who adequately described the industry they worked in, named "kauri gumdigging and assoc". 69 The 1918 List of Jugoslav and Austrian Aliens (theoretically limited to non-naturalised persons) was recorded at the end of 1917 about a year after the Census. Only 176 (18%) of about 950 on the List gave their occupation as gumdiggers, although a further 150 (15%) gave their occupations as labourers at Redhill, Dargaville, Babylon and Aranga, which

⁶⁷ Kauri-gum Industry Amendment Act 1914

⁶⁸ Personal communication, A.J. Routley

⁶⁹ Trlin, Table 3

were essentially gumdigging areas. Some 164 (17%) gave their addresses as c/o PWD (Public Works Department) at Kaikohe, Mangapai, Paeroa, Portland and Te Aroha, showing the shift away from gumdigging by the end of 1917.

The outbreak of war had had the immediate effect of placing naturalised and non-naturalized Dalmatians into separate categories. Legally the former were British citizens at war with Austria and the latter were Austrian subjects at war with Britain. Virtually all transients were not naturalised, while almost all naturalised Dalmatians would have been stayers. At the same time many stayers would not have become naturalised by 1914.

Initially, naturalised Dalmatians continued to act and to be treated as ordinary New Zealanders. As an example, the author's father and his business partner, Ivan Nikolich, bought a farm near Papakura in 1915, worked as drainage and roading contractors for the local authority, negotiated with the local authority and other landowners to form a road adjacent to the farm and together with another farmer secured the contract with the local authority to form the road in 1918.

Many supported anti-Austrian protests and some enlisted and served with the New Zealand Army. For those who had moved away from gumdigging as a main occupation life went on almost as normal in their new occupation and the community in which they lived.

It is not intended here to cover the confused and lengthy negotiations between the Dalmatian community and the Government over the role of Dalmatian immigrants in the war which have been well covered by Trlin⁷⁰, Jelicich⁷¹ and others. The outcome was wartime legislation that became increasingly oppressive to the Dalmatian immigrants. A summary of the Acts and Regulations, stemming from the War, which affected the rights of Dalmatian immigrants is given in Appendix 4.

The War Regulations Act of 1914 gave the Government broad powers to regulate in its prosecution of the war. The War regulation of 10 November 1914 defined an "alien enemy" as "every person who at any time has been a subject of

⁷⁰ Trlin

⁷¹ Jelieich

a state with which His Majesty is at war". This definition meant that all Dalmatian immigrants were "alien enemies", naturalised or not.

Regulations issued on 9 December 1914 required non-naturalised aliens from enemy states to report and register their details. On 17 December 1914 regulations forbade any communication with any person in enemy territory, thus cutting off communications to families in Dalmatia.

Under a further Regulation of 15 July 1915 alien enemies were prevented from leaving New Zealand. Under a Regulation of 20 September 1915 they could be arrested by the military if they suspected the "enemy aliens" of being disaffected or dangerous and held until released by the Minister of Defence.

A Regulation of 4 April 1916 required "alien enemies" to provide details of property valued at over £50.

In 1917 there appeared to be a softening of attitude to naturalised aliens.

The Regulation of 20th August 1917 excluded naturalised New Zealanders from the "alien enemy" category. This approach was followed in the Registration of Aliens Act 1917 which required only non-naturalised aliens to register. The Act and the Regulation of 20th August appear to confirm that the loyalty of naturalised Dalmatians was accepted.

On the other hand, under the War Legislation Act passed on 31 October 1917, actions against non-naturalised aliens were toughened. Under this Act the Attorney-General could, through the Supreme Court, move for land owned by an "alien enemy" to be forfeited to the Crown. Under Section 35 of this Act, the government could make Regulations to direct labour out of non-essential industries, to direct people into essential industries and to make women and girls subject to this direction.

The provisions on forfeiture of land almost certainly arose from understandable resentment, that while men were being conscripted to fight the war overseas,

aliens, whether naturalised or not were free to buy land which may otherwise been available for returning servicemen.⁷²

The Military Service Act, 1916 restricted conscription to "natural born British subjects" so, even if naturalised, Dalmatian immigrants were not subject to conscription.

In September 1917 the Registration of Aliens Act was passed requiring all non-naturalised Dalmatians to register on a national database that would assist in their direction into work on essential industries, partly filling the gaps left by the one hundred thousand New Zealand servicemen. In the event this Act had little effect on the rights of Dalmatians as until 1922 all Dalmatians were treated in the same way as "alien enemies", "persons who had been subject of an enemy state" or some variation of these descriptions.

In December 1917 Mr John Cullen was appointed Commissioner in Charge, Jugoslav Organisation Branch, Defence Department. Cullen was a retired Commissioner of Police. During his tenure of that position, he had used police power to crush both the Waihi miner's strike of 1912 and the Waterfront strike of 1913.⁷³ He had the reputation of being unscrupulous and vindictive.

Cullen commenced his role by calling meetings requiring all Yugoslavs whether naturalised or not, to meet him at various centres to register. In his final advertisement he warned that those who did not meet him "would be dealt with drastically".⁷⁴ It is likely that he did not have any authority to order naturalised Dalmatians to meet him as the Act was for registration of non-naturalised Yugoslavs.

He took a number of other steps including persuading the Government Statistician to make available to registering officers confidential excerpts from the 1916 Census with names and data for all aliens. The source for the data in the

⁷⁴ New Zealand Herald 17/4/1918

⁷² New Zealand Herald 22/7/1917

⁷³ Te Ara. Encyclopedia of New Zealand

Register of Aliens, 1917 can be clearly seen to be the personal schedule for the 1916 Census.⁷⁵

Section 25 of the Finance Act 1918, allowed Regulations to be made for:

"Procuring, exacting, enforcing, controlling, and regulating national service as hereinafter defined during the present war:

Prohibiting or restricting any service, employment, occupation, business work, or industry:

Regulating the remuneration of national service, subject however, to the provisions of the "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1908 and any awards or industrial agreements for the time being under the Act"

"National service" was defined as:

"all service, employment, occupation, business, work or industry (whether under the Crown or any other employer or independent of any employer) which is deemed by the Governor General in Council or any authority appointed by that Council under any such regulations to be essential to the public welfare..."

The Regulation of 24 June 1918 authorised the appointment of a Commissioner for the purposes of section 25 of the Finance Act 1918. "National service" for this regulation was defined as "road rail, drainage, pastoral work deemed essential". The Commissioner was given power to direct any "alien enemy" to report for work at any time and place when directed and paid at a rate fixed by the Commissioner (but not exceeding that currently being paid in the location of the work). The "alien enemy" was obliged to "report and perform with due diligence". (These developments would almost certainly have influenced the author's father and his partner Ivan Nikolich to sell their farm at Papakura in 1918.)

As those born to British nationality were subject to being conscripted into the armed forces and consequently risk health and life, it was not unreasonable for "persons of enemy descent" or "alien enemies" to be directed into essential

⁷⁵ Personal Schedule for 1916; headings in the Census Register of Aliens 1917

services work. In many cases they would be filling vacancies left by men conscripted into the armed services.

John Cullen was appointed to the position of Commissioner of Aliens with responsibility for enforcement of the Regulation. The Registration of Aliens Act 1917 had no material effect on Dalmatians' rights; and by the time Cullen received the Register of non-naturalised Dalmatians from the Government Statistician in June 1918 (see A 1917 Registration and 1918 List. 2 List of Jugoslav and Austrian Aliens 1918 on the disk), all Dalmatians were categorised as "enemy aliens". However, for non-naturalised Dalmatians the List supplied to Cullen gave him up to date information on their location and essential personal information. This group would have consisted of two sub-groups, transient gumdiggers who had not attempted to secure permanent occupation in New Zealand and those who intended to stay, but had not yet become naturalised. The latter subgroup would probably been dominated by young recent arrivals who had not settled into a permanent occupation or business. Therefore the non-naturalised group were probably relatively easy for Cullen to manage.

Cullen also had a list of all aliens naturalised up to 1916⁷⁷ and this would include all naturalised Dalmatians. This document was presumably derived from naturalisation records and so, reliable, but the addresses, occupations and other data would have been those at the time of naturalisation and so were between 4 years and 14 years out of date.

Furthermore many in this category were well settled in New Zealand and were very unhappy to have to move out of their non-essential business or occupation to a job away from home as directed by Cullen. This was reflected in the reluctance of some to register for directed work or even to refuse to turn up where and when directed. About 300 were married with wives in New Zealand, and this was supposed to be taken into account by the Commissioner when directing a person to work.

Cullen also had the information provided by the Government Statistician from the 1916 census (Register of Aliens 1917). For enforcement of the directed work

⁷⁶ One flaw in this was that about 150 or 15% were in fact naturalised.

regulation, it had the advantage that it was less than two years old and was done on a county by county basis. However, there were many errors in the Register as forwarded to Cullen. Names were frequently misspelled on the Census form; there were variations in the English version of accented Croatian names; transcriptions from the Census form to the Register by clerical staff unfamiliar with Dalmatian names were likely; and plain error. (An example of this is that the author's father, Peter Mataga, was recorded as Peter Nikolich when residing with two Nikolich brothers at the time of the Census.⁷⁸

The Commissioner of Aliens pursued Dalmatian immigrants with some zest to ensure that they went into directed work, exhorting police to track down those who had not registered or had not turned up to the directed work site. While there were undoubtedly a number of Dalmatians in this category, they would be a very small percentage of about 1600 Dalmatians in New Zealand at that time, and some 600 were directed to work by Cullen. There were some well publicised stoppages by Dalmatians on directed work: at Okahukura-Stratford railway; Awanui drainage works; Paeroa drainage works about 50 man days; and a number of smaller stoppages. Again these stoppages would be a tiny percentage of man-hours spent on directed work. By February 1919 Cullen's anti-Dalmatian feelings approached paranoia. At the trial of Katavich and others for striking on the Paeroa drainage scheme Cullen gave evidence that "he was convinced that two thirds of them were antagonistic towards the British" and "he now said that two thirds of them should leave the country".

Examples of Cullen's vindictiveness are not hard to find. For instance, in 1919 after the armistice ending the war, one Ivan Letica who had served in the Army for 3 years was prosecuted for not registering and then directed to essential work. Another Dalmatian had his naturalisation papers noted as being "a badly disposed alien who is of no benefit to this country" for persuading his brother not to register. The said brother was in a mental institution.

As the servicemen returned from abroad the need to direct labour into essential work decreased, and the scheme was terminated by the Government in

⁷⁸ Register of Aliens 1917, Manukau County

⁷⁹ Trlin, p.116

⁸⁰ New Zealand Herald, 26/2/1919

September 1919. The direction to essential services had rankled with many Dalmatians who valued their freedom to pursue their livelihoods. The period of their lives affected by directed labour was 15 months and was far less onerous than being conscripted into the armed forces, risking death, maiming or other disabilities faced by New Zealand men for the war's duration. Ending directed labour freed up Dalmatians to find the best available work that suited them, but other legislative shackles would still affect them for many years after the War's end.

The war had affected categories of Dalmatians in different ways. Ironically, most naturalised Dalmatians had fled their home country to avoid being conscripted into the Austrian armed services, and due to the Government's suspicion as to their loyalty did not get drafted into the New Zealand armed forces when conscription commenced in 1916. So apart from fewer than 100 young men who had volunteered and been accepted at war's outbreak, 81 those Dalmatians who had emigrated to avoid the dangers of war had achieved their object.

All naturalised Dalmatians were little affected by legislative restrictions until Cullen's appointment as Commissioner of Aliens gave him the power to direct all Dalmatians into essential work. They had lost the right to buy property. (But it should be borne in mind that New Zealand men who had been conscripted had rather restricted opportunities to buy land.) They ran the risk of forfeiture of land bought since the start of the war, but would have received compensation for this.. (It appears that land was not forfeited under the regulations.)⁸²

Dalmatians who had not become naturalised by the outbreak of war were citizens of a country at war with New Zealand and subject to any controls imposed because of their national status. This category would have included the vast majority of transients, who would not have become naturalised because they had no wish to settle in New Zealand. The non-naturalised Dalmatians were not interned, but from 1917 were compelled to register with the police and report regularly to them. They could not move from their registered abode without police approval and their commercial rights were severely restricted (see Appendix 4).

⁸¹ Trlin

⁸² Enemy Property in New Zealand, Public Trustee, 1921, p. 17

All gumdiggers would have been hit hard by the close of the European gum market. The transients would have been dealt blows on a number of fronts. Loss of employment in gumdigging would have been partly offset by job opportunities created by enlisting servicemen, but were probably not as remunerative as gumdigging. Most would have had poor English skills and very little in the way of occupational skills. Their personal lives would have been shattered. Most would have been supporting families in Dalmatia (about half had wives in Dalmatia) and their ability to contribute anything ceased when the war started. Some would have arrived as early as 1910 and many would have been due to return to Dalmatia but were barred from leaving New Zealand. Many did not return until six or seven years after the start of the war which in some cases could have meant an absence of over 10 years. Their loyalties would have been deeply split - most would not have any great loyalty to Austria, but neither would they have had any inherent loyalty to their temporary home of New Zealand. Furthermore, many would have had family members serving with the Austrian armed forces.

In any event they kept a low profile and few acted in a way that led to their internment. In fact more naturalised Dalmatians were interned than those not naturalised.⁸³

⁸³ Now Respected Once Despised, A. Trlin, pp. 122-127 and Table 9

12. THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

World War I hostilities ended with an armistice in November 1918. The armistice did not mean that the participants in the war were at peace and the major powers were still technically at war until the Treaty of Versailles was signed in June 1919. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed in January 1919 and achieved international recognition soon after

To persuade Italy to enter the war against Austria and Germany the Treaty of London in 1915 had promised Italy that it would receive Austrian territory including the Istrian littoral and the Dalmatian islands excluding Brac. This commitment was not fully honoured, but by the Treaty of St Germain 1919, Italy was still awarded Istria and the Dalmatian islands. This would mean that Vis, Hvar and Korcula would become part of Italy. However, a further treaty, the Treaty of Rapallo 1920 removed the Dalmatian islands except Lastovo from Italy. In the meantime much of Dalmatia had been occupied by Italy and was under Italy's control.

Added to the problems of politics and war, the dreaded phylloxera disease had arrived in Central Dalmatia, making an appearance in Hvar and Brac in 1910 and Makarska in 1912.⁸⁴

The transient Dalmatians who had arrived in New Zealand prior to the war, together with some who had intended to emigrate permanently, would have been desperate to return home to families left behind. The first (and presumably the most desperate) group, just under 100 men, left in May 1919 before peace was established between New Zealand and Austria. Most were married. Very few were young men. Almost 20% of the repatriates were from Novi and include family names such as Sokolich, Piskulich, Jovanovich, Kukalj and Kabalin who regularly provided transient gumdiggers over nearly 30 years.

This group was treated as enemies being repatriated to their home country by the victors and suffered humiliating treatment on their journey. A full account of the

⁸⁴ Kraljevic

⁸⁵ The Stayers, Appendix H

journey has been given by M. P. Rakich in *From Distant Villages* by Stephen Jelicich.

The departure of this group left 3 categories of Dalmatian immigrants in New Zealand:

- Transients who still wished to return to Dalmatia
- Naturalised Dalmatians who wished to settle in New Zealand; and
- Non-naturalised Dalmatians who wished to settle in New Zealand.

It may seem odd that extra punitive measures would be put in place after fighting had ceased. The acceptance of Dalmatians as good settlers and associated goodwill that had accrued at the outbreak of the war had by this stage been swept away by the emotions of New Zealanders resulting from the deaths, maiming and incapacitation of their young men. These emotions created prejudices, irrational or not. To many, the Dalmatians appeared at best, bystanders, and at worst enemy subjects.

War time legislation affecting Dalmatians was not repealed following cessation of hostilities. In fact additional legislation to the detriment of Dalmatians was enacted in the following years and the legal position of Dalmatians was not fully restored until 1924 almost 6 years after hostilities ceased.

The first Act with provisions affecting Dalmatian immigrants passed after cessation of hostilities was the War Legislation and Statute Amendment Act 1918. This Act prevented "persons of enemy origin" (i.e. including naturalised Dalmatians) from acquiring land. Furthermore, if land had been acquired since the start of the August 1914 the land could be taken for public use, with the Crown paying compensation; if purchased after the Act came into force it could be forfeited to the Crown without compensation. This Act dashed the hopes of those who wished to stay and buy land and created uncertainty among those who had bought land since August 1914. Furthermore, over 300 of these immigrants were now married with families including about 200 married to New Zealand wives (see Table 10).

The Act was followed by the passing of the Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act 1919 (F. War Legislation affecting Dalmatians on the disk) which made

Dalmatians "prohibited immigrants" except where licenced by the Attorney General. This was followed by the *Restriction of Immigration Amendment Act* 1920 (see *F War Legislation affecting Dalmatians* on the disk) which provided that an additional permit for all aliens to enter the country had to be obtained from the Minister of Customs. The application for this permit had to be made in the prescribed form and posted from the applicant's place of residence. This would add some months to immigrant timetables.

Apart from the barriers that these Acts created against new immigrants, they prevented the re-unification of families separated during the war. Only a handful of Dalmatians arrived in 1920 and 1921 and even in 1922 the numbers only reached 37 (see Table 6). 60% of the 50 arrivals over these 3 years were women and children, so it seems that licences for these arrivals had been granted mainly on compassionate grounds. However, the low figures meant that less than 10 families were reunited over this period by allowed arrivals.

In 1919 some respite had come from the repeal of the Trading with the Enemy Acts of 1914 and 1915 (see Appendix 4) which would have allowed Dalmatians to send funds back to families in Dalmatia. It would also have allowed trading in kauri gum to continental Europe to resume.

In October 1920, the War Regulations Continuance Act 1920 (see *F War Legislation affecting Dalmatians* on the disk) came into force. The Act was an attempt to consolidate War Regulations into an Act administered by the Board of Trade. It is a lengthy and untidy Act. There were a few positives in the Act for Dalmatians: inadmissible evidence could no longer be used against them in proceedings; the ability to direct alien enemies into essential service was revoked; non naturalized aliens were not obliged to register; and arbitrary powers to arrest "disaffected or dangerous persons" were revoked. Three other Acts modifying wartime Acts and Regulations were passed in 1921, but none of these materially affected the situation of Dalmatian immigrants.

Three years after the cessation of fighting and the agreed formation of the new state, Yugoslavia, "persons who had been subjects of an enemy country" were still categorised as alien enemies, and all the strictures regarding movement, naturalization, ability to acquire property, and uncertainty of ownership of property remained in force.

The Custodian of Enemy Property, the Public Trustee, reported in 1921 that the government had decided not to take action on property of former Austrian aliens who could claim citizenship of an "Associated Power". 86

Returning to Dalmatia after hostilities had ceased was not straightforward. The war had ended with an Armistice but the war did not officially end until mid-1919. In addition, Dalmatia was no longer part of Austria, but part of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes which had to set up its systems to handle arrivals and departures into the new country.

There were just under 1000 Dalmatians on the List of Jugoslav and Austrian Aliens 1918 (see A. 1917 Registration and 1918 List. 2 List of Jugoslav and Austrian Aliens 1918 on the disk). Over 100 of these were recorded as naturalised (see B. Naturalisation on the disk), so the true figure of non-naturalised Dalmatians would have been about 850. Nearly 100 were repatriated in 1919 so the number of non-naturalised Dalmatians after 1919 would have been about 750. This figure would include both transients who never intended to settle and arrivals who intended to stay but had not become naturalised prior to the outbreak of war.

There are no firm figures for the number of transient Dalmatians in New Zealand when war broke out in 1914. A sample of 400 single men in New Zealand in 1916⁸⁷ had New Zealand death records for about half, indicating that the other half had returned to Dalmatia or had gone elsewhere. Between two and three hundred Dalmatians had wives still in Dalmatia at the start of the war and from death records again, less than 50 of these wives appear to have come to New Zealand when able to after the war. While the figures cannot be stated definitively, it would appear that there were about 500 Transients trapped by the start of the war and up to half of these were supporting wives and/or families in Dalmatia while most of the remainder supported wider family groups. Apart from sending some support via the Red Cross, those who wished to continue to

⁸⁶ Enemy Property in New Zealand, the Public Trustee, 1921, p.17

⁸⁷ The Stayers, Appendix H

⁸⁸ BDM Online

⁸⁹ The Stayers, p.26

support their families in Dalmatia were unable to do so because of the New Zealand legislation forbidding trade with the enemy.

Some of those who came to New Zealand intending a short stay will have changed their minds during the many years trapped in New Zealand

Under Regulations promulgated in 1915 and continued until 1924 "enemy aliens" could only leave New Zealand with the consent of the Minister of Defence 90

Permission to leave New Zealand does not appear to have been difficult to arrange. In the years 1920-1922 about 340 Dalmatians left New Zealand (see Table 6), with numbers falling dramatically to 23 in 1923. The number who were repatriated in 1919 or departed in 1920-1922 is comparable to the estimated number of transients in New Zealand at the outbreak of war, so those departures appear to represent the return of those who were prevented from returning by the outbreak of war. However, it can be implied from these figures that the great majority who had come to New Zealand to settle did not change their minds despite their unfair treatment post-war.

Some returned later, not as transients but as stayers.

The stayers who were in New Zealand at the outbreak of war fell into two groups when peace arrived. Those that had already acquired land or had settled into a new business would have consolidated their position over the war years. The other group would have been subject to directed work until September 1919, but employment was at reasonable rates of pay.

Following the directed work period there were continuing opportunities on infrastructure projects. Despite the return of men from armed service abroad, about 18,000 men had been killed and there were probably a similar number who had been wounded, the victims of gas warfare or ill from diseases contracted overseas who were not able to participate in occupations requiring good physical health.

⁹⁰ New Zealand Official Yearbooks, 1919-1925

Red Wine to Kauri Gum

The upshot of these circumstances was that while intending stayers could earn a good living, the Regulations prevented them from buying land for farming or other rural development. They did not know when these restrictions would be eased or when other restrictions such as those on bringing wives or intended wives from Dalmatia would end. These uncertainties were to continue until 1923, and in this aftermath period intended stayers had to consider their options.

The fear of conscription into the Austrian armed forces which had driven many to emigrate was no longer a factor. Many would have been able to save substantial amounts during their time in New Zealand, enough to start a good new life if they returned to Dalmatia and invested their savings. Added to this there would have been the joy of returning to family there, and for some the dreams of the future for the new country to be called Yugoslavia. It seems reasonably clear from the numbers returning to Dalmatia in the years 1920 to 1924 (see Table 6) that this was not a popular option despite the restraints imposed on stayers by the War legislation.

With the end of directed labour in September 1919, Dalmatians were free to pursue their entrepreneurial activities provided that there was no need to buy land. The vigorous temperance movement, which had just fallen short of gaining legislation in favour of Prohibition hampered any development of the wine industry. Many Dalmatians who had bought land pre-war to establish vineyards moved to fruitgrowing.

Others became involved in fishing to supply the local market and forming the basis of what were to become major fishing enterprises in later years. Restaurant ownership was a popular occupation, often becoming the local "fish and chip shop" in many areas.

Their experience in working as collective groups was turned to good used as contractors in roadbuilding, drainage projects and stonemasonry.

Because of these options, many had no wish to return to the long hours of hard, isolated work of the gumdigger. 91

⁹¹ Report of the Kauri Gum Superintendant, 1919

Those who did wish to return to gumdigging from directed work could now do so as private enterprisers on private land (although some would have continued working for the Government on Crown Land). Gum production never reached the pre-war annual peaks, but in the immediate post-war years ranged from 3,900 tons to 6,500 tons.

Even though the number of Dalmatians on the gumfields decreased their dominance of production was resumed. They had learnt new skills in other occupations and they adapted quickly to new machines for cleaning gum. Patents had been granted for a number of new machines to process gum and the Dalmatians used these (in particular, gum washing machines patented by 1919 by C Suttie and V and N Silich. The latter patent describes machines which were used until the 1950's). For collective mining groups these machines replaced the manual washers ("hurdy-gurdys") that had come into use c.1914 (see *H Mining Kauri Gum, an Engineering Perspective* on the disk).

The unavailability of wives from Dalmatia from 1914 to 1922 opened the way for marriages between Dalmatian men and New Zealand women. Over 100 such marriages took place over this period (see Table 10) taking the total of New Zealand non-Dalmatians married to Dalmatians to about 200 by the end of 1921. These wives would all have been classed as "alien enemies".

In October 1922 the "War Disabilities Removal Act" came into force. There were two sections to the Act, the second section stating,

"No person who in New Zealand is a British subject, whether by birth or naturalization or otherwise howsoever, shall hereafter be subject to any disabilities or disqualifications imposed by any Act or war regulations or other enactment in respect of alien enemies or persons of enemy origin, as those terms are defined by any enactment"

Finally, almost 4 years after fighting had ended, and eight years after the restrictions on the rights of naturalised Dalmatians had been imposed, they returned to their pre-war status of New Zealand citizens. There were over a thousand naturalized Dalmatians in New Zealand in 1914 whose rights had been infringed. To these must be added close to 200 wives, who had become "enemy aliens" even though New Zealand citizens by birth.

In addition to these, there were those who had immigrated intending to stay, but had not become naturalised by 1914 and those who had come as short-term immigrants who were trapped by the outbreak of war and had decided to stay and become naturalised. For Dalmatians the process of becoming naturalised did not start quickly after the war. For instance, Marko Zurich applied for naturalisation in October 1921. He was advised by the Undersecretary of Internal Affairs in January 1922 that naturalisation was not being granted to "natives of Dalmatia" pending the appointment of a consul to represent the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In August 1922 Zurich was required to obtain a certificate from the consul confirming his claim to be a native of that kingdom. Naturalisation was finally granted in January 1923. 92

For those who had chosen not to become naturalised, relief from wartime legislation did not come for a further year and a half.

In 1923 the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act was passed in the New Zealand Parliament, but because it contained clauses on British Nationality was held over pending consent of the British government. It was finally promulgated in May 1924.

The Act provided significant relief to non-naturalised Dalmatians in several sections. Section 4 allowed for naturalisation of aliens. Section 6 provided that naturalised aliens had the same rights as other citizens. Sections 13 and 17 gave aliens the right to own real property.

For aliens already in New Zealand this Act effectively returned to the pre-war situation for those wishing to permanently immigrate to New Zealand.

As an example of actual effects of these last two acts, the author's father and two other Dalmatians, George Yelchich and Marko Zurich entered negotiations to jointly buy a farm at Waiuku. Peter Mataga and George Yelchich were both naturalised, but Marko Zurich was not, so the purchase negotiations could not proceed until Marko became naturalised early in 1923.

⁹² Application for naturalisation of Marko Zurich

The repeal of the war legislation in 1923 led to a resumption of near normal immigration policies and procedures. Immigration from Dalmatia to New Zealand entered a new phase in 1924.

13. EPILOGUE

The previous chapters presented a history of Dalmatian immigrants who arrived in New Zealand from the 1880s to 1914. Of about 6000 arrivals, under 2000 remained in 1916 and not all of these settled in New Zealand. The arrivals were overwhelming male, and only about 100 of them were females (see Table 3).

Until 1900 over 90% of Dalmatian immigrants were transients who stayed only a few years in New Zealand. For a group of non-permanent immigrants the transients had a major impact on Auckland's rural economy. Their collective working approach led to large areas of swampland to being drained and converted into productive land. On other gum land they similarly left the land in good condition for cultivation. They provided the starting point for the stayers who took over their methods and after World War I improved them by using power driven gum-washing machines. Their methods allowed a far greater recovery of gum from any area and even if much of its value went back to Dalmatia a sizeable portion was spent in New Zealand.

After 1900 the immigration pattern changed with the majority arriving as genuine long term immigrants

The men living in New Zealand in 1916 had arrived young, with 62% of those on the Register of Aliens 1917 arriving under the age of 21 and a further 16% under the age of 26. For single men 77% were under the age of 21 on arrival and a further 13 % under the age of 26 (see Tables 2 and 3). The statistics are similar for those married men who settled in New Zealand, 93 but for those married men who did not settle in New Zealand the figures are 14% under 21 and a further 17% under 26 on arrival (see Table 3). This is consistent with the latter group being largely husbands who had left their wives and families in Dalmatia, with the options of returning to Dalmatia or bringing their families to New Zealand.

So for those permanently settling, the overwhelming majority arrived as very young single men. All the evidence and anecdotal memories point to avoidance of conscription as being a major driver towards their emigration.

⁹³ The Stayers, Appendix D

Young Dalmatians wishing to go to New Zealand had to secure financial support from people who believed that they had the strength and character to succeed and repay money advanced for fares and starting costs. As gumdigging was their initiation to New Zealand, those who stayed had to be strong and fit for the physical rigours of that occupation and also mentally tough enough to put up with the demanding environment and poor living conditions.

Those who survived this initial test must also have had a vision for a better future life for themselves in New Zealand if they were to settle here.

But there were other hurdles to overcome. Very few Dalmatians could speak English. Their level of schooling was poor. Some were illiterate. Fewer than 20 of those on the List of Jugo-Slav and Austrian Aliens 1918 gave their occupations as tradesmen. Out of about 1000 on the List, none gave any form of professional qualifications. They had no experience of British law or customs.

To assist in overcoming these hurdles new arrivals were generally assisted by fathers, brothers or cousins and wider village families. When this assistance was developed into the workplace in the form of mining gum in a collective fashion, it enabled the young arrivals to earn much more than other gumdiggers working as individuals.

The overwhelming majority of those who left the gumdigging industry, whether single or married, moved to establish themselves in their own businesses or farms as quickly as they could raise the necessary funds. (As an example, by 1930 the Dalmatian settlers in Waiuku comprised the fish and chip shop owner, the local bookmaker, a gumbuyer, several farmers and a cattle breeder. None were employed labour.)

Unsurprisingly, many of the fit, young single Dalmatians wished to marry and settle down. About 620 of the total who arrived before 1916 did marry (see Table 10 and Appendix E of The Stayers). Also unsurprisingly, they married women who were available at that time, so at times a majority married Dalmatian wives and at other times a majority married New Zealand wives. The men who arrived

from the 1880s to 1914 and settled married roughly equal numbers of New Zealand and Dalmatian wives.

About 300 had married prior to 1917 and about a further 250 appear to have left their wives in Dalmatia prior to World War I (see Table 3). From death records most of the latter appear to have returned to Dalmatia. Of the approximately 1400 single men, about 350 married after 1916 and settled in New Zealand (see *E Women and Marriages 3. Single men* on the disk). Of a sample of 400 men named in Appendix F of *The Stayers*, only about 200 have deaths recorded in New Zealand, ⁹⁴ so it appears that about 50% of the single men may have left New Zealand to return to Dalmatia or live elsewhere.

Like most pioneering families, the Dalmatians had the drive to make their children's lives better than the hard road to survival and success that they had had to follow. Apart from economic security, many families placed great emphasis on education. Children of the ill-educated immigrants have made their mark in many fields in New Zealand and overseas – mathematics professors, medical professors, prizewinning architects and engineers, doctors, scientists, authors, veterinarians and other professions.

The road from gum back to wine took 50 years before wine production became a truly successful New Zealand industry. The Dalmatians, who were the only substantial immigrant group with a winegrowing heritage, had to overcome opposition from temperance groups, prohibitionists, beer barons and restrictive legislation put in place to satisfy those groups. Drinking habits also had to change, particularly, those associated with dining. Above all, the winemakers had to adapt to grape varieties that were new to them, types of wine they were unfamiliar with, up to date winemaking techniques and even selection of suitable vineyard land. That they succeeded can be seen in the names of major successful New Zealand winemakers such as Fistonich, Brajkovic, Nobilo, Yukich, Selak, Babich, Delegat, Mazuran, Soljan and Fredatovich. The stories of these successful winemaking families is told by Stephen Jelicich in *From Distant Villages*.

⁹⁴ BDM Online

Part 2 Data

Table 1. Arrival and departure numbers of immigrants with recognisable names, by area of origin

The numbers shown are where the names are recognisable. The areas of origin are generally those in Andrew Trlin's book *Once Despised, Now Respected* but names with multiple places of origin are not included.

As at April 2015 digitised passenger lists for arrivals may not be complete for the years up to 1886, so actual numbers may be higher. There may also be omissions from lists from 1887 to 1889. Similarly, the digitised passenger lists for departures are not available prior to 1908.

Table 1A lists the number of arrivals from Istria and areas of Central Dalmatia and the arrival of significant numbers from various areas demonstrate the migrant chain in progress,

Peljesac, 1880s onwards

Korcula, 1890 onwards

South Makarska coast, 1896 onwards

Hvar, 1897 onwards

North Makarska coast, 1898 onwards

Inland Makarska, 1902 onwards

Neretva, 1903 onwards

Table 1B lists the number of departures from Auckland in the period enveloping World War I, and reflects the disruption to immigration caused by the war.

Table 1A. Arrival numbers in New Zealand of those with recognisable names

Year	Novi and North	Peljesac and Korcula	Coast Igrane south	Coast Drasice north	Hvar	Brac	Makarska inland	Neretva	Total
1885	1	31	10	19		0	30		1
1886	0			10			32		0
1887		5	4				37		5
1888	6 - 1	10	14	24	19		20		10
1889		1		23 3	V ₁		1		2
1890	3	12		17:5		1			13
1891	22	18	1		1		2		44
1892	31	13	1		2				47
1893	21	61	11	4	18	1	6	1	123
1894	1	6	3			1	1		12
1895	7	25	8	4	3	2	1	1	51
1896	56	49	11	7	3	2	5		133
1897	28	8	23	8	10	2	1	10	80
1898	22	52	44	35	28	5	16	3	205
1899	8	5	4	4	3	3	8		35
1900	2	25	1	4	2	1	1		36
1901	0	19 /	8	33		9	33		0
1902	2	20	7	20	3	5	17		74
1903	8	109	32	53	22	4	60	9	297
1904	- 27	79	29	42	24	5	120	13	339

Year	Novi and North	Peljesac and Korcula	Coast Igrane south	Coast Drasice north	Hvar	Brac	Makarska inland	Neretva	Total
1905	2	33	24	34	3	5	54	8	163
1906	2	36	10	8	3	6	49	6	120
1907	3	12	8	27	7	9	34		100
1908	5	12	2	R. R. R.	6	6	11	9	51
1909	7	53	22	8	21	17	27	7	162
1910	14	32	12	27	17	3	23	16	144
1911	5	12	10	31	33	1	17	10	119
1912	5	36	10	21	18	1	26		117
1913	23	47	46	34	3	13	35	18	219
1914	39	25	28	24	13	8	27	16	180
1915	7 3				4 4 8			0	0
1916	- 5 - 7	18.6			- 28		3 9 3		0
1917									0
1918								9-8	0
1919	8 6	76		,				8-8-4	0
1920				2	1	<u> </u>			3
1921	6 6			2	1		-1 8		3
1922	0.0	7		13	1	7	5		26
1923		56	3	17	5	3	10		94
1924	4	163	52	48	28	10	54	12	371
TOTAL	345	1022	402	477	279	114	611	129	3379

Table 1B. Departure numbers from New Zealand of those with recognisable names

Year	Novi and North	Peljesac and Korcula	Coast Igrane south	Coast Drasice north	Hvar	Brac	Makarska inland	Neretva	Total
1908	3	31	10	19	5	0	39	5	112
1909	0	28	7	19	4	1	32	5	96
1910	1	25	4	1	6	3	17	1	58
1911	6	54	14	24	19	0	28	4	149
1912	4	30	11	20	17	1	20	5	108
1913	5	19	6	17	18	2	19	5	91
1914	6	23	3	6	6	1	26	1	72
1915-18	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	00
1919	18	22	11	6	0	2	19	4	82
1920	15	14	12	4	3	1	10	0	59
1921	3	29	17	20	11	2	37	9	128
1922	1	13	5	16	4	2	28	3	72
1923	0	0	8	3	0	0	2	1	14
Total						3 5		W # 0 0	
1908-14	25	210	55	106	75	8	181	26	686
Total						4 2			9:1.5
1919-23	37	78	53	49	18	7	96	17	355

Table 2. Data from the 1917 Register and 1918 List

The information in these tables is derived from Table 2 in *The Stayers*

Part 1. Summary data from the Register of Aliens 1917

Dalmatian men on the Register	1678
Dalmatian men in the New Zealand army but	38
not on the Register	
Total Dalmatian men	1716
Dalmatian women on the Register	99
Total Dalmatian men and women	1815

Year of arrival in New Zealand	No.	%
pre 1897	85	5.4
1897	23	1.5
1898	44	2.8
1899	31	2
1900	28	1.8
1901	21	1.3
1902	37	2.4
1903	71	4.5
1904	105	6.7
1905	50	3.2
1906	110	7
1907	64	4.1
1908	120	7.7
1909	101	6.5
1910	115	7.3
1911	117	7.5
1912	161	10.3
1913	210	13.4
1914-5	72	4.6
Total	1565	100

-	Age on Arriva	al	1	Age in 1916	
Years	Number	%	Years	Number	%
0-15	273	17.5	<21	212	12.3
16-20	702	45.1	21-25	426	24.7
21-25	253	16.2	26-30	403	23.3
26-30	150	9.6	32-35	249	14.4
31-35	73	4.7	36-40	194	11.2
36-40	47	3	41-45	92	5.3
> 40	59	3.8	46-50	87	5
			>50	65	3.8
Total	1557	100	Total	1728	100

Part 2. Summary data from the List of Jugoslav and Austrian Aliens 1918

Total Austrians and Jugoslavs on the	List 10	79
Non-Dalmatians on the List	91	
Dalmatians on the List	98	38
Married Dalmatians on the List	21	7
Single Dalmatians on the List	77	1
Married Dalmatians on the List with	wives in NZ 42	2
Married Dalmatians with wives over	seas 17	15

Table 3. Summary of Data from the 1917 Register and 1918 List reconciled (derived from Table 3 of *The Stayers*)

Dalmatian men in New Zealand in 1916‡	1872
Dalmatian women in New Zealand in 1916	98
Total Dalmatians in New Zealand in 1916	1970
‡ includes 79 unrecognisable names on the Register some	of whom

[‡] includes 79 unrecognisable names on the Register some of whom may be duplications of names on other lists

3a. Single Dalmatians in New Zealand in 1916

By age on	arrival		By age in 1	1916	
Age	Number	%	Age	Number	%
<15	237	23.0			
16-20	570	54.0	<21	260	19.0
21-25	141	13.0	21-25	454	33.1
26-30	69	6.6	26-30	347	25.3
31-35	15	1.5	31-35	157	11.5
36-40	6	0.6	36-40	77	5.6
>40	12	1.1	41-45	33	2.4
T+0 -		4517	46-50	19	1.4
			>50	23	1.7
Total	1050	100	2014 14V 21 list	1370	100

3b. Married Dalmatians in New Zealand in 1916 with wives in New Zealand

By age on a	rrival		By age in 1916			
Age	No.	%	Age	No.	%	
< 21	79	52	1017 6.5			
21-25	33	21.7	< 26	2	1.2	
26-30	22	14.5	26-30	26	15	
31-35	7	4.6	31-35	45	26	
36-40	8	5.3	36-40	52	30	
Over 40	3	2	41-50	34	20	
Tel	al .	c	>50	12	7	
Total	152	100		171	100	

3c. Married Dalmatians in New Zealand in 1916 with wives outside New Zealand, probably Dalmatia

By age on a	rrival		By age in 1	916	
Age	No.	%	Age	No.	%
<21	29	13.5		7 0013	1899
21-25	37	17.2	< 26	8	3.1
26-30	41	19.1	26-30	33	13
31-35	44	20.5	31-35	43	17
36-40	26	12.1	36-40	63	25
> 40	38	17.7	41-50	72	28
1.0		000,084	> 50	35	14
Total	215	100		251	100

Table 4. Gum production data

(derived from *The Ahipara Gumfields*, P.R. McConnell)

Year	Production (tons)	Value(£)	£ per ton
1892	8,700	518,000	60
1893	8,300	511,000	62
1894	8,300	405,000	49
1895	7,400	419,000	57
1896	7,100	431,000	61
1897	6,600	398,000	60
1898	9,900	587,000	59
1899	11,100	608,000	55
1900	10,200	622,000	61
1901	7,500	446,000	59
1902	7,400	450,000	61
1903	9,400	631,000	67
1904	9,200	402,000	44
1905	10,900	561,000	51
1906	9,200	522,000	57
1907	8,700	580,000	67
1908	5,500	373,000	68
1909	8,300	553,000	67
1910	8,700	465,000 -	53
1911	7,600	396,000	52
1912	7,900	401,000	51
1913	8,800	549,000	62
1914	8,500	497,000	58
1915	4,500	279,000	62
1916	5,400	339,000	63
1917	4,500	291,000	65
1918	2,400	157,000	65
1919	4,100	255,000	62
1920	6,400	566,000	88
1921	3,900	367,000	94
1922	6,300	563,000	89
1923	6,500	596,000	92
1924	5,200	493,000	95

Table 5. Arrivals in and departures from New Zealand prior to World War I

Year	Gumdiggers	Austrians	Arrivals	5-year total	Trlin total	%	Departure
1887	Service process		9		国対は国	14 10	
1888	Particular de	eta a sarek	30		Hro Despisor! A	1414	
1889	Maria Caranta		5	contactific Sud	Aurichard.		
1890		e Man Padam	17	Constitution of	14 Feb 20		
1891			107	168			
1892	tus nation man 5		71			Ç	
1893			315				
1894			21		The tarter		
1895			74	9839	Pagy	Tage V	
1896	3340	881	304	785	Not shown	Taxa ii	
1897			371				
1898			758				
1899			122				
1900			166				
1901	3200	1874	0	1417	1538	92%	
1902			136				
1903			519				
1904			593				
1905	Compatitions -	WITE CONTRACTOR	255				
1906	3234	2212	193	1696	1841	92%	
1907			177				

Year	Gumdiggers	Austrians	Arrivals	5-year total	Trlin total	%	Departures
1908			131				173
1909		60 50 50 50 50	249				149
1910	5 5 5 5 5 5 5		236				94
1911	2163	2131	154	947	1192	79%	214
1912			217				167
1913			338				129
1914			221				107
1915			31.7				
1916	1411	2365	1. 1.2bs, 1.	776	890	87%	
Total			on which is	4836	5461	88%	6

Total Dalmatian arrivals 5789

Data Sources Gumdigger numbers

Austrians in New Zealand

Dalmatian arrivals

Austrian Arrivals

NZ Census

NZ Census

Passenger lists Sydney- Auckland

"Now Respected, Once Despised" A. Trlin

Table 6. Arrivals in and departures from New Zealand after World War I

Year		Annual arri	vals	Annual departures			
	Total	Women	Children	Total	Women	Children	
1919	0	Agerage, as	muaj param	93	0	0	
1920	7	sor 1 vor	2	71	0	0	
1921	7	3	21	176	5	°11	
1922	37	11	7	96	8	13	
1923	113	15	4	29	3	5	
1924	470	31	53		0	constrol	

Data is from passenger lists, Auckland-Sydney and Sydney-Auckland (see C and D on the disk)

Table 7. Austrians in New Zealand in census years by area

Area				Ye	ar			
	1886	1891	1896	1901	1906	1911	1916	1921
Mangonui	1	1	54	232	241	252	312	183
Whangaroa	0	0	0	14	11	3	8	2
Hokianga	0	1	66	20	107	103	90	15
Bay of Islands	1	1	49	79	108	62	78	33
Whangarei	1	2	35	96	182	99	193	135
Hobson	4	48	136	337	557	370	427	301
Otamatea	0	1	29	84	29	115	61	101
Rodney	126	78	83	128	184	117	82	31
Greater Auckland	10	22	46	57	104	155	176	207
Coromandel Peninsula	6	5	8	330	136	82	134	33
Total New Zealand	513	564	881	1874	2212	2131	2365	1588

The numbers to 1916 are for all Austrians. The number of Dalmatians in 1916 was about 1950 so about 400 "Austrians" would have been from other parts of Austria-Hungary. The numbers for 1921 are for Jugoslavs and would approximate the number of Dalmatians.

Table 8. Dalmatian wine production and prices

Data source: Vinogradarski slom I Demografski Rasap Juzne Hrvatske u Osvit 20 Stoljeca" by Rudolf Kraljevic

8a. Average annual Dalamatian wine production

1875-1884	1,166,000 Hectolitres
1885-1894	1,270,000 Hectolitres

8b. Central Dalmatia wine regions and production

Region	Area (ha)	Production (h	nectolitres)
		1894	1895	1896
Immigration	n core			
Hvar	950	17,100	12,400	12,000
Vis	2,418	43,500	34,900	39,500
Makarska	2,919	51,700	29,300	41,000
Stari Grad	4,186	75,400	62,700	67,700
Peljesac	1,756	31,600	24,700	32,500
Korcula	3,873	69,700	53,800	75,300
Total	16,102	289,000	217,800	268,000
Non-core	1	764		PRINTER.
Vrgorac	711	12,600	5,430	7,500
Metkovic	1,031	20,000	19,360	18,300
Brac	10,877	195,900	150,000	187,300
Total	12,619	228,500	174,790	213,100

Red Wine to Kauri Gum

8c. Dalmatian wine production, imports and average prices

Year	Production (hectolitres)	Imports from Italy (hectolitres)	Average price per hectolitre
1891			15.91
1892	1,238,000	473,000	11.46
1893	1,558,000	1,185,000	9.57
1894	1,383,000	884,000	7.5
1895	1,127,000	775,000	
1896	1,355,000	845,000	67 78
1897	770,000	1,398,000	13.75
1898	922,000	1,505,000	13.01
1899	1,200,000	1,239,000	
1900	1,206,000	1,004,000	10.34
1901			
1902	Name and bus su	Distribution of the region	16
1903			13

Table 9. Naturalization Data

Data summary of information contained in Appendix 2 of "The Transients", which in turn was derived from Names, Etc. field of "Alien Friends who have been Naturalized in New Zealand"

Year	No.	Gumdiggers	Others
To 1898	23	2	21
1899	13	5	8
1900	0	0	0
1901	4	3	1
1902	37	7	30
1903	96	59	37
1904	55	43	12
1905	126	91	35
1906	112	91	21
1907	92	78	14
1908	135	80	55
1909	62	33	29
1910	39	25	14
1911	116	72	44
1912	117	52	65
1913	222	85	137
1914	95	35	60
TOTAL	1344	761	583

Table 10. Marriages of pre-World War I Dalmatian immigrants up to 1932

(from Table 1 in "The Stayers")

Wife's origin	To 1896	1897-99	1900-4	1905-9	1910-5	1915-16	1917-21	1922-26	1927-32	Total
Dalmatian	5	4	9	37	52	7	21	130	165	430
NZE	61	7	24	40	64	24	90	113	115	538
Maori	1	0	1	2	6	3	7	3	7	30
Unknown	7	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	14
Total	74	12	36	81	123	34	118	246	288	1012

Single men in NZ in 1916 who later married

Wife's origin	1917-21	1922-26	1927-32	Total
Dalmatian	13	77 -	82	172
NZE	59	72	39	170
Maori	3	0	4	7
Unknown	0	0	0	0
Total	75	149	125	349

Appendix 1. Kauri Gum Industry Act 1898

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Kauri-gum Industry.

[1898, No. 23.

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New Zealand.



ANALYSIS.

Title.

1. Short Title. Exercise of powers after passing

of Act.
2. Governor may constitute kauri-gum districts, kauri-gum reserves; authorise local authorities to issue licenses.

Local authority may issue licenses.

4. Classes of licenses.

5. Kauri-gum reserves.
6. Who may hold special licenses.
7. Who may hold ordinary licenses.
8. Further qualification as to kauri-gum reserves.
9. Provisions as to form, fee for, and renewal of licenses.

of licenses.

10. Rights conferred by licenses.

11. Restrictions as to digging on certain lands. 11. Restrictions as to digging on certain lands.
12. Rights conferred by gum-buyer's license.
13. Kauri-gum License Register.
14. Provisions relating to gum-buyers and their

- 15. Prohibition as to digging for or buying kauri-

16. What to constitute breach of Act.

- What to constitute breach of Act.
 Owner of Native or other land may dig thereon without license.
 Authorised local suthorities to administer Act and appoint Rangers.
 Police Force to assist.
 Members of Police Force may be Rangers.
 Powers and functions of Rangers and police.
 License to be produced to Rangers.
- 22. License to be produced to Ranger.
 23. Penalty for breach of Act.
 24. License to be produced to Court.
 25. Conviction to be indorsed on license.
- 26. Mode of forfeiture of license, and procedure
- 27. Penalties payable to authorised local autho-
- rity. 28. Fees and penalties to form part of general funds.
- Regulations
- 30. Repeal. Proviso as to licenses in force.
 31. Further repeal.
 32. Right to dig to include searching and removing.

1898, No. 23.

An Act to regulate the Kauri-gum Industry.

[5th November, 1898.

BE IT ENACTED by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as fol-

1. The Short Title of this Act is "The Kauri-gum Industry Short Title. Act, 1898," and it shall come into operation on the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine:

Provided that the powers hereinafter conferred on the Governor Exercise of powers in Council may be exercised at any time after the passing of this Act, of Act. but no Order in Council shall take effect until the coming into operation of this Act.

Title

2. The Governor may from time to time, by Order in Council Governor maygazetted,

(1.) Divide any portion of the North Island of New Zealand into Constitute kaurikauri-gum districts, with such names and boundaries as he gum districts, thinks fit, adopting county boundaries as far as practicable; and also

90	1898, No. 23.] Kauri-gum Industry. [62 Vict			
Kauri-gum reserves ;	(2.) Set apart any specified areas of Crown lands within a kauri- gum district to be kauri-gum reserves under this Act; and also			
Authorise local authorities to issue licenses.	(3.) Authorise any specified local authorities whose districts are in whole or in part comprised within a kauri-gum district to issue licenses under this Act.			
Local authority may issue licenses.	3. Every local authority authorised as aforesaid (hereinafter referred to as "authorised local authority") may issue licenses under this Act as hereinafter provided; but it is hereby expressly declared that such local authority shall not have power to refuse a license to any person possessing any of the qualifications hereinafter provided, except in the case of aliens coming to the colony after the coming into operation of this Act, and in the case of any person disqualified under section twenty-six hereof. 4. Such licenses shall be of three classes, to wit,—			
Classes of licenses. Kauri-gum reserves.	(1.) A special kauri-gum-digging license (hereinafter called a "special license"); (2.) An ordinary kauri-gum-digging license (hereinafter called ar "ordinary license"); and (3.) A kauri-gum-buyer's license (hereinafter called a "gum-buyer's license"). 5. With respect to kauri-gum reserves the following provisions.			
from Table 1 in "The St	shall apply:— (1.) Each reserve shall be situate in the neighbourhood of a village, special, or other settlement, the name or description whereof shall be specified in the Order in Council creating the reserve. (2.) Each reserve shall be available exclusively for kauri-gumdigging, and no person shall be entitled to dig for kauri-gumthereon unless— (a.) He is either a member of the settlement specified in the Order in Council creating the reserve or a Native of the Maori race residing in the vicinity of such settlement; nor unless (b.) He is the holder of a special or ordinary license which on its face is expressed to extend to such reserve.			
Who may hold special licenses.	 No person shall be entitled to receive or hold a special license unless he satisfies the authorised local authority to which the application therefor is made that at the time of the application he possesses one or more of the following qualifications, that is to say,— That he is the owner in fee-simple of land within the colony or That he is the lessee of land within the colony under lease in writing lawfully granted by or derived from the Crown or other the owner in fee-simple, and having a term on not less than three years; or That he is a Native of the Maori race; or That he has been lawfully engaged in digging for kauri-gun for not less than three months next preceding the date of the coming into operation of this Act; or That he is a British subject by birth or naturalisation. 			

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Kauri-qum Industry.

[1898, No. 23.

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7. No person shall be entitled to receive or hold an ordinary who may hold license unless he satisfies the authorised local authority to which ordinary licenses. the application therefor is made that he has resided in the colony for not less than three months next preceding the date of the application, or is a British subject by birth or naturalisation.

8. No person shall be entitled to receive or hold a special or Further qualificaordinary license which on its face is expressed to extend to a kauri-tion as to kauri-gum gum reserve unless he satisfies the authorised local authority to which the application therefor is made that, in addition to being qualified under sections six or seven hereof, as the case may be, he also possesses the qualification prescribed by paragraph (a) of subsection two of section five hereof.

9. With respect to every license under this Act, the following Provisions as to provisions shall apply :-

form, fee for, and renewal of licenses.

(1.) It shall be in the prescribed form, and shall not be trans-

(2.) It shall continue in force until the thirty-first day of December next following the date of its issue, but may be renewed from year to year thereafter.

(3.) There shall be payable upon the issue thereof, and upon every annual renewal thereof, a license-fee at the rate of five shillings per year in the case of a special license, and one pound per year in the case of an ordinary license or a gum-buyer's license: Provided that in the case of infirm persons the local body may remit the license-fee.

(4.) The renewal shall in every case be effected by indorsing on the license, under the hand of some person appointed in that behalf by the authorised local authority by which the license was issued, the words "Renewal fee paid, and license renewed for the year ending 31st December, 1 ..

(5.) In the event of the license being lost or destroyed, the authorised local authority by which it was issued may, on satisfactory proof thereof, and on payment of a fee of one shilling, issue a duplicate with all existing indorsements, and such duplicate with its indorsements shall for all purposes operate in lieu of the original.

10. Subject to the provisions of this Act, every special or Rights conferred ordinary license shall while it continues in force (but no longer) by licenses. entitle the licensee named therein to exercise the following rights in respect of land within any kauri-gum district:-

(1.) To dig for kauri-gum; and also

(2.) To take up and personally occupy as a residence or business site any area not exceeding two acres of unoccupied Crown land (other than land comprised in any kanri-gum reserve) upon such terms and conditions as are prescribed by regulations under this Act.

11. Nothing in this Act or in any special or ordinary license Restrictions as to shall operate or be construed to entitle the licensee to dig for kauri- lands. gum within any kauri-gum district upon-

(1.) Any land (being unoccupied Crown land or land subject to "The New Zealand State Forests Act, 1885") on which dead or live kauri-trees are standing; nor upon

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Kauri-gum Industry.

[62 VICT.

- (2.) Any other land (being land subject to "The New Zealand State Forests Act, 1885," or unoccupied Crown land within one mile thereof), except during the period from the first day of May to the thirtieth day of September in the year; nor upon
- (3.) Any land comprised in a kauri-gum reserve, except in the case of a licensee whose license is on its face expressed to extend to such reserve; nor upon
- (4.) Any Native land except with the consent of the Native owners thereof; nor upon
- (5.) Any land owned or occupied by any person under any lawful title, except with such person's consent.

12. Subject to the provisions of this Act, every gum-buyer's license shall whilst it continues in force (but no longer) entitle the licensee named therein to carry on the business of a buyer of kaurigum within any kauri-gum district.

13. (1.) Each authorised local authority shall keep a Kauri-gum License Register, and shall enter therein, in separate parts in respect of each class of license issued by it, the number of the license, the date of its issue, and the full name, occupation, and address of the licensee.

(2.) The licenses of each class shall be entered and numbered consecutively in order of date, so that no two licenses of the same class shall bear the same number in the same register.

14. With respect to gum-buyers' licenses and the holders thereof the following provisions shall apply within every kauri-gum district:—

- (1.) It shall not be lawful for the licensee to directly or indirectly buy any kauri-gum, whether on his own account or as agent for any other person, except from the owner or occupier of Native or other land, or the holder of a special or ordinary license, nor unless, in the latter case, such holder produces his license at the time of the sale.
- (2.) The licensee shall keep a gum-purchase book, wherein he shall from day to day faithfully and accurately enter, in respect of each parcel of kauri-gum purchased by him, the date of the purchase, the quantity purchased, the price paid, the name of the seller, and, if the seller is a licensee, the number and class of the license, and the name of the authorised local authority by which it was issued.
- (3.) The licensee shall at all times keep his gum-purchase book open for inspection by any member of the Police Force, or by any Ranger under this Act.

15. It shall not be lawful for any person—

(1.) To dig for kauri-gum upon— (a.) Any land (being unoccupied Crown land or land subject to "The New Zealand State Forests Act, 1885")

outside a kauri-gum district; nor upon

(b.) Any land within a kauri-gum reserve, except pursuant to the provisions of this Act and the authority of a special or ordinary license which is on its face expressed to extend to such reserve; nor upon

Rights conferred by gum-buyer's license.

Kauri-gum License Register.

Provisions relating to gum-buyers and their licenses.

Prohibition as to digging for or

buying kauri-gum.

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Kauri-gum Industry.

[1898, No. 23.

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(c.) Any other land within a kauri-gum district, except pursuant to the provisions of this Act and the authority of a special or ordinary license: nor

(2.) To directly or indirectly carry on the business of a gumbuyer within any kauri-gum district except pursuant to the provisions of this Act and the authority of a gumbuyer's license: Provided that no payment shall be made for kauri-gum on premises licensed for the retail sale of intoxicating liquor.

16. If within any kauri-gum district any person is found digging What to constitute or searching for kauri-gum, or in possession of the same, such digging, searching, or possession shall be deemed to be in breach of this Act

unless he gives satisfactory proof to the contrary.

17. Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to render Owner of Native it unlawful for the owner or occupier of Native or other land within or other land may dig thereon without any kauri-gum district to himself dig for kauri-gum upon such land license. without being the holder of a license.

18. (1.) It shall be the duty of each authorised local authority Authorised local out of its general funds to administer this Act within its district, and authorities to

for that purpose to appoint one or more Rangers.

(2.) For the purposes of this section so much of any kauri-gum district as is within a county wherein "The Counties Act, 1886," is suspended or is not in operation shall be deemed to be within the district of such authorised local authority as the Governor in Council specifies in that behalf.

19. It shall be the duty of all members of the Police Force Police Force to to assist the authorised local authority and its Rangers in carrying assist.

out the provisions of this Act.

20. With the consent of the Minister of Justice, and subject to Members of Police such terms and conditions as he thinks fit, the authorised local Rangers. authority may appoint members of the Police Force to be Rangers.

21. For the purposes of this Act every Ranger and every member Powers and funcof the Police Force shall have such powers and functions as are and police.

prescribed by regulations under this Act.

22. Every licensee under this Act shall at all reasonable times License to be produce his license to any Ranger or member of the Police Force produced to Ranger. who demands the same.

23. Every person who commits any breach of any of the pro- Penalty for breach visions of this Act is liable to a penalty not exceeding one pound in the case of a first offence, and not exceeding five pounds in the case of any subsequent offence.

24. In all proceedings against any person for any breach of License to be this Act he shall be deemed to be unlicensed unless he produces produced to Court.

his license to the Court.

25. If a licensee is convicted of any breach of this Act the con- Conviction to be victing Court, in addition to imposing the penalty, shall also indorse the conviction on the license; and upon a third indorsement the Court making the same may also forfeit the license.

26. Such forfeiture shall be effected by recording on the face Mode of forfeiture of the license a minute to that effect, under the hand of the presiding procedure there-Magistrate or Justice, and thereupon the following provisions shall upon. apply:-

and appoint Rangers.

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- (1.) The license shall be deemed to be void, and the Clerk of the convicting Court shall send notice thereof to every authorised local authority, and shall also send the cancelled license to the authorised local authority by which it was issued.
- (2.) Each authorised local authority shall forthwith upon receipt of such notice record in its register the fact of the forfeiture.
- (3.) The licensee named in the forfeited license shall not be qualified to apply for, receive, or hold a license until the expiration of twelve months after the date of such forfeiture, and any license issued in breach of this provision shall be deemed to be void.

Penalties payable to authorised local authority.

Fees and penalties to form part of general funds. Regulations. 27. All penalties recovered in respect of any conviction under this Act shall be payable to the authorised local authority in or nearest to whose district the conviction is obtained.

28. All fees and penalties received under this Act by any authorised local authority shall form part of its general funds.

29. (1.) The Governor may from time to time, by Order in Council gazetted, make regulations for all or any of the following purposes:—

(a.) Prescribing the form of applications and licenses under this

(b.) Prescribing the powers and functions of Rangers and members of the Police Force.

(c.) Generally any other purpose for which regulations are contemplated as required by this Act, or which the Governor deems necessary for giving full effect to this Act.

(2.) Such regulations may prescribe penalties not exceeding five

pounds for any breach thereof.

Proviso as to licenses in force

Repeal.

repe issu

Further repeal.

Right to dig to include searching and removing.

30. Sections two hundred and thirty and two hundred and thirty-one of "The Land Act, 1892," and all references to kauri-gum in section two hundred and thirty-three of that Act, are hereby repealed: Provided that such repeal shall not affect any license issued by the Commissioner of Crown Lands and in force at the time of the coming into operation of this Act, but every such license shall continue in force until the expiry of the annual term for which it was issued, and in the meantime shall be subject to the same provisions and restrictions in all respects as if this Act had not been passed.

31. Section five of "The Reserves and Crown Lands Disposal and Enabling Act, 1896," is hereby repealed.

32. For all the purposes of this Act, the right to dig for kauri-gum shall be deemed to include the right to search for and remove the same, and in every case where it is a breach of this Act to dig for kauri-gum it shall be deemed to be a breach of this Act to search for

or remove the same.

WELLINGTON: Printed under authority of the New Zealand Government, by JOHN MACKAY, Government Printer.—1898.

Appendix 2. Immigration Restriction Act 1899

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Immigration Restriction.

[1899, No. 33.

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New Zealand.



ANALYSIS.

Title

Preamble.

1. Short Title

- Exceptions to operation of Act.

 Persons prohibited from landing in New
 Zealand.
- Certain persons may land if deposit made and certificate thereafter obtained. De-posit forfested if certificate not granted
 Status of wife and child.
- Former resident may be exempted.
 Penalties and costs in respect of unlawful landing of prohibited immigrant.
- 8. Liability where prohibited immigrants tran-shipped.

 No vessel to be cleared out until Act complied with.
- 10. Vessel may be detained if Act not complied

- In default of payments due under Act vessel may be sold.

 Oourt may give time to pay.

 Provisions with respect to removal of prohibited immigrants from New Zealand. Penaltie
- Penalty for assisting idiot or insane person to land.
- 16. Moneys received payable to Public account.
 17 Recovery of sums and penalties.
 18. Governor may remit penalties.
 19. Power to declare diseases contagious, appoint

- officers, and make regulations.
 20 Regulations to be laid before Parliament.
 21. "The Chinese Immigrants Act, 1881," not
- affected.

 22. Commencement of Act.
 Schedule.

1899, No. 33.

AN ACT to place certain Restrictions on Immigration into New Title. Zealand.

[Reserved for the rightfication of Her Majesty's pleasure thereon.]

WHEREAS the Bill intituled "The Asiatic Restriction Act, 1896," Proamble. has not been assented to by Her Majesty, and it is expedient to make other provision for restricting immigration into New Zealand in certain cases:

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same,

1. The Short Title of this Act is "The Immigration Re- Short Title. striction Act, 1899."

2. This Act shall not apply to-

(1.) Any person possessed of and named in a certificate in the form numbered one in the Schedule hereto, signed by the Colonial Secretary, or any officer, whether in or outside of New Zealand, whom the Governor in Council authorises to grant such certificates; nor to

(2.) Any person of a class for whose immigration into New Zealand provision is made by law, or by a scheme approved by the Governor in Council; nor to

(3.) Any person or class of persons exempted from this Act by the Governor in Council; nor to

Exceptions to operation of Act.

116 1899, No. 33.7 Immigration Restriction. [63 Vict. (4.) Her Majesty's land and sea forces; nor to (5.) The officers and crew of any ship of war of any Government: nor to (6.) Any person being one of the officers or crew of any mercantile vessel-provided that he is not discharged in New Zealand, and also that he is on board the vessel when she is cleared outwards, and leaves New Zealand with her: nor to (7.) Any person duly accredited to the Government of New Zealand by or under the authority of the Imperial or any other Government. Persons prohibited from landing in New Zealand, 3. Except in so far as is otherwise provided in the subsequent sections of this Act, it shall not be lawful for any person of any of the following classes (hereinafter called "prohibited immigrant") to land in New Zealand, that is to say :-(1.) Any person other than of British (including Irish) birth and parentage who, when asked so to do by an officer appointed under this Act by the Governor, fails to himself write out and sign, in the presence of such officer, in any European language, an application in the form numbered two in the Schedule hereto, or in such other form as the Colonial Secretary from time to time directs: Provided that any person dissatisfied with the decision of such officer shall have the right to appeal to the nearest Stipendary Magistrate, who shall make such inquiries as he shall think fit, and his decision thereon shall be final: (2.) Any idiot or insane person: (3.) Any person suffering from a contagious disease which is loathsome or dangerous: (4.) Any person who, not having received a free pardon, has within two years next preceding the date on which he lands been convicted in any country of any offence involving moral turpitude which, if committed in New Zealand, would be punishable by imprisonment for two years or upwards, not being a mere political offence: Provided that this section shall not apply to shipwrecked persons. Certain persons may land if deposit made and certificate thereafter obtained. 4. Any person appearing to be a prohibited unmigrant within the meaning of section three of this Act, but not coming within the meaning of subsections two, three, or four of that section, may lawfully land in New Zealand upon the following conditions, that is to say: (1.) He shall, before landing, deposit with an officer under this Act the sum of one hundred pounds: (2.) He shall, within the period of fourteen days after landing.

Deposit forfeited if certificate not granted hibition of this Act :

obtain from the Colonial Secretary or a Stipendiary Magistrate a certificate that he does not come within the pro-

deposit shall be returned to him and he shall cease to be subject to this Act, but if not, then by force of this Act

(3.) If within such period he duly obtains such certificate, such

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such deposit shall be forfeited to Her Majesty, and he shall be deemed to be a prohibited immigrant who has unlawfully landed in New Zealand :

Provided that the forfeiture of his deposit shall be deemed to be in satisfaction of the penalty of one hundred pounds hereinafter prescribed, and also that no liability shall attach to the vessel, its master or owners, by reason of his having landed, except the liability for the expenses of his removal from New Zealand, and of his detention and maintenance in New Zealand pending such removal, as hereinafter prescribed.

 In any case where any person, not being a prohibited immi- status of wife and grant, lands in New Zealand accompanied by his wife or children, child. such wife or children shall not be deemed to be prohibited immi-

grants

6. In any case where any person when landing in New Zea- Former resident land satisfies an officer under this Act that he is or formerly was may be exempted. domiciled in New Zealand, and also that he does not come within the meaning of subsections two, three, or four of section three of this Act, he shall not be deemed to be a prohibited immigrant.

7. In every case where any prohibited immigrant unlawfully Penalties and costs lands in New Zealand the following provisions shall apply:-

(1.) He is liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds.

(2.) Irrespective of such penalty, he is also liable to be removed immigrant. from New Zealand, and, pending such removal, to be detained in prison or other safe custody for any period

not exceeding six months:

Provided that upon the aforesaid penalty of one hundred pounds being paid he may at any time be re-leased from detention for the purpose of being removed from New Zealand, or upon his finding two approved sureties, each in the sum of fifty pounds, that he will leave New Zealand within one month.

(3.) The master and owner of the vessel by which he was brought to New Zealand are jointly and severally

liable-

(a.) To a penalty of one hundred pounds in respect

of each such immigrant; and also

(b.) To defray the expenses incurred by the Government in respect of such immigrant's removal from New Zealand, and of his detention and maintenance in New

Zealand pending such removal:

Provided, however, that in the case of a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of subsection three or subsection four of section three hereof no proceedings shall be taken against such master or owner after the expiration of three months from the date of the arrival of such vessel in any New Zealand port.

8. In any case where prohibited immigrants are transhipped Liability where from one vessel to another for the purpose of being brought to New prohibited Zealand, the provisions of this Act shall apply to both such vessels, transhipped. their masters and owners, in like manner as if such immigrants had been brought to New Zealand by both such vessels.

in respect of unlawful landing of prohibited

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No vessel to be cleared out until Act complied with.

9. No vessel shall be cleared out of any port of New Zealand unless and until all the provisions of this Act relating to such vessel, its master and owner, have been duly complied with, nor until all penalties and other moneys payable by such master or owner have been fully paid, or have been duly secured by bond in manner hereinafter provided.

Vessel may be detained if Act not complied with.

10. In any case where the Commissioner of Customs is of opinion that the master or owner of any vessel has committed any offence, or made any default, or is liable for the payment of any penalty or other moneys under this Act, the following special provisions shall apply :-

(1.) The Commissioner may by writing under his hand authorise any person, being an officer of Customs or member of the

Police Force, to detain such vessel.

(2.) Such detention may be either at the port or place where such vessel is found, or at any port or place to which the Commissioner orders such vessel to be brought.

(3.) For the purposes of such detention the person authorised to effect the same shall be entitled to obtain in the customary manner such writ of assistance or other aid and assistance in and about the detention of or other lawful dealing with the vessel as would be available in the case of vessels or goods seized under any Act relating to the Customs.

(4.) Such detention shall be for safe custody only, and shall be discontinued if a bond with two sufficient sureties to the satisfaction of the Commissioner is given by the master or owner for the full payment of all penalties and other. moneys then payable, or that may thereafter be adjudged to be payable, under this Act in respect of any such offence. default, or liability (including the costs incurred in and

about the detention of the vessel).

11. If default is made by the master or owner of any vessel in paying or in securing by hond as aforesaid the full payment of any penalty or other moneys payable under this Act by such master or owner, then the following provisions shall apply:-

(1.) Such vessel may be seized and sold under the provisions for seizure and sale of vessels or goods contained in any Act-relating to the Customs, and for that purpose the provisions of subsection three of the last-preceding section

hereof shall, mutatis mutandis, apply.

(2.) The proceeds of such sale shall be applied—first, in payment of the costs incurred in and about the detention. seizure, and sale of the vessel; secondly, in payment of all penalties and other moneys payable under this Act as aforesaid by the master or owner; and the surplus (if any) shall be paid to the owner or other person lawfully entitled thereto.

Court may give time to pay.

In default of

may be sold.

payments due

under Act vessel

12. Upon the conviction of any prohibited immigrant under any of the foregoing provisions of this Act, whereby he is adjudged to pay a sum of money, the Court, if it sees fit, may order that such sum or any part thereof shall be payable at some future day, not

respect to removal of prohibited

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Immigration Restriction.

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being longer than three months from the date of such order, provided that security to the satisfaction of the Court is given for the payment of the amount mentioned in and at the time fixed by any such order.

13. For the purposes of the removal from New Zealand of pro- Provisions with

hibited immigrants, the following provisions shall apply:-

(1.) The Colonial Secretary, or any person authorised by him, immigrants from may make a contract with the master, owner, or agent of New Zealand. any vessel for the passage of any such immigrant to the port or place whence he came, or to any port or place in or near to his country of birth.

(2.) Upon the contract being made, such immigrant may. with his personal effects, be placed on board such vessel by any officer under this Act, or by any officer of police, and the master shall keep such immigrant on board, and (if necessary) under custody, until the vessel has

(3.) If the immigrant appears to be destitute, the officer placing him on board may supply him with such sum of money as the Colonial Secretary or any person authorised by him certifies to be reasonably required, in order to enable him to maintain himself for one month after disembarking from the vessel at the end of the voyage.

(4.) All moneys expended under this section shall be included in computing the expenses incurred in respect of the immi-

grant's removal from New Zealand.

14. Every person is liable to a penalty not exceeding one Penalties hundred pounds who in any way-

(1.) Wilfully assists a prohibited immigrant to unlawfully land in New Zealand; or

(2.) Wilfully assists any person to evade or contravene any of the provisions of this Act; or

(3.) Obstructs or hinders any officer in the discharge of his functions or duties under this Act; or

(4.) Commits any breach of any of the provisions of this Act for which no specific penalty is imposed by this Act elsewhere than in this section.

15. If any person wilfully assists any idiot or insane person Penalty for assisting to land in New Zealand, then, in addition to the penalty imposed person to land. by the last-preceding section hereof, he is also liable for the cost of the maintenance of such idiot or insane person whilst in New Zealand.

16. All sums and penalties paid or recovered under this Act Moveys received shall be paid into the Public Account and form part of the Con-payable to Public Account. solidated Fund.

17. All sums and penalties payable under this Act may be Recovery of sums recovered in a summary manner, and the proceedings for such and penalties recovery shall be taken by any officer under this Act or any officer of Customs.

18. The Governor may remit the whole or any part of any Governor may remit penalty, forfeiture, or sum of money payable under this Act.

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Power to declare diseases contagious, appoint officers, and make regulations.

19. The Governor in Council may from time to time, as he thinks fit,-

(1.) Declare any disease to be a contagious disease which is loathsome or dangerous within the meaning of this Act:

(2.) Appoint officers for the purposes of this Act, and define their functions and powers:

(3.) Make such regulations as he deems necessary for prescribing forms under this Act, inspecting vessels, their passengers, crews, and papers, in order to enforce the provisions and prevent evasions of this Act, and generally for any purpose for which regulations are contemplated or required by this Act, or which he deems necessary in order to give effect to this Act, including the imposition of penalties not exceeding fifty pounds for the breach of such regulations.

Regulations to be laid before Parlia ment 20. A copy of all regulations made under this Act shall be laid before Parliament within ten days after the publication thereof if Parliament be then sitting; if not, then within ten days after the commencement of the next-ensuing session thereof.

"The Chinese Immigrants Act, 1881," not affected. 21. Nothing in this Act contained shall apply to Chinese within the meaning of "The Chinese Immigrants Act, 1881"; but all such Chinese shall continue to be subject to the provisions of that Act in like manner as if this Act had not been passed.

Commencement of

22. This Act shall come into operation on such date as shall be notified by Proclamation in the Gazette.

Schedule.

SCHEDULE.

Form 1.—Cretificate of Exemption under "The Immigration Restriction Act, 1899"

[Signature of exempted person.]

Under the provisions of "The Immigration Restriction Act. 1899," I hereby certify that [Full name, occupation, and address], whose signature appears in the margin, is exempt from the operation of that Act.

Dated at

day of

A. B., Colonial Secretary [or otherwise, as the case may be]

FORM 2.—APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION INTO NEW ZEALAND.

Under the provisions of "The Immigration Restriction Act, 1899," I, [Full name, occupation, and address], hereby make application for admission into New Zealand, and declare that I am not a probibited immigrant within the meaning of that Act

And I further declare as follows .-

, this

I was born at , in the year My place of abode during the last twelve months has been

Dated at , this day of

[Signature of Applicant.]

WELLINGTON, Printed under authority of the New Zealand Government, by JOHN MACKAY, Government Printer -- 1899.

Appendix 3. Memorandum introducing the Register of Aliens 1917

The Memorandum is a covering note for the Register sent to all officers responsible for registering Aliens in accordance with the Register of Aliens Act 1917

MEMORANDUM FOR REGISTRATION OFFICERS.

REGISTRATION OF ALIENS ACT, 1917.

1. The Registration of Aliens Act applies to every person of either sex, not less than fifteen years of age, who is not a British subject by birth or by naturalization in New Zealand.

(a.) Any person born in British territory is a British subject.

(b.) Any person now residing in New Zealand born of British parents in foreign territory, whose parents were not naturalized in that territory, is a British subject by parentage.

(c.) Any person now resident in New Zealand born in foreign territory who has been naturalized or whose parents have been naturalized, while he or she was still a minor, in a British country but not in New Zealand, is an

alien within the meaning of the Act.

(d.) Any person now resident in New Zealand who was born in a foreign country, but whose parents came to New Zealand and were naturalized here while he or she was still a minor and resided with them, is covered by the naturalization of his or her parents, and is not an alien within the meaning of the Act.

Married women take their husband's nationality.

2. The Registration of Aliens Act, the provisions of which are confined to aliens not naturalized in New Zealand, should not be confused with the War Regulations now in force requiring enemy aliens to report regularly to the police. While both cover somewhat the same ground, the War Regulations deal with all enemy aliens, whether naturalized or not, whereas the Act only deals with aliens not naturalized in New Zealand.

3. (a.) As the prescribed period for registration expired some time ago, proceedings should now be taken against every alien coming within the scope of the Act who is not registered. This Register has been compiled from the best information available; it has a complete index attached; it is not a list of those registered under the Aliens Registration Act, but is issued to assist Alien Registration Officers in ascertaining if there are any unregistered aliens in their respective districts, so that the proper action may be taken.

(b.) The marking as to whether the alien is a foreign subject or a naturalized British subject is the claim of the alien himself, iv

and is not necessarily conclusive that he is naturalized in New Zealand. Proof of naturalization in New Zealand is to be obtained from the list of naturalized subjects issued by the Department of Internal Affairs—"Names of Alien Friends," &c.

(c.) Each Registration Officer should examine the portion of the roll which applies to his own district and check with his registration-book to see how many of the aliens have complied with the Act. Those who have not complied should be interviewed as soon as possible, and if they are unable to produce certificates of registration or give a satisfactory explanation for failure to do so proceedings should at once be instituted. Similar action should be taken in regard to any aliens who may be resident in the dis-

trict but whose names do not appear on the roll.

4. As already advised by circular memorandum, the Hon. the Minister of Internal Affairs has decided that a fee of £5 shall be charged for a duplicate certificate under the Registration of Aliens Act. The Hon. the Minister has, however, reserved the right to reduce the fee should the circumstances of the alien be such that its payment would entail undue hardship. A Registration Officer should furnish with the application for a duplicate certificate a report on the circumstances, &c., of any alien asking for a reduction of the fee, so that it could be submitted to the Hon. the Minister for his consideration in dealing with the application for reduction.

MALCOLM FRASER,
Government Statistician.

Wellington, 5th April, 1918.

Appendix 4. Effects of wartime legislation on Dalmatians

Year	Act or Regulation	Effect on Dalmatians		
1914	War Regulations Act 1914	Act gives powers to regulate on anything "injurious to public safety, the defence of New Zealand or the effective conduct of military or naval operations"		
to	Trading with the Enemy Act 1914	Act prohibits trading with enemy nations. Possibly affected Dalmatian gumbuyers		
rn ction 5	Kauri Gum Industry Amendment Act 1914	Act gave the Crown to authority to act as miner or Crown gumland and to act as a buyer of gum. Crown land was no longer open to miners except as employees of or contractor to the Crown. Gum purchased by the Crown was for a down payment of 50% of 1914 prices, price being the final realisation on sale less any Crown costs		
bez 1316 bris lon	War Regulation, 10/11/1914	"Alien enemy" is "every person who at any time has been a subject of any state with whom His Majesty is at "; "alien enemy" includes the wives of alien enemies		
is. No	War Regulation, 9/12/1914	Non naturalised aliens from enemy states to report and register their details		
	War Regulation 17/12/1914	Forbids communication with any person in enemy territory		
1915	Enemy Contracts Act 1915	Act declared that any contracts with enemy entities are void. May have affected some Dalmatian gumbuyers		
	Kauri Gum Industry Amendment Act 1915	Act gave the Minister the right to buy all gum produced by licence holders at "current market prices". Probably had little effect		
	Trading with the Enemy Amendment Act 1915	Act tightens provisions relating to trading with the enemy. Probably had little effect		
	War Regulation, 15/7/1915	The definition of "alien enemy" was extended to naturalised aliens from enemy states. Alien enemies were excluded from leaving NZ		
110	War Regulation, 20/9/1915	Alien enemies could be arrested and detained if suspected of being dangerous or disaffected		
r DA a	War Regulations Amendment Act 1915	Act extends validity of 1914 Act		

Red Wine to Kauri Gum

	War Regulations	Act removes penalty difference between aliens
	Amendment Act (No 2) 1915	and non-aliens. No effect on Dalmatians.
1916	Expiring Laws Continuance Act 1916	Act repeals 1915 Act, continues Trading with Enemy Acts 1914 and 1915. No new effects on Dalmatians.
elotes	War Regulation, 2/4/1916	Added wives of "alien enemies" to that category
по чела	War regulation, 4/4/1916	Required "alien enemies" to provide details of property valued at over £50
a xcept Gum	Military Service Act 1916	Act provides for conscription of "natural born British subjects". No mention of naturalized subjects or non-naturalized.
ime dime	War Regulations Amendment Act 1916	Section 3 of the act allows Minister to make regulations regarding "enemy property". Section 5 defines "enemy property" as that owned by "persons on enemy nationality, descent". The Act does not differentiate between naturalised and non-naturalised Dalmatians and makes the property of both subject to Ministerial control and consequent risk exposure
1917	Expiring Laws Continuance Act 1917	Act provides for continuation of existing Acts. No new effects on Dalmatians.
	War Regulation, 2/4/1917	Any alien can be arrested and detained by "military authority" if the authority is satisfied tha the alien is disaffected
m	War Regulation, 20/8/1917	Removes naturalised aliens from the "enemy alien" category. Appears to improve the lot of naturalised Dalmatians.
arit dis	Registration of Aliens Act1917	Act requires all non-naturalised aliens to register giving name, nationality, birthplace, maritaly status, address etc. Also requires registrants to notify any change of address. Appears to improve the lot of naturalised Dalmatians.
li bei	Revocation of Naturalization 1917 Act	Act gives the Governor General power to revoke naturalizations on very broad, unspecific grounds. Dalmatians are at risk of having naturalization revoked, for actions not defined anywhere.
	Statute Law Amendment Act 1917	Section 22 of the Act extended the time for registration under the Registration of Aliens Act 1917 until 1 December 1917

as one tion 6 purification or tion 5 sation.	War Legislation Act, 1917	Section 2 of the Act defines "alien enemy" as one who "is the subject of any state with whom his Majesty is at war"; Section 3 provides that the Supreme Court can order the forfeiture of any land "acquired by an alien enemy since the start of the war". Section 35(c) gives the Governor General power to "regulate, control and enforce the labour of alien enemies" and 35(f) gives the G-G the power to direct all people not in essential work to change to essential work.
	r by the Crown, paid or r by the Crown, paid ey are not able to buy my forfeiture to the Crown. I forfeiture to the Crown. Activations in the sam atturalised as far as land erned.	Sections 2 and 3 put any property acquired by non-naturalised Dalmatians since the start of the war at great risk. Section 35 meant that non-naturalised Dalmatians could be directed into any work; all other residents of NZ could be forced into essential industries. Does not appear significant to naturalised New Zealanders.
1918	Expiring Laws Continuance Act 1918 War Regulation,	Act continues existing legislation. No new effects on Dalmatians. Allows the Government to prohibit work in non-
	30/4/1918	essential industries; allows government to control development of new projects.
1921	Finance Act 1918	Section 25 allows government to provide for regulating "national service"; prohibiting other activities; regulating the remuneration of "national service". "National service" means all occupations deemed to be essential services.
must t must try of se Fime nonths	Regulation 24/6/1918	Commissioner appointed for purposes of Sec 25; "National service" is road, rail, drainage, pastoral and agricultural work deemed essential; Commissioner can require any "enemy alien" to report at any time and place at remuneration fixed by Commissioner; "alien enemy has to report and perform with due diligence.

he his start of start of the by to any to an	War Legislation and Statute Law Amendment Act 1918	Section 2 defines "person of enemy origin" as one "who has been the subject of an enemy state" or the wife of "a person of enemy origin". Section 6 prevents a person of enemy origin from acquiring land. Sections 7 and 10 allow government to acquire land bought by a person of enemy origin since the start of the war, but with compensation. Section 9 provides that land acquired after the commencement of the Act by a person of enemy origin can be forfeited to the Crown. Any Dalmatians can have land bought since the war started taken over by the Crown, paid compensation; They are not able to buy more land without risking its forfeiture to the Crown. The Act puts naturalised Dalmatians in the same situation as non-naturalised as far as land ownership is concerned.
1919	Statutes Repeal and Expiring Laws Continuance Act 1919	Trading with the Enemy Acts 1914 and 1915 were repealed. This would presumably have enabled the kauri gum trade to resume. More importantly it would have allowed funds to be sent back to families in Dalmatia.
her, s all	Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act 1919	The Act prohibited immigration of people who had at any time been a subject of Germany and Austria-Hungary without a licence from the Attorney General. Blocked new Dalmatian immigration; seriously inhibited family reunification.
1920	Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1920	The Act provided that Minister of Customs must also issue permit. Section 9 says that permit must be in approved form and posted from country of origin or residence. Sections 16 and 20 make breach of NZ law grounds for deportation. Time for Dalmatians to get permit increased by months.
	Registration of Aliens Amendment Act 1920	Act required wives and children of non-naturalised Dalmatians, who had reached the age of 15 to register as aliens. Little effect on Dalmatians as wives were already legally aliens.
	Revocation of Naturalization Amendment Act	Act confirms provisions of the 1917 act are still in force. No change to status of Dalmatians.

svad	Statutes Repeal and Amendment and Continuance Act 1920	No Acts affecting Dalmatians changed
mmelete informal informal informal particula and on passenge For the and fro vessols passenge	War Regulations Continuance Act 1920	The Act sought to consolidate all War Acts and Regulations under Board of Trade. War Regulations of 1915 provision for inadmissible evidence to be used against aliens is revoked: Section 25 of the Finance Act 1918 allowing directed service is repealed; Second Schedule of Regulations defines "Alien enemy" as as one who has been a subject of a State with whom His Majesty has been at war; All persons require a permit to leave NZ; (4)Alien enemies cannot apply for a will probate without Attorney General approval; (5)Alien enemies cannot incorporate a company or hold shares in a company without approval of the Attorney General; If required an alien enemy must provide particulars of property exceeding £50;(6) shares in a NZ Company may have to be vested with the Custodian of Enemy property, with no compensation: (12)Attorney General may order property of an alien enemy to be vested in the Public Trustee Regulations of 9/12/14 requiring non-naturalised aliens to register and provisions of Regulation 20/9/1915 allowing the arrest of disaffected or dangerous people are revoked.
1921	Expiring Laws Continuance Act 1921	Act repeals or modifies some legislation. No effect on Dalmatians.
	Statutes Repeal and Expiring Laws Continuance Act 1921	Act repeals or modifies some legislation. No effect on Dalmatians.
	Statutes Repeal and Expiring Laws Continuance No. 2 Act 1921	Act repeals or modifies some legislation. No effect on Dalmatians.
1922	War Disabilities Removal Act 1922	Naturalised New Zealanders have same legal status as natural born British subjects, i.e not alien enemies or persons of enemy origin.
1923	Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1923	Act makes minor procedural amendments.

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Registration of Aliens	Act suspends the 1917 Act. Aliens no longer have
Suspension Act 1923	to Register
British Nationality and	Act held over and did not come into force until
Status of Aliens (in	May 1924. Section 4 provides that aliens could
New Zealand) Act 1923	apply for NZ naturalization. Section 6 provides
1.5 provision for inadmissible	that naturalized New Zealanders had same rights
ed against aliens is revold d:	as other citizens: Section 13(1) gave rights to
Finance Act 1918 allowing	aliens to won property; Section 16 modified
repealed; Second Schedule of	revocation of naturalization

Appendix 5. Voyaging to New Zealand

To understand the times, numbers and places of origin of the flow of immigrants into New Zealand it was necessary to obtain the best possible information on the passenger lists of ships likely to have brought Dalmatians into New Zealand.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 created an opportunity for European shipping lines to offer passages for travellers from Europe generally, but particularly for those living in the Eastern Mediterranean, to travel to Australia and on to New Zealand. Two major services appear to have dominated this passenger travel.

For the first major service, Austrian Lloyd ran vessels from Trieste to Port Said and from 1894, to Alexandria, where passengers transferred to Orient Line vessels running from London to Sydney via Fremantle. The vessels were smart passenger liners carrying both saloon and steerage passengers



The 6000 ton Orient Line liner ss. "Oroya" used on the London-Sydney route from the 1870's to the early 1900's. The author's father travelled to Sydney on this vessel, arriving in February 1904.



ORIENT LINE.

Onder contract with the New South Wales and South Australian Covernments for the conveyance of

Maile

The following Steamships belonging to the ORIENT Co. and the PACIFIC Co. will leave SYDNEY and WELBOURNE on the undermentioned dates for PLYMOUTH, AND LONDON, via ADELAIDE, DIEGO GARCIA int Company's option), SUEZ and NAPLES:--

ORMUZ ... Mar 26 April 1
GARONNE ... April 9 April 15
OROYA ... April 23 April 20
ORIZABA ... May 7 May 13

And fortnightly thereafter.

Through Fares to London, £18 to £70.

Saloon Passengers secure special advantages by brough from New Zealand, Fares being the same as from Australia. Second-class passengers by Orient steamer are provided with saloon passage by Orient steamer are provided with saloon passage.

to Sydney or Melbourne.

PASSAGES FROM LUNDON.—Special facilities afforded for bringing out Friends and Relatives by prepayment of the passage-money here.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Second Class Fares Reduced to £36 and £40.

EXCURSION RETURN TICK FTS. Available 9 months-First-class, £105.

Available 12 months—First-class, £115, Second, £65.
PARCELS BOOKED THROUGH to LONDON at Reduced Rates.

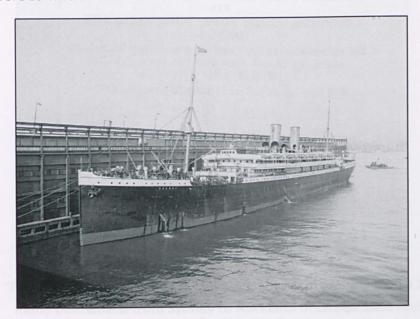
For further particulars apply to

UNION STEAMSHIP COMPANY OF NEW ZEALAND (LIMITED),
Agents in New Zealand

The advertisement above was published in the New Zealand Herald in March 1877

The second service was the North German Lloyd sailing from Bremen to Sydney via Italian ports, Alexandria and Fremantle from as early as 1877, connecting from Alexandria to Trieste.

Ships such as the Bremen were fast passenger liners carrying both saloon and steerage passengers. As World War I approached, vessels were introduced that were secretly armed and could be converted into armed raiders at short notice – and were so when war broke out.



The 11000 ton North German Lloyd liner Bremen, a Barbarossa class vessel used on the Bremen – Sydney route from 1898

Seegner (the German Consul) and Langguth (the Austrian Consul) were advertising the service through their company "Seegner, Langguth & Co". Langguth as consul actively advocated on behalf of the Dalmatian immigrants until the start of World War I.



TORDDEUTSCHER

IMPERIAL GERMAN MATL.

MONTHLY LINE OF DIRECT STEAMERS

SYDNEY, MELBOUPNE, AND ADELAIDE

SOUTHAMPTON, ANTWERP, AND BREMEN

COLOMBO, ADEN, SUEZ, PORT SAID, AND GENOA.

Taking Passengers for London, connecting from Alexandria by Direct Mail and Passenger Line to BRINDISI AND TRIESTE,

Will be dispatched as follows (if practicable) :-

Steamer.	Tons	Cemmander	Sydner.
HOHENZ LLERN HO ANTAL FREN			1857. March 4 April 1

And thereafter every four weeks.

Passage from Anckland, to Southampton, Antwerp, and Bremen, from...£17 to £73 10/ pecial Return Tickets to Europe

Fastengers from Auckland booked through to Europe.

For passage, freight, and all further particulars apply to

SEEGNER, LANGGUTH, & CO., Agents.

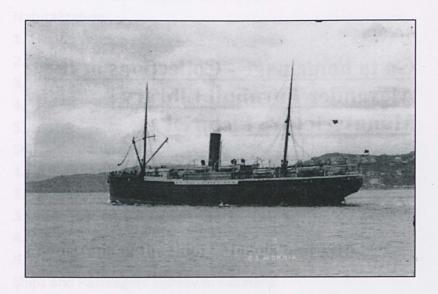
Advertisement for the Norddeutscher Lloyd service published in the New Zealand Herald in March 1887

For both lines travellers to New Zealand linked to Sydney-Auckland services provided by either the Union Steamship Co or by Huddart and Parker.

The one-way steerage class fare by 1898 appears to have been £26. This cost was stated in Thomas Thatcher's submissions to the Kauri Gum Industry Commission in 1898 (page 42). The sum could be advanced commercially for the fare to be paid back with interest of £6 after 12 months. In John McLee Tynan's submission to the Commission (page 43) he advised that he had made many remissions of £32 to Dalmatia on behalf of Dalmatians, but never more

than once for the same person, which appears to confirm Thatcher's submission.

However, most fares to New Zealand were paid by way of advances from family, from villages or arranged through the local church.



The Union Steamship Co's 3,500 ton steamer ss Mokoia which brought many Dalmatians from Sydney to Auckland between 1898 and 1908.

On its maiden voyage in December 1898 it carried 123 Dalmatians, the most brought on any trans-Tasman yoyage. The photo is part of Collection of postcards, prints and negatives by John Dickie held in the Alexander Turnbull Library

An assumption was made in writing this book that Dalmatian immigrants would use these shipping services and would travel steerage class. These assumptions proved to be reasonable. The number measured using these assumptions was about 88% of the total Austrian immigrants in the period 1896 to 1916. True Austrians, other subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Dalmatians who migrated to other areas of New Zealand, would be part, possibly nearly all, of the remaining 12%. Although no specific search was made for Dalmatians

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travelling saloon class, many pages of passenger lists were untitled, so many saloon lists were viewed. Less than a dozen Dalmatians travelling saloon class were noted from this scrutiny.

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 - a) Single men who later married
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- 4. Female Arrivals and Departures
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- H. Mining Kauri Gum, An Engineering perspective
- I. Early Dalmatian Arrivals in Australia



The son of a Dalmatian gum digger, the author graduated as a civil engineer from the University of Auckland. After a career in the construction industry, followed by a period as a consulting engineer, he has spent his semi-retirement researching and writing on genealogical and historical topics.

"Red Wine to Kauri Gum" recounts the reasons for the immigration of about 6,000 Dalmatians and coastal Istrians to New Zealand's gum fields prior to World War 1. Most were short term immigrants seeking money to support families at home, but others settled and formed the nucleus for future permanent immigrants. Both short and long term immigrants were trapped by the outbreak of World War 1 and faced restrictions as enemy aliens that were not completely lifted until 1924.

A database in the form of a CD is included with the book. Its contents include over 4,000 readable incoming passenger names, nearly 2,000 departure names, names of 1,300 Dalmatians naturalised by 1916, names of 1,200 married couples, war legislation and regulations, and other information on Dalmatians in New Zealand in 1916.

Opuzen Press