NOW RESPECTED ONCE DESPISED

Yugoslavs in New Zealand



Trlin Andrew
Now respected,
once despised :

Andrew D. Trlin

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YUGOSLAVS IN NEW ZEALAND



ANDREW TRLIN



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CONTENTS

Tables v

Figures vii

Acknowledgements ix

Introduction 1

1 Dalmatia 6

2 The Migrants 26

3 The Gumdiggers 60

4 The Winemakers 81

5 Enemy Aliens 99

6 In Town and City 134

7 Newspapers and Clubs 163

8 Assimilation 183

9 Now Respected 212

Appendix 1 Yugoslav Family Names 217

Appendix 2 The Elingamite Affair 247

Sources and References 249

Tables

		Page
1.1	Fragmentation of Holdings, Dalmatia 1902	9
1.2	Population Growth in Dalmatia, 1840-1914	16
2.1	Yugoslav Migration: Permanent Arrivals and Permanent Departures, 1897-1974	27
2.2	Origins: Dalmatian Immigrants Naturalised 1890-1914, 1918-1939 and Arrivals 1951-1967, Classified by Village and District of Birth	27 31
2.3	Dalmatians Naturalised in Australia and New Zealand prior to 1940: Comparison of Origins	32
2.4	The Pioneers 1857-1883. Date of Arrival, Name and Birthplace of Yugoslavs who eventually became Naturalised Citizens of New Zealand	35
2.5	Yugoslav Arrivals and Departures 1897-1920: An Evaluation of the extent of Temporary Migration to New Zealand	42
2.6	Yugoslav Arrivals 1949-1967 Classified by Type and Birthplace	48
2.7	Yugoslav Chain Migrants Classified by Sponsor in New Zealand, 1951-1967	52
3.1	Distribution of Yugoslavs ('Austrians') by selected Counties of Auckland Province, 1896-1911	63
3.2	Employment of Yugoslavs by Industry in which engaged, 1916	68
4.1	Yugoslav Winemakers in New Zealand, March 1913	90
6.1	Distribution of Yugoslav Immigrants in New Zealand by Statistical Areas, 1921-1971	135
6.2	Urbanisation of Yugoslav Immigrants in New Zealand, 1921-1971	135
6.3	Yugoslav Restaurateurs, Fishmongers, Confectioners, and related workers, South of the Auckland Urban Area, 1900-1925	138
6.4	Yugoslav Arrivals 1949-1967: Location of First Address by Statistical Areas	143
6.5	The Core Area of Yugoslav Settlement in Central Auckland, 1944 (area bounded by Wyndham, Nelson, Cook and Queen Streets)	146
6.6	First Residential Location of Dalmatian Chain Migrants in the Auckland Urban Area: Arrivals 1951-1967, Classified by Birthplace	150

6.7 Birthplaces of Dalmatian Chain Migrants (Arrivals 1951-1967) Residing Initially in Henderson-Oratia Zone, Ponsonby-Grey Lynn and Mt. Wellington 151

8.1 Social Distance Expressed by New Zealand-born Respondents (Auckland Urban Area, 1970) towards 14 Birthplace Groups 186

8.2 Mean Tolerance Expressed toward each Birthplace Group and Rank Order of Birthplaces (Auckland Urban Area, 1970) 187

8.3 Citizenship and Length of Residence: Yugoslav and Dutch Immigrants in New Zealand, 1971 190

8.4 Citizenship Status of Yugoslav Arrivals 1949-1967, as at September 1967 192

8.5 Occupations, 1961: Percentage Distribution of Total Population and Yugoslavs (Males Only) by Major Occupational Groups 196

8.6 Occupational Status, 1961: Percentage Distribution of Total Population and Yugoslavs (Males Only) by Major Occupational Status Groups 196

8.7 Marriages of Yugoslav Immigrants in New Zealand, 1954-1972 199

8.8 Incidence of In-group and Out-group Marriages for Males and Females within Three Generations of 7 selected Yugoslav Families, Mangonui County, New Zealand 200

8.9 Social Characteristics and Attitudes of Yugoslavs, Mount Wellington, 1971 203

8.10 Marriages and Residential Location of Children of Pre-1940 Yugoslav Arrivals Residing in Mount Wellington, 1971 209

Figures

2.1 Central Dalmatian Coast, Yugoslavia: Birthplaces of Dalmatian Chain Migrants 30

2.2 Age-Sex Structures of Yugoslav Arrivals, 1949-1967. A: Total Arrivals. B: Dalmatian Chain Migrants, 1950-1967. C: Displaced Persons, 1949-1952. D: Hard-core Refugees 1958-1966 50

6.1 Residential Dissimilarity of Yugoslav Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966 153

6.2 The 'Lavas' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland 156

6.3 The 'Radovanovich' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland 157

6.4 The 'Franotovich' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland 159

6.5 Residential Distribution and Birthplaces of 'Yugoslavs' in Mount Wellington Borough (part), Auckland, 1971 160

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Massey University, Palmerston North A. D. TRLIN

INTRODUCTION

Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.

Alfred, Lord Tennyson

A——ich, Mick. On September 4, 1979, at his residence (after a long illness) dearly loved husband of Anne and loved father of the late Mary... dearly loved brother of Nede, brother-in-law of Phillip and uncle of Alex, Victor and Kitty... loved brother of Danica and brother-in-law of Ante P——n, loved brother of Vice and family of Split, Yugoslavia, and the late Nikola, of Podgorac, Yugoslavia... loved cousin and lifelong friend of Milica and the late Mick M——ich, Nada, Paul and their families... friend of Kleme and Pauline S——ich... of Vice and the late Joseph M——ich ... of Perina and the late Andrew N——a... of Dick and Slavka S——e, Rudy, Pat, Gordon, Lorna and Gloria... of Mr and Mrs P. E——ich... of Paul, Lillie P——a and family... of Kate and the late Tom H——ich and family... of Marko, Tera, Marica, Ivan and Zlatko S——ich... of Frank, Zorka, Milenko, Barbara, Barry, Maria and Nadia B——ic and Rosita and Robbie F——ic. One of nature's gentlemen, now at rest.

New Zealand Herald, September 1979

New Zealand's population is predominantly British and Maori in origin. With care one can also identify in the human fabric of this country the resilient and enriching threads woven by immigrants from continental Europe, China, India and the Pacific Islands. The stories of some of these ethnic components, recorded for posterity, have reached an appreciative audience via volumes such as Pearce's (1976) The Scots of New Zealand, Petersen's (1956) Forest Homes, Goldman's (1958) The History of the Jews in New Zealand, and Butler's (1977) Opium and Gold. Many other groups have been less fortunate. Their history and contributions remain virtually unknown to the average New Zealander despite a large collection of academic articles and theses. Worse still, what is 'known' by the layman is all too often superficial, speculative and misleading. Among these less known and misrepresented groups the Yugoslavs (mainly Dalmatians) hold a prominant position thanks to Lochore (1951) and Wilson (1966a).

"Dalmatia has provided us with the finest type of South European settler..." This comment, one of the few favourable ones from Lochore, was all but lost in a welter of sweeping generalisations, crude ethnic stereotypes and criticisms concerning the war service, assimilation and character of Yugoslav immigrants. He claimed, for example, that "apart from a vague sympathy with the Serbian cause" they took little interest in the struggle during World War I, and that two decades later they again "stood aloof", refusing to volunteer for military service, evading conscription and failing to comply with manpower directions. "These pieces of behaviour", said Lochore, "are too numerous and too consistent not to be typical and significant". As for assimilation, he asserted it was a process they tacitly resisted. Thus while the Yugoslav may live and work with New Zealanders, "after a lifetime we may never have heard the truth about anything that matters from his lips". Moreover, declared Lochore, scarcely a week goes by "but some Yugoslav comes before northern courts on a charge of sly-grogging, illicit gambling, disorderly behaviour, or tax evasion". Such faults were seen to stem in part from the Yugoslav's "turbulent, headstrong, ungovernable" character. The Yugoslav, "unintimidable by any outwardly-imposed discipline", Lochore believed, "denies the right of the State to circumscribe the occasions and places where he may gamble... like every Slav peasant he thinks in his heart of hearts that government is unnecessary". This distorted image, this stereotype of the Yugoslav as an intractable alien anarchist, was accepted and perpetuated by Wilson (1966a) in his contribution to An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand.

Lochore's (1951) account was coloured by wartime passions, by the oppressive Cold War environment of the late 1940s and early 1950s, and by his Anglo-Conformist stance with respect to immigrant assimilation. His account can therefore be

partially excused as a 'product of the times'. He was also handicapped by the absence of reliable and comprehensive references tracing the settlement and adjustment of Yugoslavs. The first university theses (Trlin, 1967a; Marshall, 1969) and derived articles in journals (Trlin, 1967b and 1968) came too late even for Wilson (1966a), and the number of references has since multiplied with contributions from Canvin (1970), Yelavich (1973), Jakich (1976) and Stoffel (1976). As intimated earlier, however, little of this academic research is known to the public even now.

The main objective of this volume is to fill the gap in public knowledge. It is hoped that this book will further the acceptance of Yugoslavs by New Zealanders and ultimately contribute to a better understanding of immigrants in general. Where appropriate an effort has been made to correct common misconceptions concerning their origins, settlement and assimilation. In this respect, as a catalyst, as a point of departure in the search for truth, Lochore's (1951) account has served a valuable function. From a more personal viewpoint this book also has one other objective. Quite simply it seeks to provide a readable account for those second- and third-generation Yugoslavs who share with the author a desire to understand the background and evolution of a community to which they belong. To put this aim into perspective, let it first be said that few thinking New Zealanders would deny that a basic grounding in British and New Zealand history serves to unite the citizens of this country and to give meaning to their total environment. Suffice to say then that there is also, within the context of New Zealand's emergent multi-culturalism, much to be gained from a knowledge and pride of one's own ethnic roots and identity.

Research for this project was undertaken, intermittently, over a period of fifteen years. Were it not for the impetus provided by two events, related to the issue of ethnic identity, the research might still have been far from completion. The first of these events was a brief trip to Yugoslavia in 1976 (as New Zealand representative to a conference on Yugoslav migrants abroad) during which a few days were spent in Dalmatia, notably the town of Vrgorac and the village of Ravca. No words can adequately capture the experiences, the feelings aroused, the impressions gained in the birthplaces of relations and parents. Places and names suddenly gained substance as earth, rock and flesh. More importantly, though tourism and industry have partially altered the face of Dalmatia, the reasons for emigration and the aspirations and courage of those who departed were brought into focus by first hand observation of landscape and occupants. Standing on the ruined stone ramparts above Vrgorac the vexed question of identity and the purpose of research were fused and resolved by a chance question - "Could those who left for America, Australia and New Zealand, have done better than those who stayed

behind?"

The second event came in November 1978 when Dr. Branko Karapandza, then the Yugoslav Ambassador in New Zealand, announced the centennial (1879-1979) of settlement. In actual fact arrivals have been traced as far back as 1857 and by 1866 the first settlers from the islands of Brac, Hvar and the Peljesac peninsula had appeared. We know, however, that it wasn't until c. 1878 that the first migrant from Podgora village (Mariano Vella) arrived and so completed the foundations upon which migration from central Dalmatia to New Zealand would be based. A tribute to the pioneers, and to the achievements of those who followed them, could scarcely come at a more appropriate time.

The bulk of this study is based upon material presented in two unpublished university theses (Trlin 1967a, 1974) and a handful of resulting articles. This material has been substantially revised, up-dated where possible, and greatly expanded by reference to sources previously unutilised or inaccessible. Chapter 5 "Enemy Aliens", for example, is based completely on records in the National Archives to which the author finally gained access during 1978. These and other sources of information, notably the Totich papers (a private collection in Auckland), the Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948, and the Register of Aliens 1917, are gratefully acknowledged at various points in the text. By filling a number of major holes in the story these sources made the author's task immeasurably easier. There are, however, some pieces still missing - the contribution of Yugoslavs to New Zealand's fishing industry, the confusion of loyalties during and immediately after World War II, and especially the assimilation and achievements of New Zealand-born descendents. Such gaps must await the attention of those who are qualified to fill them.

To those familiar with the relevant literature it will be obvious that the form and presentation of the story in the following chapters owes much to The Polish Peasant in Europe and America by Thomas and Znaniecki and Southern Europeans in Australia by Charles Price. The former volume was based on immigrant letters, diaries, case histories and literature such as newspapers. To capture the human element, to allow the Yugoslav immigrant and others to speak for themselves, the approach of Thomas and Znaniecki has been given full rein with often lengthy quotations from letters and other documents. Case histories have also been employed to breathe life into abstract processes and patterns. The use of naturalisation records and the concept of 'chain migration' were both adopted from the work of Price. Given prominence in Chapters 2, 6 and 8, both the research method and concept add significantly to an appreciation of the link between type of migration and such

features as residential patterns, occupational specialisation and aspects of assimilation.

At various times the subjects of this study are described as 'Austrians', 'Dalmatians' and 'Yugoslavs'. A few words of explanation are in order. The label 'Yugoslav' is essentially a political one; it means, quite literally, 'South Slav' and embraces six ethnic groups - Serbians, Croatians, Slovenians, Macedonians, Bosnians and Montenegrins - all of whom are united in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Approximately 85-90 percent of New Zealand's Yugoslav immigrants are from a small part of this nation, namely the central Dalmatian coast. By virtue of their dialect, written language, religion and geographic location, the Dalmatians are part of the Croatian group. To avoid confusion with those Croatians who arrived as displaced persons and refugees in the years after 1945, however, the label 'Dalmatian' will be used to distinguish those who belong to a community in New Zealand founded by pioneers during the second half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately this distinction between Dalmatians and other Yugoslavs is not made in New Zealand's official statistics. This poses an unavoidable problem which can only be overcome by accepting that the majority of the Yugoslav-born are in fact Dalmatians. As for the label 'Austrians', it must be remembered that until the creation of modern Yugoslavia in 1918 (initially the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) the Dalmatians were Austrian subjects. During World War I their 'Austrian' national identity (and hence their status as enemy aliens) proved to be a source of tension, injustice and confusion, especially when they asserted their Slav ethnic identity in sympathy with the cause of Serbia and the Allied powers. It is appropriate that on this note we should turn now to Chapter 1 'Dalmatia', to the causes of migration - environment, foreign control, rapid population growth and other factors.

1

DALMATIA

One of the most persistent and deeply engrained beliefs concerning the nature of early Yugoslav migration to New Zealand, is that the first wave of Dalmatians consisted of refugees from Austrian oppression. At least in part this belief is based upon Austria's enforcement of military conscription in Dalmatia during 1881. Lochore (1951) and Gilmore (1956) are two writers, among others, who have sustained this belief, citing as evidence that hundreds of the early immigrants were between sixteen and twenty years of age - precisely the age group liable for military call-up.

That some young men were evading military service stands as an undisputed fact. However, the thesis of oppression and military conscription as the motivation for migration can be readily traced to individual efforts to ease strained intergroup relations on the gumfields during the late 1890s, and in particular to the pro-Dalmatian (pro-Yugoslav) propaganda generated during the First World War. Dalmatia was a province of Austria, Dalmatians were therefore Austrian citizens and (in the eyes of New Zealanders) all 'Austrians' logically belonged to the ranks of the enemy. Thus the purpose of the propaganda was to win sympathy, tolerance and support for the 'Austrian' (Dalmatian) resident in New Zealand. Nowhere is this more evident than in a book titled The Fight for Freedom of the Jugoslavs, edited by G. L. Scansie and published in Auckland during 1919.

> It will be within the recollection of many readers that immediately upon the declaration of war upon Serbia by Austria-Hungary - several days before Great Britain became involved - the Jugoslavs of the Auckland district gathered in Auckland and publicly destroyed the Austrian flag.
>
> The New Zealand Jugoslavs position and their attitude in the early days of the war was never questioned except by those whose ignorance of elementary ethnology prevented them distinguishing between the Jugoslav and German or Magyar Austrian subject. Enlightened people readily recognise that perhaps with an occasional exception, the Jugoslavs of New Zealand were keenly desirous of seeing the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the establishment of a new Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

Scansie had also acted as Editor of Zora (The Dawn), a newspaper which sought "deliverance of all Jugoslavs from the Austrian yoke".

In the face of such obvious propaganda, should the notion of oppression, of military conscription, as a cause of migration be dismissed as completely irrelevant? No, but the more one learns about Dalmatia's social and economic problems during the period 1880-1900 the more obvious it becomes that oppression was not the major reason for migration. Instead, there emerges as a compelling factor among young (and not so young) males the often desperate desire to fulfill their obligations as breadwinners and to attain new social and economic aspirations.

Underlying the pages of this chapter therefore is a theme which may be stated as follows. First, Dalmatia should be clearly seen as a technologically backward, peasant society, almost completely committed to subsistence agriculture. Second, it was an agrarian society subjected for the greater part of its history to foreign control which imposed restrictions on fishing, industrial and agricultural activities and which thus allowed the Dalmatian peasantry few opportunities for economic development. Third, foreign (notably Venetian) exploitation of the region's timber resources had heightened the limitations on peasant agriculture in an already barren environment. Fourth, despite the harshness of the peasant's social and economic problems under these circumstances, life could have been endured were it not for an aggravation of the basic problems. There was a sharp increase in population and hence in pressure on available land resources. This factor was paralleled by the penetration of new social and economic ideals and practices from the rapidly developing commercial and industrial world of 'urban' Europe. The peasantry was forced to confront its problems and to consider at least two possible solutions. Given the basic condition of foreign control to which some problems could be attributed, the peasantry could either organise political movements to bring about social reforms and economic development, or failing the

success (or appearance) of such movements they could attempt to alter prevailing demographic trends and patterns. In the latter case, to alter their traditional reproductive behaviour or to check population growth, possible courses of action included postponement of marriage, celibacy, abortion, contraception and migration (see Davis, 1963). Given the chance to at least maintain the status quo, and the relatively less restrictive and more attractive opportunities offered by North America, South America and Australasia, the choice in favour of migration was only to be expected.[1]

An understanding of the problems confronted and solutions sought is also of value from another viewpoint. The peasant who emigrated took with him a set of social, economic and political values developed in his homeland to meet a particular set of requirements in his social and physical environment. For those who came to the gumfields of New Zealand, the result was an almost inevitable clash between migrants and settlers. The Dalmatian migrant, as a mature individual, could hardly be expected to divest himself of his values, his norms and mores, without the loss of his identity and his powers of reasoning and self-expression.

Problems of Peasant Life

Agricultural, economic and social problems around the turn of the century provide a sobering contrast to the familiar, idealised picture of order and security in the village community. At that time 80 to 85 percent of the population was supported by agriculture, but yields were poor, the margin between production costs and gross income was narrow, and daily wages for farm labourers were low. Lukas (1922, 93) reports that for the period 1909 - 1913 only Bosnia-Hercegovina had a poorer record than that of Dalmatia in terms of yields per hectare for wheat, rye, barley and maize. Only potato yields were good. Reliable data on cadestral net income per hectare of land are difficult to find, but statistics for 1938 show that in Dalmatia, by comparison with other areas, there was an appallingly narrow margin between gross income and the regular cost of production involved in the utilization of arable land, gardens and orchards, vineyards, meadows and pastures (Tomasevich, 1955, 304).[2] Finally, whereas the daily wage rates for farm labourers were $0.35 to $0.48 for the summer and from $0.24 to $0.33 for the winter in Croatia-Slovenia during 1897, the Dalmatian rates were about $0.30 and $0.20 for summer and winter, respectively.[3] Illiteracy was commonplace; in 1910 about 73 percent of the population six years of age and over was illiterate (Wallis, 1918, 58-59).

Table 1.1

Fragmentation of Holdings, Dalmatia 1902

Size of holdings (in hectares)	Number of Holdings	Percentage of total holdings
Under 0.5	15,553	18.63
0.5 - 1	15,378	18.43
1 - 2	20,411	24.48
2 - 5	21,564	25.86
5 - 10	7,243	8.67
10 - 20	2,243	2.68
20 - 50	762	0.91
50 - 100	142	0.17
100 plus	154	0.17
Totals	83,455	100.00

Source: Tomasevich (1955, 207).

The excessive fragmentation of holdings was a key feature of Dalmatian agriculture and a major contributor to low living standards. Holdings up to 5 hectares in size accounted for 87.4 percent of all holdings in 1902, with 37 percent being less than 1 hectare in size (see Table 1.1). Taken together, the 83,455 holdings accounted for 1,283,494 hectares of land, of which only 266,437 hectares (20.75 percent) were arable, vineyards, meadows and gardens - the remainder consistedof pasture and forest. The low proportion of arable land was due to its natural scarcity rather than to a possibly unfavourable land tenure system which kept potentially arable land out of cultivation. Fragmentation, which contributed to the difficulty of natural scarcity, had its origins in the inheritance laws of the Austrian administration.

Origins of Problems : Environment, Foreign Control

Characterised by an intensive folding of relief, the Dalmatian 'ria-coast-line' forms the eastern boundary of the down-warped Adriatic Basin. This pattern accounts for the abruptness with which coastal mountain ranges rise to altitudes of between 2,000 and 5,000 feet above sea level, seriously restricting access to the interior. The upfolded off-shore islands of Hvar, Brac and Korcula reflect

an east-west trend in relief characteristic of the mainland to the northwest. These islands consist of relatively infertile Cretaceous limestone while the lower slopes and foothills of the adjacent central Dalmatian coast consist of fertile Tertiary rocks.

The fertile section of the central Dalmatian coast became an almost continuous zone of terraced vineyards, olive groves and orchards, densely settled with numerous villages. Set in the total picture of a predominantly 'karst landscape', however, this coastal zone appears only as a narrow ribbon of fertility. Employment opportunities outside of agriculture were severely limited by the paucity of mineral deposits. At the turn of the century the only notable exceptions were the asphalt deposits on Brac and near the inland town of Vrgorac, together with the stone-quarrying industry on the island of Korcula.

Above all else the availability of soil and water directly influenced the location and form of settlement in the karst landscape. Cup-shaped depressions caused by surface water filtering through to subterranean watercourses are filled with cultivatable soil. Generally no bigger than small gardens, these 'sinkholes' stand in sharp contrast with the 'poljes' or valleys through which streams flow intermittently. The latter contain small lakes formed by rain and snow during the winter months which evaporate in the summer and leave behind fertile beds. Both 'poljes' and 'sinkholes' are common features of the Vrgorac district located behind the coastal mountain range. The effect on the pattern of settlement is immediately apparent; in contrast to the more compact villages on the coast those inland are scattered clusters of three or four hamlets taking advantage of available water and soil. One English traveller, attracted to the mysterious Balkans in the early nineteenth century, described the Vrgorac district as follows (Wilkinson, 1848, 129):

> The villages in the valley of Xuppa [Vrgorac district] are generally scattered over a large space as in other parts of Dalmatia; but the church of Ravta [Ravca] is further from its congregation and the houses more distant from each other than in any I have met with; some portions of the village being at least a mile apart.

Variations of climate and vegetation, over relatively short distances, were also significant. On the one hand the Vrgorac district has clearly defined seasons - hot summers and frequent droughts, cold winters and heavy snowfalls. The local landscape was, and still is, akin to that of a more northerly portion of Dalmatia which moved Rebecca West (1955, 115-116) to write....

> ... that dreariness is so extreme that it astounds like luxuriance, it gluts the mind with excess of deprivation. The hills are naked,... Tracks lead over this naked rock ... it seems probable that they are traced by desperate men fleeing from barrenness and doomed to die in barrenness.

On the other hand, only twenty kilometers away, the island of Hvar has a climate milder than any other part of Dalmatia and has been commonly referred to as the 'Madeira of the Adriatic'.

Within this environment the peasant seemed fated to live a life of hardship and poverty. His primitive agro-technology gave him little chance of overcoming immediate environmental constraints[4]. Ingram (1953, 34) reports that in the vicinity of Metkovich and Gabela, on the Neretva River, old fashioned hand ploughs with small wooden coulters were still in use at the time of his visit. Almost unchanging, the life of the peasant went on. When rainfall swept down the denuded slopes and carried away the skeletal soil he would patiently collect what he could and pack it into terraces. Every fertile crevice in the rocks was carefully cultivated, every patch of soil was laboriously contained by walls of stone. Perhaps, in the course of his daily labour, the peasant sometimes recalled stories told by the old men of the village; stories of times when there were great forests on the hills. Before the Venetians started building their great timber ships, these forests had held the water and protected the soil.

With the exception of the Republic of Ragusa, Venice had gained almost complete control of Dalmatia by 1420 and successfully maintained control until 1797. It was during this period, marked by wars with Turkey, commercial rivalry with Ragusa, Spain and Portugal, that exploitation of Dalmatian forests proceeded on a large scale. We know that vast quantities of timber were delivered to the Venetian dockyards so far beyond all naval needs that they were left to rot where they lay. Similarly, Ragusa (Dubrovnik) claimed and used the forests of the Peljesac Peninsula.

Economic exploitation was the keynote of Venetian rule in Dalmatia. The Venetian monopoly on salt restricted expansion of the Dalmatian fishing industry. Wilkinson (1848, 244) notes, for example, that the island of Hvar "derived considerable profit from the sale of salt fish which the government might have improved ... had they relieved the island from injudicious duties on salt". A deliberate attempt was made to ruin the oil and silk industries by cutting down the olive and mulberry trees (Darby, 1966, 51). Restrictions were also placed on ship building, and almost all Dalmatian goods except corn had to be sold at fixed

prices in Venice. On the other hand, "any power that Venice wanted to propitiate, Austria, Ancona, Naples ... could come and sell its goods on the Dalmatian coast" (West, 1955, 136). By keeping Dalmatia poor and dependent, Venice obviously hoped to influence the commercial stature and power of Ragusa, its main commercial rival in the Adriatic and further afield.[5]

Between 1797 and 1814 control of Dalmatia was subject to almost continuous change. The Venetian republic was brought to an end by Napoleon in 1797, and its territory (including Dalmatia) was ceded to Austria by the Treaty of Campio Formio. After the defeat of Austria at Austerlitz in 1805, however, Dalmatia was ceded to France by the Treaty of Pressburg and incorporated in Napoleon's short-lived kingdom of Italy. Ragusa, which until then had remained neutral and independent, was also seized by Napoleon in 1805 but was not decreed as having ceased to exist until 1808. France gained further territories from Austria in 1809 and it was during that year that the new possessions of Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, part of Croatia, Dalmatia and Ragusa were reconstituted into one territorial unit (Illyrian Provinces) and incorporated as an integral part of the French Empire. Most of 'Illyria' remained under French control for less than five years; the island of Vis was occupied by an English naval force in 1811, and was soon after joined by the islands of Korcula, Hvar and Lastovo.[6] Napoleon's unsuccessful Russian campaign in 1812 enabled Austria to regain her lost provinces before the end of 1813, and they were formally assigned to her by the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). Though brief, the period of French rule under the direction of Marshal Marmont made a significant contribution toward the development of Yugoslav consciousness.

Austria's desire for naval power and a viable commercial outlet to the Mediterranean were the main motivations behind her control of Dalmatia. Later Italian claims to Dalmatian territory (see Seton-Watson 1926/27) underline the geo-political value of the area. But the place assigned to the new territories of Croatia and Dalmatia within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was to all intents and purposes at the bottom of the Imperial table, denied even salt by the continuation of a salt monopoly. Once again expansion of the fishing industry was severely retarded, a situation about which the Dalmatians justifiably complained (Wilkinson, 1848, 244). Yet the salt monopoly was a comparatively trivial matter alongside the commercial disruption resulting from the creation of new lines of transport and trade during the nineteenth century.

As far as Austria was concerned the port of Trieste was ideally situated for the purposes of foreign trade, and was therefore developed as a railway terminal

and as the outlet to the Mediterranean and the world. To this end, and to capture and divert Croatian trade from Rijeka (Fiume), the Sisak-Zagreb-Zidani Most-Trieste railway line was completed by Austria in 1862. The 'compromise' or Ausgleich of 1867, however, which marked the creation of the Dual Monarchy, complicated matters; the control of Croatia-Slavonia by Austria (1849-1868) was ended, Croatia was again tied to Hungary and Rijeka was linked with Budapest by railroad in 1873. In a sense the ports of Trieste and Rijeka, with their interior connections, symbolised not only the rivalry between the two members of the Dual Monarchy, but also their mutual desire to avoid moves that could promote unity among their Slav subjects. Thus, Dalmatia, now geographically separated from other Austrian areas, remained subordinate to Vienna. And in keeping with Hungarian railway policy, which deliberately obstructed moves likely to promote Slav unity, any railway project to connect the Dalmatian seaboard south of Rijeka with its hinterland was opposed. Split consequently remained without a rail connection with Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Together, these and other policies and developments had a profound effect on the Dalmatian economy, an effect summarised by Tomasevich (1955, 118) as follows:

> Prior to the nineteenth century Dalmatia was the door through which the bulk of trade of the central Balkan areas with the West was carried on. Its merchants derived great advantages from that trade. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, and especially after the Balkans became relatively well connected by roads, railroads, and river shipping with the large Central European markets, practically all of the trade emanating from the northern and central Balkan areas, both in regard to exports and imports, was channeled into these newly enlarged trade routes, and was carried on by Central European merchants. This ... meant the completion of a long trend of falling commercial importance of the Dalmatian coast and its once prosperous towns.

With trade deliberately directed through the northern ports of Trieste and Rijeka, Dalmatian shippers found themselves starved of business and ultimately lacking the capital necessary for the transition from sail to steam over the period 1860 to 1900. It was not a case of ship owners and ship builders who were simply too conservative. Granted, the decline of Dalmatia's once famous merchant fleets, notably those of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Boka Kotorska, can be traced back to the discovery of America, to the discovery of a sea route to India, to Venetian competition and to the staggering losses sustained during the Napoleonic Wars. All were contributing factors, but there can be no doubt that generations of gradual decay was accelerated by the Dual Monarchy.

Dalmatian shipping did enjoy a brief period of prosperity between 1850 and 1880. The shipping of Boka Kotorska gradually recovered from its losses during the Napoleonic Wars, and in 1865 shipping based on the Peljesac peninsula was boosted by the establishment of the Peljesac Shipping Company Incorporated. When the Suez Canal was opened in 1869 the Adriatic regained some of its earlier importance for trade with the East. It was during the next three decades, however, that competition from steamships pushed sailing vessels further and further into the background so that in 1888 even the Peljesac Shipping Company shut down (Matkovic, 1964, 184). Dubrovnik (Ragusa) somehow managed to survive and in 1910 it was still the home of six shipping companies. Coastal (rather than ocean) shipping was now to the fore and the proud international reputation of Dalmatian shipyards, such as those of Kotor, Split, Trogir, Sibenik, Korcula and Hvar, slowly but surely passed from reality into memory and then into history (see Subotic, 1935).

Industrial development during the period of Austrian rule was also severely restricted. Although seventy new factories were established between 1859 and 1918 (Tomasevich, 1955, 172), the typical unit of production remained, as before, the individual craftsman. The more successful of these craftsmen would perhaps have one or two journeymen and three or four apprentices in their workshops. Factory production, of course, spelt doom for a number of the traditional handicrafts.

With industrial development restricted, with expansion of the fishing industry denied, and witnessing the decay of merchant shipping, trade and ship building, the Dalmatians were left with little else but their traditional agrarian activities. And here the expansion of their vineyards, and tobacco cultivation, appeared to offer a chance for prosperity. In the case of vineyards, expansion over the period 1870 to 1890 was undoubtedly favoured by the ravages of phylloxera in France and later in Italy, Portugal and Spain. But again the prosperity was short-lived, struck first by the renewal of West European vineyards, second by a crucial wine clause in a commercial treaty drawn up between Austria and Italy in 1890, and finally by the arrival of phylloxera in Dalmatia itself. Contrary to the views of some writers, Dalmatia was among the last of the wine producers to be struck by phylloxera.[7] Ordish (1972, 179) reports that the pest "spread to Croatia in 1881, Serbia 1882, Dalmatia 1897, Central Dalmatia 1912 [and to] Southern Dalmatia in 1920." As for the commercial treaty of 1890, as a result of which Dalmatia lost her Austrian wine market to Italy, it should be noted that in Austria the impact of phylloxera was so severe that by 1890 domestic production was unable to satisfy consumer demand.

Tobacco cultivation, on the other hand, was apparently much more successful. Just how successful can be gauged from the following quotations, drawn from a report presented during 1894 to a symposium on agriculture and forestry in Austria-Hungary (Anon., 1894):

> In Imotski and Vrgorac districts tobacco cultivation is now exemplary; but as a result of the laudable efforts of the officials of the [State Tobacco] Monopoly, progress has also been made in other regions, such as Ragusa [Dubrovnik], Cattaro [Kotor], Trau [Trogir] and Sinj...
>
> Tobacco cultivation is a source of great prosperity for Dalmatia. The author of these lines, who has inspected the districts of Imotski, Sinj and Vrgorac, can testify that the past six years there has been a complete revolution in economic conditions in all the districts where the peasants are diligently growing tobacco. Where previously there were dirty wretched huts, there are now pretty one- and two-storeyed houses. The peasants have paid off all their debts, and are free from anxiety, while the money-lenders - the vampires who live on the poor in these parts - have completely disappeared.

By 1890 emigration from the districts of Imotski, Vrgorac, Sinj, Trogir and Kotor was already well under way. The fact that emigration from these districts actually increased during the next two decades suggests that the above 'testimony' is somewhat overblown, that the benefits of tobacco cultivation (great or meagre) came too late or that the gains actually facilitated emigration.

Aggravation of Problems

Thus far attention has been directed toward the two basic factors underlying Dalmatia's socio-economic problems. A natural environment characterised by a scarcity of cultivatable soil, water and industrial minerals, together with generations of foreign control and exploitation, effectively restricted agriculture, industrial and commercial development until 1918. Though difficult, life under these conditions was tolerable. However, with an upswing in the rate of population growth after 1840, and with the parallel penetration of capitalism from Europe's rapidly developing industrial centres, the pattern of life for Dalmatia's peasantry was disrupted and transformed.

Between 1840 and 1914 the population increased by 266,000 (or 66.66 percent of the total for 1840). The bulk of this increase came between 1880 and 1910 with a gain of 170,000 or 35.7 percent of the total for 1880 (see Table 1.2). During the same thirty year period gains of 38.6, 63.9 and 71.3 percent were recorded for

Table 1.2

Population Growth in Dalmatia, 1840 - 1914

Year	1840	1857	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910	1914
Population (000)	399	416	457	476	527	594	646	665
Intercensual increase								
No. (000)	-	17	41	19	51	67	52	19
Percentage	-	4.26	9.85	4.15	10.71	12.71	8.75	2.94

Source: Tomasevich (1955, 152)

Croatia - Slavonia, Bosnia - Hercegovina, and Serbia, respectively (Tomasevich, 1955, 152). Aside from some postponement of marriage (and thus family formation), the key factor behind Dalmatia's lower rate of population increase was her long history of slow but steady emigration which accelerated sharply during the 1890s. The annual number of departures heading for the United States alone jumped from 367 in 1899 to 4,812 in 1910 (Govorchin, 1961, 46), and there were approximately 4,000 arrivals in New Zealand between 1897 and 1909 - not to mention those who emigrated to Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Australia and Canada.

In the absence of detailed data on fertility, mortality and morbidity a precise explanation for the increase of population cannot be presented here. It seems likely, however, that small improvements in education, living conditions, and sanitation form one facet of the general stimulus to an increase in numbers. Infant mortality, though still very high, had fallen to about 170 per 1000 live births in 1910, a rate slightly below the overall average of about 200 per 1000 for the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Wallis, 1918, 59). Another facet of the general stimulus was possibly the brief bursts of prosperity from shipping and ship building, the expansion of vineyards and tobacco cultivation. Then too, there was the factor of remittances from the United States, South America and elsewhere, together with the return of many successful migrants who invested in land, small businesses and housing. The net result of all these factors appears to have been an upward swing in the rate of natural population increase. According to Lukas (1922, 93) this trend was clearly evident over the years 1900-1910.

Despite the relief gained from emigration, population growth inevitably led to agricultural overpopulation. By 1921 the agricultural population per 100 hectares of cultivated land was 235 for Banovina Primorje, as compared with the

'norm' of 80 per 100 hectares "which would assure the peasant population a decent plane of living" (Tomasevich, 1955, 315-323).[8] Of necessity, crops such as corn (either as a black bread or corn meal mush), potatoes and other legumes, and especially cabbage among the leafy vegetables, had become the main components of the peasant diet. These crops had no particular merit other than a high yield per unit area cultivated. Naturally, in the face of pressure upon land suitable for cultivation, more extensive forms of landuse such as sheep and goats were left to the extreme margins of settlement. The pressure on and demand for land explains also why only 57.4 percent of the 83,455 farm units in Dalmatia in 1902 were utilised exclusively by the owners, while the balance was worked in some form of tenancy, mostly in colonate (Tomasevich, 1955, 118).

Population growth was paralleled by the penetration of capitalism beyond the major coastal ports. Money and the market economy undermined the traditional subsistence economic order while the attendant spirit of individualism disrupted the 'communal' way of life. And as Dalmatian rural society was transformed, the fusion of 'old' and 'new' values into a new peasant personality produced a distinctive motivation for migration.

It should be noted that by the early 1800s a quite significant proportion of the land in Dalmatia was actually worked by the proprietors themselves. Thus it is not surprising that the new systems and values had little effect upon established land tenure relationships until the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the colonate system, based upon a contract between the landlord and colonus (whereby the landlord received between one-quarter and two-thirds of gross product from the land in question) remained virtually undisturbed until 1918. On the other hand, serfdom and the 50:50 sharecropping system in the former territory of the Republic of Ragusa were abolished in 1878. The principal casualty of capitalism, however, was the zadruga. Though experts are at odds concerning its precise origins, mode of operation and demise, the zadruga is generally defined as a joint family which (usually) involved two or more small families related by blood or adoption with communal ownership of the means of production, and with communal regulation of resources, production and consumption. It was subsistence oriented and directed by a designated or elected household head, often but not always the most able married man. From this organisation there stemmed a tradition of co-operation and mutual aid, essential in the life of a peasant, which proved to be valuable to those overseas. On the gumfields of New Zealand, their co-operative approach to gumdigging quickly proved its value and (just as quickly) aroused considerable opposition.

There are various schools of thought concerning factors responsible for the zadruga's disintegration. The introduction of statutory laws or civil codes, embodying the principles of individual ownership, individual inheritance, and the predominant position of the father in the family and his full liberty to dispose of family property, has been stressed as a key factor. In Dalmatia, a new civil code (based on Code Napoleon) was introduced by Austria in 1816, much earlier than in the neighbouring areas of Croatia-Slavonia and Bosnia. The abolition of serfdom added to the pace of change as did a shift from taxation by hearths or chimneys to taxation by heads and by property. Obviously the new tax procedures negated the incentive for communal living. While each of these factors contributed to the zadruga's demise, however, Tomasevich (1955, 186-187) lays the blame squarely upon the money and market economy which exposed critical weaknesses in the zadruga as a social and economic unit.

Tomasevich cites three basic reasons in support of his argument. First, a move was begun to assess and collect all taxes in money and the tax load was increased. Second, traditional consumption patterns were enlarged and altered by the demand for factory products such as textiles, footwear, house utensils and such foods and beverages as sugar and coffee. The zadruga, of course, could not supply these goods directly and was thus forced to enter the market to sell a proportion of its agricultural products for money - money to purchase goods and to pay increased taxes. Third, where revenue obtained from sales was insufficient to meet the zadruga's needs, credit had to be obtained and paid for at high interest rates. To repay the debts and interest more money was required and thus the strain upon the resources, capabilities and products of the zadruga was increased. Under these circumstances, with unsatisfied consumption demands, with debt and consequent loss of land, many peasant families saw the division of their zadruga as the solution. And so the zadruga's communal spirit gave way to the rule that each and every family should pursue its own interests and seek its own destiny.

For the majority of families the only interest and destiny worthy of note was ultimately that of survival. Phylloxera devastated the vineyards and together with the commercial treaty between Austria and Italy (1890) drastically reduced family incomes. Population growth increased the pressure upon land resources and contributed to both indebtedness and fragmentation of properties. Fragmentation was almost synonymous with uneconomic subdivision, under-employment and a lowering of production levels. The numbers of families with insufficient land for their needs, or with no land at all, increased quickly after 1880 and they found land and employment more and more difficult to obtain. And so in Dalmatia, as elsewhere in

Europe, the desire for self-sufficiency and independent landholder status became the prime goals of peasant life (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958).

Ruth Trouton (1952,3-8) has drawn a very useful distinction between 'pure' and 'mixed' peasant societies based on the degree of penetration by capitalism. Her criteria for analysis embrace both social and economic aspects of peasant life. In the 'pure' peasant society the autarchical household unit was materially self sufficient, outside economic and social relations were relatively insignificant, and the peasant's world was his village the members of which he knew intimately and with whom he exchanged services and mutual aid. Inter-village social and economic intercourse was restricted by poor communications to an area of a few miles. Life was largely regulated by tradition. Self education was by word of mouth, sufficient for the transmission of customs, special rural skills and crafts - in other words the society was generally pre-literate. In the 'mixed' peasant society, however, outside contacts are constant and frequent, for the peasantry are not only cultivators but traders as well. As such they come into contact with craftsmen, intellectuals and administrators. Significantly, there is a ready acceptance of elementary education when, Trouton (1955, 6) says,"the peasant realizes that townsmen are frequently in a position to take advantage of him in the dealings between them through their superior knowledge."

By 1900 the transition from a 'pure' to a 'mixed' peasant society was well underway in Dalmatia. Over the next two decades major improvements were recorded in levels of elementary education; illiteracy dropped from 73 percent (six years of age and over) in 1910 to 49.5 percent (ten years of age and over) in 1921, a change far more impressive than that recorded for Bosnia-Hercegovina or Serbia (see Wallis, 1918, 58-59; Lukas, 1922, 94; Tomasevich, 1955, 198). However, though most of the larger villages had elementary schools by 1920, not every child of school age could attend much less advance to higher levels. Many peasant families were living on the margins of subsistence and it was taken for granted that by the time a child was seven he was a productive worker. Nevertheless it was during this period of change, 1880-1920, that large scale emigration took place. Ironically, the costs of transport for migrants, at least initially, contributed to the problem of indebtedness and hence to the broad spectrum of social and economic ills.

Indigenous Political Movements

> ... if we become free, then it may no longer be necessary to go across the sea to America, for we shall have our own America here, a land in which a man may work hard and honestly and live well and freely.

This short passage from The Bridge on the Drina (Andric, 1959, 281-282) captures the thoughts and beliefs that gained widespread support in Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia and Bosnia during the last three or four decades of the nineteenth century. But it was a goal, a dream, that eluded its champions until after the First World War.

The seeds of modern nationalism were sown in Dalmatia and Croatia during the brief life of Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces (1809-1813). The 'Illyrian' movement, with its ideal of a union of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes, developed first as a cultural and literary movement but in 1841 achieved a political form in Croatia when a liberal popular party was launched and led by intellectuals. In 1849 a Dalmatian equivalent (a politico-literary society) was founded in Zara (Zadar) but was suppressed the following year. During the next few decades the movement's spirit was sustained by the continuing cultural revival and development fostered by men such as Bishop Strossmayer, founder of the South Slav Academy of Science and Art at Zagreb (1867).

Political representation during all but the last decade of Austrian rule was severely restricted. In 1822 Dalmatia's adminstration was reorganised and the political privileges of the nobility were replaced by a bureaucracy completely dependent upon Vienna. The situation improved somewhat in 1861 under a new Austrian constitution but even then the franchise was incredibly distorted. While 15,672 Italian speakers were represented by 26 deputies in the Dalmatian Diet, about 140,000 Slav speakers had only 15 representatives (Darby, 1966, 55).[9] Despite this handicap the period 1861-1870 was one of a spirited 'parliamentary' clash between (a) Dalmatian autonomists (inclined toward sympathy with Italian culture), and (b) Illyrian unionists (Slavs who sought union with Croatia), a clash that the unionists clearly won during the elections of 1870 (elected with a substantial majority of 25 to 16). The prospects for actual union, however, irrespective of promises made by Austria (1860-1861) and Hungary (1868), were effectively negated by the 1867 Ausgleich. Austria maintained a firm hand upon Dalmatia, a point well illustrated by its military response in 1869 to a revolt in the Cattaro (Kotor) region.[10]

Under the terms of the Dual Monarchy, Dalmatia and Istria sent their representatives to the Reichstag in Vienna, while Croatia-Slavonia sent three delegates to the Upper House and 40 deputies to the Lower House of the Diet in Budapest. The principle of divide and rule was plainly evident. Against hopeless odds Dalmatians kept the unionist ideal alive and in 1903 petitioned Francis

Joseph to intervene against the oppression of Croatians by the Hungarian regime. Other moves, again unsuccessful, included the Resolution of Fiume (Rijeka) in 1905, demanding the union of Dalmatia with Croatia, and the Resolution of Zara (Zadar) which conveyed the Serbian community's support for the proposal.

Political representation improved in Dalmatia with the introduction of manhood suffrage in 1907. By comparison, in 1906, there were only 45,381 persons who had the right to vote in Croatia (population approximately 2.5 million) because of a high tax payment qualification. Nevertheless, foreign travellers in Dalmatia remarked upon the lack of proportionate representation in the Austrian parliament and "the gagging of the newspapers" (Goldring, 1951, 34). The latter was part of measures enacted by the Austrian government against the press and some town councils of Dalmatia in 1912 (Serbia's victories in the Balkan War had prompted many pro-Serbian demonstrations in Dalmatia).

As far as the peasantry of Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia was concerned, particularly in the former area, the political gains of the early 1900s came far too late to be effective in terms of their social and economic problems. Between 1899 and 1910 alone 331,154 Croatian and Slovenian and 31,047 Dalmatian, Bosnian and Hercegovinian migrants arrived in the United States (Govorchin, 1961, 47) while thousands more went to South America, Canada and Australasia. In Dalmatia economic enterprise and responsibility had long since passed to the individual and his family. With the exception of the church there was no institutional problem of excessively large landowners which required a major social revolution. Social and economic reforms of a much simpler character, such as better education, new agrarian skills, credit at low rates of interest, provision of a secure and stable market for peasant produce, and the restoration of old and the creation of new local industries to provide an alternative means of employment, were the 'real things' required by Dalmatia's people. It was these things that the politicians failed to provide or in some cases provided far too late. For example, a special Mortgage Administration was established by the provincial government in 1898. Although it granted long-term loans, at 5½ percent interest, individual money-lenders and country storekeepers remained the major sources of credit - for consumption purposes and for overseas migration.

The Migrant's View, 1898

In an exercise such as this, one must ultimately face-up to a crucial question. Does the above picture of conditions in Dalmatia match up with the views of the migrants themselves? By way of an answer to this question the following are a selection of views and items of information extracted from evidence presented by Dalmatian migrants to the 1898 Commission investigating New Zealand's kauri gum industry.[11] In each case the name of the migrant(s) is given together with the appropriate page number(s) in the Commission's report. Readers are invited to make their own judgement.

Luka Jurmovich (page 23):

> I speak of my own immediate neighbourhood [near Ragusa or Dubrovnik]. The people generally pay one-fourth of their produce for rent. That is what they did sixteen years ago. The wages were about 1s. 10d. [approx. 18 cents] a day and 'tucker' [food] on farms.

Peter Covecich [Covacich] (page 23):

> At home I was a stonemason, at which I could earn 3s [approx. 30 cents] a day and 'tucker' [food]. For digging on a farm a man would get 1s..10d or 2s. a day and 'tucker'... The work at Home is not constant, and the people often have very hard times in winter, which is often very severe.

Jacob Radatich speaking on behalf of Peter and Nicolas Skakandich [Skokandich] (pages 23-24):

> Peter and Nicolas Skakandich [Skokandich] (brothers) have fourteen people dependent on them, counting their parents and sisters. It would take about £400 [$800] to bring them out. It is the custom in Dalmatia to divide the land equally between all the children on the death of the parents. Thus the land is cut up into very small sections...

Nicolas Seutch [Sentch, alias Sincic] (page 34)

> It is difficult to arrive exactly at the causes which led to the influx of my countrymen... Some of the younger ones objected to the military service, and that acted as an inducement for them to emigrate to New Zealand...In Austria, of late years, the crops have failed considerably with disease in the vines, and money has been exceedingly scarce; therefore it became necessary for some of them to go abroad and get money, in order to remit it Home to enable the others to exist through the bad times, and so try to recover their condition...

Mathew Andrew Ferri (pages 57-60)

> ...the province of Dalmatia, a province that has made no progress since its foundation and has, under several rulers and Governments, had to fight for freedom and national language. The people are kept in ignorance, their education is limited, and they are backward in all general knowledge. They are heavily taxed and greatly imposed upon, and are kept down by the capitalists, landlords, storekeepers, etc., for their own object and purpose. Austria has never had, or attempted to form, any colonisation. Her subjects (Slavonic origin) have been compelled through poverty and lack of opportunity at Home to seek their fortunes abroad... After a time spent in hard and ungrateful labour, they manage to save a few pounds, with which they return home, in reality no better off than when they started.....
> [Ferri also comments on the case of a fellow migrant and his family about to return home to settle a dispute over a small piece of land.]
> His native district is well known to me, and consists of little else but rocks. No person could live on the land unless he had other means of support, and he is a lucky man who contrives to keep out of debt...

Louis Kinkella (page 60)

> Some of them emigrate to escape military service... Many of those who go Home take considerable amounts of money with them. I have had an opportunity of knowing this, because I go with them to the bank and help to arrange matters for them. There have been hard times in Dalmatia, the vines having failed.

Footnotes

1. From the evidence available it appears that abortion and contraception, though employed as methods of fertility control, were not entirely acceptable within the prevailing set of norms and values. For further information, see Lodge (1942, 299-302) and St. Erlich (1966, 287-305).

2. Data for 1938 is actually for Banovina Primorje. The old provinces were abolished and new administrative units called Banovine were established in the late 1920s. Banovina Primorje is the closest approximation to the original area of Dalmatia. For further details, see Tomasevich (1955, 238-239).

3. Cited by Colakovic (1973, 21) from U.S. Immigration Commission 1911 Emigration Conditions in Europe, Government Printing Office, Washington. See also Govorchin (1961, 318) for a detailed appendix derived from the same original source.

4. Wilkinson (1848, 215) made a particularly strong statement on this subject:

> It is to be regretted that the Austrians, with all their paternal care, do so little to better the condition, and advance the useful acquirements, of the Dalmatian peasantry, who are left in entire ignorance of any system of agriculture, and know as little about the advantages or improvement of land, as their ancestors in the days of medieval darkness. For the encouragement of schools the Austrian government deserves credit... but something more is wanting for the instruction of an agricultural population, whom a limited knowledge of reading will not teach skill in husbandry, nor the mode of improving land, nor the importance of new and useful productions.

5. For a detailed account of Ragusa's fascinating history, see Carter (1972).

6. Darby (1966, 54) reports that the islands became a valuable centre for smuggling English goods into Dalmatia and beyond, despite the blockade instituted by Napoleon.

7. There appears to be some confusion, or at least disagreement, among writers concerning the time when phylloxera arrived and/or devastated Dalmatia's vineyards. Tomasevich (1955, 119) states that "in the 1890's phylloxera invaded Dalmatia, destroying almost completely this branch of agriculture". Prpic (1971, 92) on the other hand, states: "In the 1870's the phylloxera disease ravaged the vineyards of Dalmatia. Then it spread to the regions south of Zagreb." Other writers such as Govorchin (1961, 13-14) and Colakovic (1973, 23), are either deliberately vague or imply that the disease had its effect during the 1880s.

8. See footnote 2 above for explanation concerning Banovina Primorje.

9. The Italian minority played an important role in Austrian administration of Dalmatia. Indeed, it was not until 1909 that Serbo-Croatian was made equal with Italian as an official language.

10. Macartney (1969, 577) reports that the revolt "was due to special causes (an order depriving the inhabitants of certain special traditional privileges and making them subject to compulsory military service)." Additional information is provided by May (1960, 58) who states that the Bocchesi had previously been exempt from military service, and that they "only laid down their arms when given assurances that conscription would not be applied and that the insurgents would be amnestied".

11. Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry in New Zealand, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H. 12.

2

THE MIGRANTS

Having traced the key elements, patterns and processes that together comprise the Dalmatian background, we turn now to migration and the migrants themselves. The primary aim is to reveal and examine salient characteristics of both the movement and 'movers' involved. Furthermore, as movement from one society to another does not take place in a vacuum, a secondary aim is to examine responses within the host society - responses in the form of immigration restrictions. Underlying both aims is a theme now common to studies of this kind: namely, that Yugoslav migration to New Zealand has not been haphazard, erratic or random in nature but (once established) an organised (structured) process marked by a high degree of selectivity.

One question inevitably comes before all others. How many Yugoslavs have come to New Zealand? Often asked, this question is just as often poorly answered. Migration to New Zealand commenced on a significant scale in the early 1890s, although pioneers had arrived at least thirty years earlier. Official statistics show (Table 2.1) that 11,102 Yugoslav immigrants intending permanent residence have been recorded (1897-1974). However, given the numerous problems involved in the compilation and interpretation of such statistics (see footnotes to Table 2.1), the figure of 11,102 arrivals is at best a tentative answer to the above question.

Table 2.1

Yugoslav Migration: Permanent Arrivals and Permanent Departures, 1897-1974[1]

	1897/ 1899	1900/ 1904	1905/ 1909	1910/ 1914	1915/ 1919	1920/ 1924	1925/ 1929	1930/ 1934	1935/ 1939	1940/ 1944	1945/ 1949	1950/ 1954	1955/ 1959	1960/ 1964	1965/ 1969	1970/ 1974	Totals
								Arrivals									
Males	1328	1451	1239	1250	23	480	820	94	272	43	16	387	186	498	677	230	8994
Females	4	26	58	82	7	106	202	71	210	70	45	274	205	362	230	156	2108
Total	1332	1477	1297	1332	30	586	1022	165	482	113	61	661	391	860	907	386	11102
								Departures									
Males						7	32	83	36	7	201	11	33	48	260	165	
Females	No data available					-	4	3	9	-	15	9	18	46	62	63	
Total	prior to 1921, for					7	36	86	45	7	216	20	51	94	322	228	
	estimates see Table 2.5							Net Migration									
Total						579	986	79	437	106	-155	641	340	766	585	158	

1. Arrivals 1897-1920 defined by birthplace (1897-1919 in the categories 'Austria', 'Austria-Hungary', 'Serbia' and 'Montenegro'); arrivals 1921-1927 defined by country of last permanent residence ('Yugoslavia'); arrivals 1928-1974 defined by birthplace.

   Departures 1921-1927 defined by destination ('Yugoslavia'); departures 1928-1974 defined by birthplace.

Sources: Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand, Government Printer, Wellington;
Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand, Government Printer, Wellington;
Statistical Report on the External Migration of the Dominion of New Zealand, Government Printer, Wellington;
New Zealand Statistics of Population, Migration and Buildings, Government Printer, Wellington.

The rate of immigration has varied considerably over the years, a feature which can be accounted for by variations in economic and political conditions both in Yugoslavia and New Zealand, and by restrictive legislation and changes in immigrant aspirations. Periods of war (1914-1918, 1939-1945) and depression (1930-1935) reduced the flow of migrants or, for brief periods, halted it altogether. Coupled with permanent departures (or return migration), for which there are no official statistics during the crucial decades prior to 1921, the net result has been the growth of a small but significant immigrant community. In 1971 there were 3,779 Yugoslavs resident in New Zealand (as defined by birthplace). They formed the second largest continental European group (surpassed by the Dutch) and ranked twelfth among immigrants from all birthplaces represented.

Area of Origin : Central Dalmatia

One of the principal features of Yugoslav migration to New Zealand is the dominance of a small area of origin on the Dalmatian coast. This area was initially defined by Lochore (1951, 36-37) as follows:

> ... the districts of Makarska and Vrgorac, which are two smallish coastal towns between Split and Dubrovnik; the adjoining peninsula of Peljesac; and the islands of Korcula and Hvar.

Though Lochore was reasonably accurate it is nevertheless necessary to enter into a more thorough examination and definition of the area of origin if one is to make a worthwhile contribution to the field of research so capably developed by Price (1963a, 1963b) and Burnley (1972).

To obtain complete and accurate data on the birthplace (town or village) of each immigrant it was necessary to follow Price's example and use naturalisation records. This task was made very much easier by the recent completion of an official Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948. After careful examination of this source a total of 2,561 Dalmatians naturalised between 1890 and 1939 were identified and a summary of their birthplaces is presented in Table 2.2. Since the number naturalised accounts for less than half the number of arrivals, interpretation of Table 2.2 must be based upon three assumptions:

(a) all Yugoslav immigrants were free to apply for naturalisation if they so desired;

(b) that migrants from all districts, islands or villages were equally likely to seek naturalisation at any given time; and therefore...

(c) that the number of naturalisations for each village, district or island may be taken as proportionately representative of the overall contribution to the flow of migrants by each village, district or island.

To provide a check on naturalisation data, and to extend the analysis to the post-war period, additional information was collected on all arrivals over the period 1949-1967. While more detailed use will be made of the information collected on these arrivals at later points in this study, at this stage it is sufficient to report that 904 (out of 1,674)[1] were Dalmatians and that a summary of their birthplaces is also included in Table 2.2.

Although the information presented here (Table 2.2 and Figure 2.1) is more precise, detailed and complete than anything previously available on the origins of New Zealand's Dalmatian settlers, there are still two technical problems which should be noted.[2] First, in the case of those naturalised around the turn of the century, the birthplace was often stated and/or recorded in rather general terms (for example, 'Austria', 'Dalmatia') with the result that a fairly high proportion are included in the category 'Other Dalmatia'. Second, a number of migrants chose to state their birthplace in terms of a district (for example, 'Makarska' and 'Vrgorac') or island ('Brac', 'Hvar'). Especially frustrating in the latter case are migrants from the island of Korcula, which has a large town of the same name so that it is often impossible to distinguish between the town and the island in general.

Keeping the above points in mind it appears that the area of origin is smaller than that initially defined by Lochore. Instead of including the whole of the islands of Korcula and Hvar, it is sufficient to include only their eastern halves. Similarly in the case of the Peljesac peninsula the effective contributing area is west of the village of Kuna. The dominance of certain villages is another significant feature to emerge. On the island of Korcula the villages of Zrnovo, Pupnat, Racisce and Lumbarda are clearly dominant. Sucuraj, Gdinj and Bogmolje are the main villages of origin on Hvar, while Podgora and Vrgorac are clearly the most important on the adjacent coast.

From this relatively small area migrants moved not only to New Zealand, but to Australia, the United States, Chile and Argentina as well. San Pedro in California, for example, is a notable settlement dominated by immigrants from "the islands of Korcula, Vis, Hvar and Brac and from the coastal towns of Split and Crkvenica" (Niland, 1941). In Australia, 1,669 of the 1,980 Yugoslavs naturalised up to 1939 came from the area defined by Price (1963b, 103 and 108) as Central

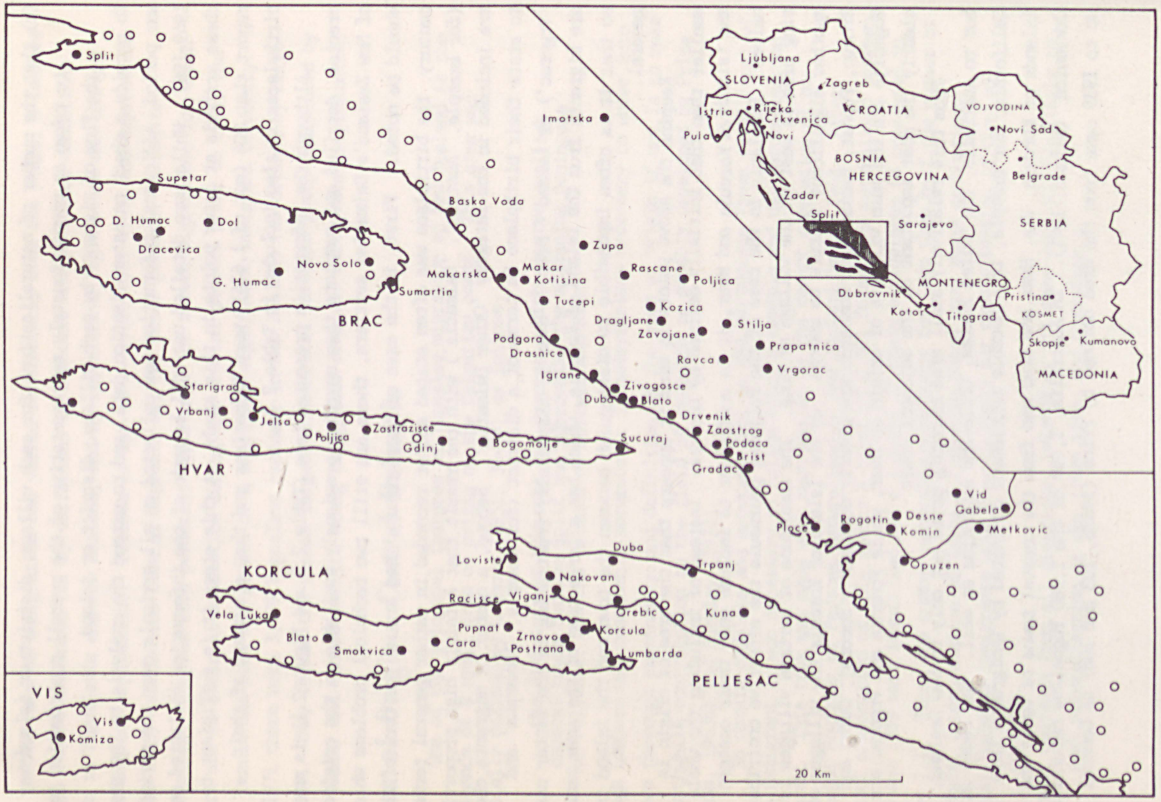


FIGURE 2.1 Central Dalmatian Coast, Yugoslavia: Birthplaces of Dalmatian Chain Migrants

Table 2.2

Origins: Dalmatian Immigrants Naturalised 1890-1914, 1918-1939 and Arrivals 1951-1967, Classified by Village and District of Birth

		Naturalised 1890-1914	Naturalised 1918-1939	% 1890-1939	Arrivals 1951-1967	% 1951-1967
Northern Dalmatia						
Novi		9	24	1.28		
Other (Rijeka, Istria etc.,)		38	7	1.75	12	1.32
Central Dalmatia						
Korcula Island -	Lumbarda	15	28	1.68	30	3.31
	Pupnat	21	69	3.51	61	6.74
	Racisce	59	34	3.63	64	7.07
	Zrnovo	18	69	3.39	57	6.30
	Other	67	38	4.10	30	3.31
Hvar Island -	Gdinj	13	9	0.86	39	4.31
	Sucuraj	19	61	3.12	55	6.08
	Other	36	52	3.43	51	5.63
Brac Island		39	39	3.04	31	3.42
Vis Island		14	11	0.97	11	1.21
Peljesac Pen., (Trpanj, Orebic, etc.)		47	22	2.69	18	1.98
Neretva Estuary (Metkovic etc.)		22	38	2.34	22	2.43
Coastal Zone -	Drasnice	52	58	4.29	36	3.97
	Drvenik	40	40	3.12	19	2.10
	Igrane	38	20	2.26	9	1.00
	Makarska	66	18	3.28	38	4.20
	Podgora	139	158	11.59	78	8.61
	Zaostrog	37	12	1.91	3	0.33
	Zivogosce	52	49	3.94	30	3.31
Hinterland -	Other	73	36	4.25	34	3.75
	Imotska	23	3	1.01	4	0.44
	Kozica	22	32	2.10	23	2.54
	Orah	21	12	1.28	15	1.65
	Rascane	25	10	1.36	11	1.21
	Vrgorac	179	106	11.12	25	2.76
	Other	78	60	5.38	59	6.52
Other Dalmatia						
Village not specified, unable to be located, remainder		141	43	7.18	40	4.42
Total[1]		1403	1158	100.00	905	100.00

1. The totals above exclude 13 migrants naturalised 1890-1914, and 21 migrants naturalised 1918-1939, all born elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Also excluded are 17 arrivals (1951-1967) born elsewhere in Yugoslavia, but still part of the Dalmatian chain migrant group.

Sources: Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948; Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, 1951-1967; Applications for Entry to New Zealand, 1951-1967.

Dalmatia and off-shore islands. As shown in Table 2.3, however, while almost half of Australia's naturalised Dalmatians came from the islands the majority in New Zealand were from the coast and immediate hinterland.

Table 2.3

Dalmatians Naturalised in Australia and New Zealand prior to 1940: Comparison of Origins

Central Dalmatian Districts of Origin	Australia (up to 1939)		New Zealand (1890-1939)	
	No.	%	No.	%
The Islands (Brac, Hvar, Korcula, Vis - but Peljesac excluded)	753	45.11	711	30.92
The Coast (Split, Podgora, etc. and Peljesac included)	578	34.63	1,017	44.23
The Hinterland (Imotska, Vrgorac, etc.)	338	20.25	571	24.83
Totals	1,669	100.00	2,299	100.00

Sources: Price (1963b, 103 and 108 'South Slavs - Coastal and Islands') for Australia, and Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948 (see Table 2.2).

Chain Migration and the Pioneers

A convincing explanation for the emergence and persistence of Yugoslav migration to New Zealand from such a small area of origin was first presented by Lochore (1951, 24) via the concept of migration chains.

> A migration chain is an established route along which migrants continue to move over a period of many years from a European peasant community to a modified peasant community in the new land.

Though essentially correct, Lochore failed to explain both the mechanics of the movement and how such a route came to be established and maintained. The appropriate explanations were eventually provided by Price (1963a) and incorporated in a succinct definition by Macdonald and Macdonald (1964, 82).

> Chain migration can be defined as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants.

But even this definition is not quite flexible enough to account for the numerous migrants who learned of opportunities through village gossip (initiated either by letters or by successful migrants returning to their homes) and who raised passage funds by loans or mortgages from money-lenders. Having arrived at their destination such migrants may have been met and helped by fellow villagers with whom they were previously acquainted or to whom they were recommended by other friends or relations. Given this flexibility the latter definition would be perfectly acceptable as most migrants were undoubtedly helped in their transportation, accommodation and employment by relations and friends already overseas. Obviously, from the host society's viewpoint, a form of migration based on primary social relationships clearly explains the emergence and persistence of a restricted area of origin for members of a given immigrant group.

Chain migration has its roots in the careers of pioneer migrants who wandered about the world in search of work, wealth and adventure. Among the Dalmatians this characteristic wandering was evident on the margins of the Pacific Ocean (California, Alaska, Chile, Peru, Australia, New Caledonia and New Zealand) as early as the 1850s. Typically they were sailors, gold miners, fishermen, restaurant owners or just plain labourers, ready to turn their hands to whatever came their way. They had (often) no set abode, their eyes frequently turning to families and friends in Dalmatia whom they would sometimes visit, write to and recruit in their quest for wealth and adventure.

Who were the pioneers in New Zealand? There is a popular belief (with obscure origins) that among the first arrivals were deserters from the Austrian scientific expedition on the frigate 'Novara' in 1858, and from Austrian lumber ships in Kaipara Harbour during the 1860s and 1870s. An examination of the 'Novara' shipping list has confirmed the presence of Dalmatian sailors but provides no evidence to support a claim of desertions[3]. Nor is there any mention of desertions in New Zealand in Karl Scherzer's (1863) account of the 'Novara' voyage. As for the lumber ships, while the possibility of desertions must be acknowledged, there is no proof (nor any prospect of proof) one way or the other. On the other hand, naturalisation files, by far the most reliable evidence available, record fairly precisely the arrival and settlement of many Dalmatians in New Zealand's South Island prior to 1880. It appears that at least one third of these men were goldminers who had been attracted by the Westland gold rushes in

the late 1850s and early 1860s. Some of them may well have come via the gold fields of California and Australia. Listed in Table 2.4 by year of arrival, the birthplaces of these pioneers have been traced to points along the whole of Yugoslavia's Adriatic coast, ranging from Istria, Buccari [Bakar], Fiume [Rijeka] and the island of Losinj in the north to Ragusa [Dubrovnik] and Cattaro [Kotor] in the south.

Ironically, pride of place as the first pioneer-settler goes to a Montenegrin, Nicolas Viccovich, who arrived in 1857 and was eventually naturalised thirty years later.[4] By 1867, however, at least seven pioneers from Central Dalmatia had also appeared; Andrew Cuiss and Giuseppe Martin from the island of Vis (1861), Anthony Juriss from Split (1862), Peter Vragnizan (1863) and John Gargliecevich (1864) from Hvar, Paul Arnerich from Brac (1866) and Paul Lupis from Nakovan on the Peljesac peninsula (1866). Apart from the few details included in the naturalisation files (age, birthplace, occupation, length of residence), and with the notable exception of evidence given by Nicolas Seutch (alias Nicholas Sentch) to the Royal Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry in 1898, almost nothing is known about the lives of these pioneers and their role in the development of chain migration to New Zealand.

Seutch [Sentch] fits the wanderer mould perfectly; born near Fiume [Rijeka], he arrived in New Zealand in 1864 after a period of residence in India. Unimportant as a wanderer, Sentch is distinguished as an informant for his evidence on Paul Lopez, since identified as Paul Lupis. We know that Lupis was from Peljesac, that he arrived in 1866 (then about 18 years old) and that he probably deserted from the crew of an English migrant ship at Lyttelton.[5] According to Sentch, Lopez (Lupis) was also the founder of a migration chain.[6]

> I am speaking of eighteen years ago [about 1880], he [Lopez/Lupis] was gumdigging at Dargaville and made a little money. He went home... got married there, and brought his wife back to New Zealand with him, and also some of his relations, and since then it seems to me that, by giving them the idea that money could be made in the country at gumdigging, they have been advancing money to each other to come out.

In support of Sentch's evidence, naturalisation files record the arrival of Florius Lupis (1879), John Lupis (1883), Antonio Lupis (1889) and Sebastian Lupis (1894).

The Lupis example was by no means unique. Though not as well documented, two other early examples were the Arnerich and Vocassivich chains from the island of Brac and Cattaro [Kotor], respectively. Paul Arnerich arrived in 1866 and was

Table 2.4

The Pioneers, 1857-1883.

Date of Arrival, Name and Birthplace of Yugoslavs who eventually became Naturalised Citizens of New Zealand

Arrival Date (approx)[1]	Name	Birthplace[3]	Naturalisation Date	Naturalisation Residence
1857	VICCOVICH, Nicolas[2]	Cettinge [Cetinje, Montenegro]	1887	Lyell, Westland
1960	MIKOZ, Giacomo	Buccari [Bakar nr. Rijeka]	1899	Greymouth, Westland
	RADOVE, Nicolo[2]	Oulban nr. Trieste	1881	MacKenzie Country
1861	BEANOVITCH, Marek[2]	Fiume [Rijeka]	1894	Auckland
	CARO, Samuel	Zara [Zadar]	1898	Port Chalmers, Dunedin
	CUISS, Andrew	Lissa [island of Vis]	1879	Dunedin
	MARTIN, Giuseppe[2]	Lissa [Vis]	1884	Reefton, Westland
1862	BEROZ, Giovanni[2]	Dalmatia	1882	Hokitika, Westland
	CARINA, Thomas	Portore [Kraljevica nr. Rijeka]	1868	Whitianga, Coromandel
	JURISS, Anthony[2]	Spalato [Split]	1906	Christchurch
	SARGOGNA, Giuseppe	Fiume [Rijeka]	1874	Lyell, Westland
	VITAGLICH, Simeone[2]	Comisa	1887	Westport, Westland
	VUKOTA, John (Juan)	Ragusa [Dubrovnik]	1882	Lyttelton, Christchurch
1863	COVANCEVICH, Mitchell	Italy	1869	Hokitika, Westland
	HARACICH, Mark	Lussinpiccolo [Mali Losinj, Losinj]	1899	Port Chalmers, Dunedin
	TOMANOVICH, Pietro	Cattaro [Kotor, Boka Kotorska]	1909	Gibbston, Otago
	VRAGNIZAN, Peter	Cittavecchia [Starigrad, Hvar]	1871	Auckland
1864	GARGLIECEVICH, John	Vrisnich [Vrisnik, Hvar]	1908	Goldsborough, Westland

(1864)	OBUGLIEN, Antonio	Ragusa [Dubrovnik]	1870 Onehunga, Auckland
	SARICH, Antonio	Trieste	1899 Thames
	SENICH, Nicholas	Fiume [Rijeka]	1902 Waipu, Northland
1865	BARETICH, Andrew	Nace Bazio	1896 Callaghan's
	GROSSI, Biaggio	Perasto [Perast, Boka Kotorska]	1899 Nelson
	SCOPINICH, Romolo	Lucerne=Lussin [island of Losinj]	1894 Batley, Northland
1866	ARNERICH, Paul	Brazza [island of Brac]	1884 Goldsborough, Westland
	LUPIS, Paul[2]	Nakovan [Nakovan, Peljesac]	1903 Auckland
	POPOVICH, Vincent[2]	Dalmatia [prob. from Hvar]	1899 Goldsborough, Westland
	RADOVINICH, Nicholas	Cittavecchia [Starigrad, Hvar]	1882 Lyttleton
	SIMOTICH, Mariano	Austria, Dalmatia	1882 Lyttleton
	VOCASSIVICH, Andrew	Dalmatia [prob. from Kotor]	1886 Goldsborough, Westland
1867	BEBAN, Stephanus	Zlarin [island nr. Sibenik]	1901 Goldsborough, Westland
	DIAMANTE, Louis	Buccari [Bakar nr. Rijeka]	1899 Kumara, Westland
	POSCHICH, Raymond	Volosca [Volosko nr. Rijeka]	1899 Greymouth
1868	LISA, Samuel[2]	Ragusa [Dubrovnik]	1901 Riverton, Southland
	SCOPINICH, John	Lussin [island of Losinj]	1883 Foxes, Westland
	VISCOVICH, Joseph	Istria [Istra]	1882 Port Chalmers
	VUCASOVICH, Tripo	Cotara [Kotor]	1891 Kumara, Westland
1869	BLASCH, Carlo	Fiume [Rijeka]	1880 Coromandel
	SMITHELEH, Nicholas[2]	Ragusa [Dubrovnik]	1899 Greymouth
	TADICH, Samuel	Lissa [Vis]	1881 Goldsborough
1870	BOGDAN, Anton	Juliana	1910 Babylon, Northland
	SINGER, Bela	Vukovar [Vukovar, Croatia]	1874 Dunedin
1871	GELLETY, Antony	Fiume [Rijeka]	1883 Lyttleton
	STIGLICH, Antonio	Buccari [Bakar nr. Rijeka]	1904 Dunedin
1873	PUPICH, Theodore[2]	Herzegovina	1896 Lyell, Westland
	VOCASOVITCH, Thomas[2]	Cattaro [Kotor]	1905 Reefton, Westland

1874	ARNERICH, Simon[2]	Brazza [island of Brac]	1884 Goldsborough
	DEVESCOVI, Antonie	Istria [Istra]	1887 Dillmanstown, Westland
1875	BOCOY, Antony[2]	Austria	1887 Carterton
	LOUSICH, Louis[2]	Trieste	1900 Kumara, Westland
	SMEITH, James	Cherso [island of Cres]	1899 Balclutha, Otago
	STANICH, John	Kastua nr. Trieste	1899 Wellington
	ZEATECH, Joseph	Lagosta [Lastovo island]	1885 Eltham, Taranaki
1876	BACOVICH, Jerome	Nerezy [Nerezisce, Brac]	1890 Hunterville
	HARLEVITCH, Matthew	Austria	1894 Roxburgh, Otago
	POLLYA, George	Ragusa [Dubrovnik]	1887 Greymouth
	RAGOSIN, John	Trieste	1896 Rangiora, Canterbury
	STANICH, John	Gasbru	1886 Foxes, Westland
	VLACH, Antonio	Austria	1889 Dillmanstown, Westland
	VIDULICH, John	Lussin [island of Losinj]	1890 Lyttleton
1878	ARNERICH, Paolo G.	Brazza [island of Brac]	1884 Goldsborough
	GOSPODNETICH, Frank	Dol [Dol, Brac]	1893 Westport
	VELLA, Mariano	Makarska [Makarska nr. Split]	1896 Mana Island
1879	BEROZ, John	Nezzi	1908 Hokitika
	FELICE, Duze	Lussinpiccolo [Mali Losinj, Losinj]	1899 Coromandel
	GASPARICH, Antonio	Parenzo [Porec, Istra]	1887 Dargaville
	LUPIS, Florius[2]	Peljesac	1912 Whitianga, Coromandel
1880	STRETZ, John	Trappan [Trpanj, Peljesac]	1890 Taumutu, Canterbury
1881	BOZANTI, Antonio[2]	Lissa [island of Vis]	1890 Lyttleton
	CARAMAN, Natale	Ragusa Vechia [Cavtat nr. Dubrovnik]	1894 Onehunga, Auckland
	GIBENS, Matteo	Ragusa [Dubrovnik]	1890 Karamea, Westland
1882	CORICH, Joseph	Fiume [Rijeka]	1890 Wellington

1883	BALOERVICH, Giovanni	Dalmatia	1890	Goldsborough
	CARINA, Marcello	Portore [Kraljevica nr. Rijeka]	1887	Whitianga, Coromandel
	CORICH, Peter	Dalmatia [prob. from Rijeka]	1899	Wellington
	LUPIS, John	Orebich [Orebic, Peljesac]	1899	Waihopo, Northland.
	MATULLICH, Nicholas	Austria	1886	Westport
	SCIBILIA, Rosario	Trapani [Trpanj, Peljesac]	1893	Auckland

Notes:

1. The date of arrival is based upon the length of residence in New Zealand, as declared in the individual migrant's naturalisation file. Since such declarations are subject to some error and rounding-off (e.g. 15½ years becoming 15 years) the date of arrival must be regarded as a careful estimate (corroborated in some cases by additional information included in the migrant's naturalisation file).

2. These migrants were unable to sign their own names but made a mark witnessed by an approved person. In such cases there is an obvious need for caution with regard to the spelling of surnames and the correct recording of other personal details by persons unknown.

3. The strong Italian influence upon Dalmatia is reflected in the use of Italian placenames by many early migrants. Where possible the modern placename has been included in parentheses. A useful reference for this exercise was Appendix C 'Geographical Names' in Eterovich and Spalatin (1964, 369-374).

Sources:

Naturalisation Files, National Archives, Wellington.

A Pioneer

Nicholas SENTCH (SINCIC) born 1840 near Fiume (Rijeka), arrived in New Zealand in 1864, was naturalised in 1902 and died in Auckland in May 1928, aged 88 years.



Photograph

Nicholas Sentch with his son Alexander and daughter Anna (both children New Zealand-born). The photograph was probably taken in Auckland c. 1909/1910.

Nikola Sincic (Nicholas Sentch) left his native village near Fiume (Rijeka) in 1861 and went to India, eventually arriving in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1864 on the ship Calcutta from Rangoon. He was first employed at Mercury Bay in the timber industry. Though not a veteran of the so-called Maori War, Sentch did spend some time in the Rotorua and Taupo districts (with Captain Mair) during the troubles with Te Kooti Rikirangi (1868 - 1872). In 1879 Sentch was employed by the Telegraph Department as a linesman, first at Pahi for two years and then in Waipu from 1881 until his retirement in 1904. After his retirement he operated a boarding-house in Waipu for five years and in 1909 he moved to Auckland where he remained until his death in 1928.

Throughout his years in New Zealand he appears to have been in touch with other Yugoslav settlers. During the late 1860s he is known to have contacted a Vital Burich of Lyttelton (Christchurch) and a number of other early arrivals. Sentch's knowledge of Yugoslav settlers is, however, best indicated by his statement in evidence to the Royal Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry, 1898. Finally, his Waipu boarding-house provided not only 'board and residence' but also a meeting place for many of his countrymen in the district.

Source of biographical details: key details extracted from the personal papers of Nicholas Sentch by Mr. S. Jelicich, Auckland.

followed soon after by Simon Arnerich (1874) and Paolo G. Arnerich (1878); all three were naturalised at Goldsborough (a mining town in Westland) in 1884. Similarly (allowing for variations in the spelling of surnames), Andrew Vocassivich arrived in 1866 and was apparently followed by Tripo Vucasovich (1868) and Thomas Vocasovitch (1873). Mere chance also played its part in the establishment of contacts with New Zealand and the subsequent development of migration chains. For example, a group of nine (but thus far unnamed) Dalmatians shared a Tattersall's sweepstake win of about £9,000 in 1892, and at least one of these men is believed to have remitted his share of the money home. The sudden arrival of large numbers of Dalmatians over the next two years was popularly accounted for by this stroke of luck.[7]

Thanks to the success of a handful of pioneers, and those who followed soon after them, New Zealand gradually became known as a land of good prospects. The flow of information is well illustrated by Joze Veza (who arrived in 1896) and Sylvester Delich (who arrived in 1904), respectively.

> I left home when I was twenty years old, the first of our family to go overseas... news of New Zealand reached our village [Zivogosce] by way of other migrants; I heard about the gumdigging and the money to be made.[8]

> An uncle of mine had come out here [to New Zealand] before me in 1900... he made at least two trips home [to the village of Drvenik] ... so we knew about New Zealand... My father got the passage money from a chap who was out here before and had returned home.[9]

A successful migrant could also attract relations who had migrated elsewhere, as Ivan Veza (who arrived in 1908) relates:

> I stayed in America for two years... working in a factory in Colorado and also in the mines... I had no relations in America that I could contact... I didn't particularly like this situation. I heard from my two brothers in Herekino, New Zealand; they seemed to be doing all right so I thought I would join them. My brother Joze Veza helped pay for my passage to Herekino.[10]

It is important to stress the success of the pioneer for it was his example that helped potential migrants move from mere dissatisfaction with conditions at home to a decision to emigrate. The successful migrant is therefore an 'attraction', and a source of capital for the initiation of chain migration, perhaps of more significance than any of the push factors operating at home.

By 1900 the pioneer era had drawn to a close. With few exceptions families and villages throughout central Dalmatia had by that time established their contacts abroad, had acquired a comprehensive knowledge of possible destinations and had reached various stages in the development of their migration chains. It

can be concluded therefore that families, villages or districts with small contributions to (or absent from) the movement to New Zealand had either relatively unsuccessful pioneers in this part of the world or that such men had found success elsewhere - in Australia, the United States, Chile and Argentina. To illustrate this point one need only to compare the list of Dalmatian family names and origins in New Zealand (see Appendix 1) with that of Dalmatians in Louisiana (see Vujnovich 1974, 221-238).

Temporary Migration

As the trickle of pioneers developed into a well organised migrant flow it became obvious that the aspirations and desires crystallizing in Dalmatia toward the end of the nineteenth century had produced a distinctive type of migrant and pattern of migration. Young single men, rather than married men and families, dominated the outward flow. And with few exceptions these young men were temporary migrants intent on returning to Dalmatia.

Temporary migration remained as a major characteristic of the Yugoslavs in New Zealand until the early 1920s. Why did these young men wish to return to their homeland? In the previous chapter it was emphasised that new ideas and values from the developing urban, industrial centres of Europe were penetrating and altering the pre-industrial, peasant society of Dalmatia. Just one of the changes brought about was the breakdown of the collective way of life, which was slowly replaced by greater individualism. Consequently, toward the end of the 1800s, there grew a tremendous desire within most peasant families for self-sufficiency and independent landholder status. In many cases this desire was closely associated with a move to improve or consolidate a property as a heritage for future generations. These desires lay behind most of the temporary migration of young Dalmatians - not only to New Zealand, but to all other destinations as well.

Govorchin (1961, 54-55) writes:

> The South Slavs who entered the United States during this period [1899-1910] came... with the idea of making as much money as they could in as short a time as possible and then return to their old homes.

Similar views have been expressed by Price (1963a, 30-31), with regard to southern Europeans in Australia, and by Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, 191) in their massive study on the Poles at home and abroad.

Table 2.5

Yugoslav Arrivals and Departures 1897-1920: An Evaluation of the Extent of Temporary Migration to New Zealand

Period of Arrival in New Zealand	1897-1901	1902-1906	1907-1911	1912-1916	1917-1920	Totals
Total Arrivals (A)	1538	1841	1192	890	10	5471
Total Arrivals still in N.Z. in 1921 (B)	202	368	517	398	8	(1493)
Length of Residence not specified 1921	(78 not specified, therefore 1493 + 78 = 1571) →					1571
Population Loss: (A) minus (B) = (C)	1336	1473	675	492	2	3900
Population Loss: (C) as percentage of (A)	86.8	80.0	56.6	55.3	20.0	71.1

Sources: Arrivals 1897-1906 Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand (arrivals by birthplace - 'Austria', 'Serbia').

1907-1920 Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand (arrivals by birthplace - 'Austria', 'Serbia', 'Yugoslavia').

Residence, 1921 Census of the Population of the Dominion of New Zealand: Part 3 Birthplaces 1921 (Birthplaces by sex and length of residence; included in these statistics are 66 'Austrians' distributed as follows - 16 (1897-1901), 20 (1902-1906), 20 (1907-1911), 8 (1912-1916), and 2 (1917-1920).).

> ... there are many in the community... who cannot hope to advance if they stay in the country [Poland]. Most of them indeed can live as hired labourers, servants or proprietors of small pieces of land and earning some money in addition by outside work... but they are no longer satisfied with such an existence; they want a better future 'if not for ourselves at least for our children'... This is the essential change of attitude which accounts for the simultaneous appearance and enormous development both of emigration and land hunger... When a peasant emigrates it is usually with the desire to earn ready money and return home and buy land.

For the married men among those coming to New Zealand there was also a financial barrier to permanent migration, namely passage costs of up to £200 for a family of five or six. The same amount could maintain a family at home for at least five years. Such considerations make it easier to understand the haste of a young migrant in amassing a petty fortune of £300 prior to returning to Dalmatia "where he could live upon it as well as a man with £3000 in New Zealand."[11]

In the absence of official statistics for both permanent and temporary departures from New Zealand prior to 1920 an attempt to estimate the extent of temporary migration to New Zealand has been made via the procedure outlined in Table 2.5. Results obtained indicate losses (by 1921) ranging from 86.8 percent of arrivals between 1897 and 1901 to 20 percent of arrivals between 1917 and 1920, with an overall loss of 71 percent of all arrivals 1897-1920. If it were possible to adjust the figure for total arrivals, to eliminate those migrants returning to New Zealand after visits to Dalmatia, the overall percentage loss could conceivably be reduced to around 60 percent. For the period 1921-1940 the percentage loss was very much lower, being approximately 15 to 20 percent of total arrivals intending permanent residence. As an indication of the shift from temporary to permanent settlement in New Zealand, it is worth noting that between 1921 and 1940 there were only 180 permanent Yugoslav departures as compared with 782 temporary departures.

During the 1930s and 1940s return migration to Yugoslavia was, of course, initially delayed by the adversities of economic depression and then prohibited by wartime conditions. The backlog created under these circumstances resulted in a significant (and controversial) post-war net migration loss (see Table 2.1). For a guide to the characteristics of this backlog it is worth noting that among the 105 adults departing for Yugoslavia on the Radnik (14 February 1948), 58 were in the age group 50 years and over and only 34 were naturalised New Zealanders. Similarly, of the 21 adults who departed on the Partizanka (24 January 1949), 16 were over 50 years of age and (although 15 of the 21 had resided in New Zealand for at least 20 years) only 6 were naturalised.

Comparisons with Yugoslav immigrants in both Australia and the United States show marked similarities. Price (1963a, 101-102) states that between 1922 and 1940 about 45 percent of Yugoslav adult male immigrants later left Australia and did not return, the percentage prior to 1920 being even higher. For the United States, Roucek (1948) estimated that about 44 percent of all arrivals up to 1930 returned to Yugoslavia, while figures presented by Colakovic (1973, 52) for the period 1908-1923 indicate higher return migration among Serbs, Montenegrins, Croatians and Slovenians than among Dalmatians and Bosnians (no doubt reflecting the older, established character of Dalmatian settlement).

Social Control

The continuity of control exercised by the home community over temporary emigrants is an important feature of migration that is often neglected. If, for example, the emigrant was really 'uprooted' when he left his homeland, then the obstacles to assimilation in the host society would almost certainly be less formidable.

Social control over the pioneer was relatively loose, if it existed at all. It was in the interests of the community to allow these wanderers freedom to search for the success and wealth that they both desired. Besides, it was practically impossible to keep in regular touch with men of no fixed residence and occupation. Later emigrants following in the footsteps of pioneers were, however, subject to often rigid control. There was now no problem of maintaining contact as within the framework of chain migration the emigrant moved to a definite destination often under the sponsorship of close relations. The position of the temporary emigrants was carefully defined as an extension of the 'old' community in Europe, developed to carry out certain functions.

Letters, included in the private papers of a deceased Dalmatian migrant in New Zealand, make it possible to examine the type and durability of the functions and obligations of temporary migrants. In addition the nature and degree of social control exercised by the home community over its members temporarily abroad can also be gauged. As a reply to those who may regard one migrant's letters as atypical, personal interviews with many other migrants have established that the letters are indeed quite typical of those received in New Zealand from relations in Dalmatia.[12]

For reasons outlined previously, economic obligations and functions were predominant among those imposed on the migrant. This is clearly illustrated in the following extracts.

> Something has happened to us - our sister Mare got married to Ferlanov's son but they haven't got a house... For this reason she and her husband are living with me. But it is hard to live like this, so if there is any chance I would be very pleased if you would pay the passage for them and get a permit to bring them over to you... (8 October, 1920)

> If you can, as I have written, send that money. But try to send it by cable as they are now sending from America... see that by any means you send something to your mother. (23 October, 1920)

> I have finished the fourth grade in the high school with good results, but they have been bad years as I have been living away from home on board... My dear uncle, I would like to go next year to study further in Split but it is difficult to live over here (times are hard throughout the country) - it is hard to keep a student in his own home but it is harder when he is away from home, therefore please help me with something if you can. I think you can because over here I have heard well of you. Do not forget us, because others have not forgotten their relations and every now and again write and send something to their relations. (12 December, 1920).

> Now I beg you to send me a raincoat (E. L. Royal Green Canvas Feather Weight Coat, size 6). I beg you to do this for me and send it to me before the winter. (16 July, 1924).

> Some time ago I sent you a letter that Dr. S----- was looking at my debts and other things. On 4 September a commission is to come from the lawyer to value your share of the inheritance because the lawyer will not wait any longer. I went to him and begged him to extend the date of payment because you had sent me a telegram to send you the figure of the debt, and that you will fix it up... So I ask you to deal with this. I would if I could, and it would be a shame and a pity that someone else were to buy our father's land for a couple of hundred dinars. (3 September, 1930).

In general the emigrant dutifully responded to these calls for help, living in the cheapest way possible and working long hours. If, however, he was prevented from fulfilling his obligations (by unemployment, sickness, war) he made known his plight and affirmed his readiness to help as soon as possible. A response to the call for help was rarely regarded in terms of proper behaviour. It was in fact what Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, 103) termed "unreflective social behaviour" when they observed the same phenomenon among the Poles. While on the one hand such behaviour indicates relative freedom from individualistic desires, on the other it also reveals the immigrants faith in the fact that someday he would be returning home - returning with the resources to buy or improve land and buildings and to become independent.

But individualistic desires become increasingly evident after some years abroad, rising in intensity if the emigrant suffered hardships, a lack of security or if the decision was made to settle abroad permanently.[13] When such changes occurred the emigrant noticed an exasperating sameness in the complaints of hard times at home. Often he would ask himself "Why don't they come out and try it?" Before long, letters from home indicated an awareness of this change.

> Mother received your letter today and it made us very happy to find out that you are still alive and well, but mother was very sorry to hear that you are married... (8 October, 1920).

> I am very surprised that we receive no letters from you... Everyone asks me what has happened with your brother and I cannot through shame tell them that you are not writing to us. Others have relations overseas and even if they are at the ends of the earth all at least write and send something. But you never write now or send anything. (17 November, 1924).

Another indicator of the advance of individualism and 'adaptation' to the new society and environment is the response to the parent's call to return to Dalmatia.

> My son do not be so hard hearted that I too die like your late father without first seeing you. Plainly I tell you to come home... (26 October, 1911).

> My dear son, I understood everything that you said in your letter, everything is all right, but not for me because I am worrying about you and I want to see you... I am too old and not in the best of health. God knows how long I have left to live, He has said His Mass and sent for His bread... it is time for you to come home so that I can see you, then I wouldn't worry even if you went back again. (9 March, 1913).

In this particular case the call to return was made in vain. Both Joseph Segetin[14] and John Kabalin[15] on the other hand complied with parental directives.

> While I was in San Jose I received a letter from my father, from home, telling me that my brother Charlie had gone to New Zealand... he wanted me to leave California and go to New Zealand to join my brother Charlie. On my father's advice and to please him I left California for New Zealand in February 1894.

> I first came to New Zealand as a young lad of 18 years shortly after 1 June 1896 and occupied myself with gumdigging for five years until 1901 mostly around Dargaville, Babylon, etc.,... After five years I returned at the summons of my father to the homeland.

Unlike the family groups that emigrated from northern and western Europe, the temporary migrant from Dalmatia was not 'uprooted'. Letters kept him in contact with the homeland, informed him of his family's fortunes and (more often) misfortunes, passed on village gossip as well as news of friends at home or else-

where, and reminded him of both his initial intentions and his obligations. Only a renouncement of these obligations and intentions could truly define the emigrant as 'uprooted' from the homeland. Even then the Dalmatian in New Zealand was still closely tied to his ethnic community by a network of primary social relationships, built up and sustained by continuing chain migration. Such conditions inevitably impeded assimilation into the host society.

Changing Patterns of Immigration

Before 1920 the Dalmatian immigrants were mainly young men in search of work and wealth with little or no intention of settling in New Zealand. Most of the men were unmarried. A survey of 1,380 Dalmatians listed as New Zealand residents in 1916 revealed that only 417 (or 30.2 percent) were married.[16] In 1893 a much lower proportion was recorded when only 17 out of 514 (or 3.3 percent) were registered as married.[17] Very few of the wives accompanied their husbands unless a decision had been made in favour of permanent settlement. Even then a lack of funds to cover passage costs usually imposed a delay between the arrival of the man and his wife. For the single men the decision to settle abroad, and the associated desire to marry, often resulted in a brief visit to Dalmatia in search of a wife. There must have been many such cases among the 717 temporary departures by males and the arrival of 589 females intending permanent residence over the period 1920 to 1939.

The increasing number of females is the first important change, for it marks the transition from chain migration of young working males as temporary migrants to chain migration for permanent settlement abroad. Before 1920 females accounted for only 3.34 percent of arrivals, climbing to 34.4 percent for the period 1920 to 1939 and to 39.7 percent for the years 1940 to 1974 (45.8 percent 1940 to 1964, prior to the influx of male contract workers). The grossly unbalanced male-female ratio of the community was to some extent corrected; in 1901 the ratio per 100 of the total Yugoslav community was 91 males to 9 females, compared with 81:19 in 1936 and 62:38 in 1971. With few exceptions the women (as wives, new brides or fiancees) were from either the same village or the same district as the men, thus strengthening the links of chain migration and enhancing the phenomenon of a restricted area of origin.

Prior to 1949 Yugoslav settlement in New Zealand was relatively homogeneous in character. Though part of the East European slav bloc the Dalmatians (a geographic sub-group of the Croatian ethnic group) have, by virtue of their

Table 2.6

Yugoslav Arrivals 1949-1967 Classified by Type and Birthplace

Birthplace	Dalmatian Chain Migrants	Displaced Persons	Refugees	Other Chain Migrants	Remainder	Total Arrivals No.	Total Arrivals %
Yugoslavia N.O.D.	2	14	21	3	7	47	2.80
Slovenia	-	34	32	11	6	83	4.95
Croatia (exclud. Dalmatia)	8	42	70	31	18	169	10.09
Dalmatia	898	9	34	9	11	961	57.40
Serbia	4	107	30	37	12	190	11.35
Bosnia-Hercegovina	2	21	15	5	8	51	3.04
Macedonia	-	42	5	18	1	66	3.94
Montenegro	-	7	3	3	-	13	0.77
Others born abroad[1]	7	19	24	2	2	54	3.22
Italo-Slavs (?)[2]	-	1	32	6	1	40	2.38
Total	921	296	266	125	66	1674	100.00

1. Of Yugoslav parentage but born in D.P. or refugee camp in Italy, Austria, Germany or Egypt.

2. Data not sufficiently clear as to whether or not the migrant is of Italian allegiance and/or culture. Most of those in this category were born in the former Italian possessions in Yugoslavia.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, 1949-1967.

geographic location and past history, religious and linguistic ties with central and southern Europe. In contrast to their Serbian brothers they are predominantly Roman Catholic rather than adherents of the Orthodox Church and use a latinate rather than a cyrillic alphabet. The period since 1949, however, has been marked by the arrival of non-Dalmatian migrants, principally displaced persons and refugees, who have also initiated small migration chains. Together these new arrivals account for about 40 percent of post-war Yugoslav immigrants, and with their heterogeneous ethnic and cultural backgrounds have modified the former homogeneous character of Yugoslav settlement. For example, of the 296 displaced persons admitted since 1945, 146 were Roman Catholic, 126 Orthodox, 16 Moslem and 8 adherents of other Christian sects.[18]

Each of the Yugoslav migrant groups are best defined on the basis of mode of migration and conditions of admission to New Zealand. Yugoslav displaced persons were admitted as part of the International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.) resettlement scheme during the years 1949-1952, the bulk arriving as part of the Hellenic Prince (1950) and Goya (1951) drafts. Many had been displaced by war, but a proportion of this group consisted of former P.O.W.s in Germany and Italy who had declined to return to Yugoslavia. The refugees, sometimes referred to as hard-core or handicapped refugees, were admitted initially as part of New Zealand's commitment to World Refugee Year in 1958 and later on humanitarian grounds. In general the refugees were persons who, for political and/or religious reasons, 'escaped' across the borders into Austria and Italy during the 1950's. The migrants included in the category 'Remainder' (Table 2.6) are persons (often with special skills) sponsored by government agencies (8), private employers (19), or admitted as wives or husbands of 'British' and New Zealand citizens (23). Among those with special skills were four veterinarians and their families who arrived during 1966 and early 1967. Finally, for lack of data, sixteen migrants in the 'Remainder' category were left 'undefined'.

A popular misconception of the 'hard-core' or 'handicapped' refugees is that they are persons whose working capacity is considerably reduced because of a physical disability. In refugee resettlement terminology 'handicapped refugee' simply means a person who is difficult to resettle for any one of a number of reasons; illiteracy, over age (45 years plus), having a penal record, previous history of tuberculosis, physical disability, and so on. An examination of records for the 266 Yugoslavs admitted in this category revealed that at least 33 percent were in no way 'handicapped' apart from belonging to family groups which included one or more 'handicapped' members. Only 4.8 percent had a specific

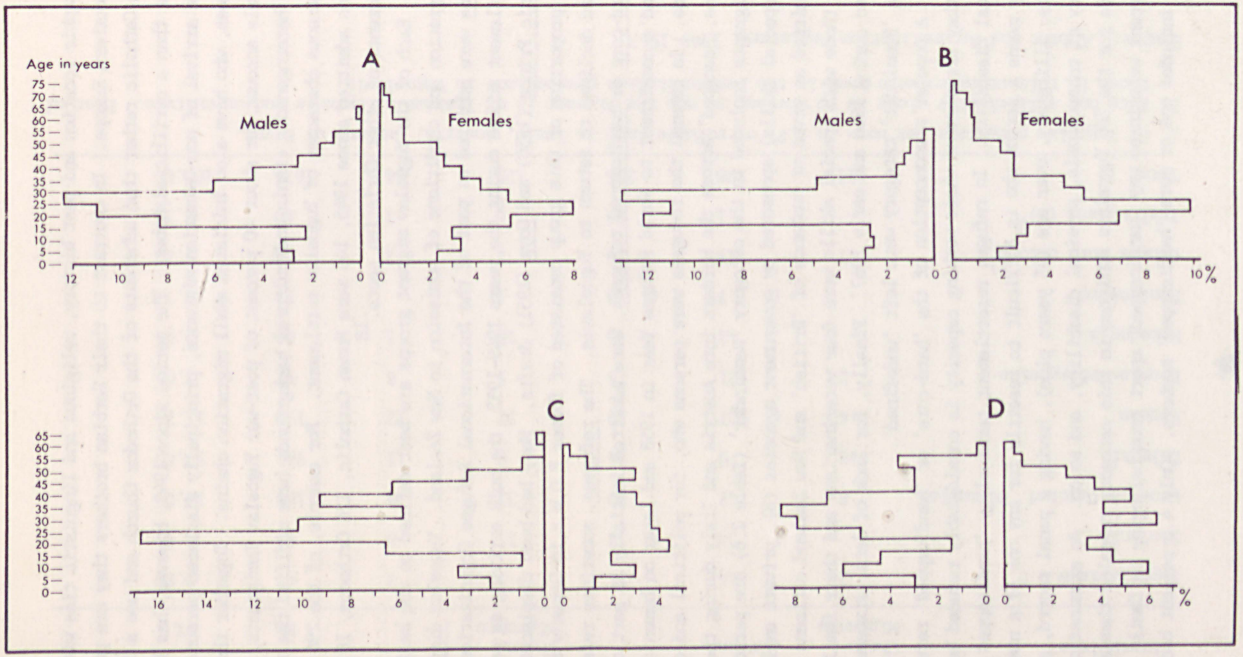


FIGURE 2.2 Age–Sex Structures of Yugoslav Arrivals, 1949–1967. A: Total Arrivals. B: Dalmatian Chain Migrants 1950–1967. C: Displaced Persons, 1949–1952. D: Hard-core Refugees 1958–1966

physical disability, 4.5 percent a background history of tuberculosis, 10.9 percent other medical handicaps, while 7.5 percent were over age and 8.6 percent belonged to large families with too many non-working dependents. Data for the remaining 30 percent were vague and gave no clear indication of any specific handicap.[19]

Demographic characteristics of the post-war arrivals are illustrated in Figure 2.2. In terms of age, sex, and marital status, significant contrasts appear between each of the component groups. As expected a high proportion of the Dalmatians were young single migrants, whereas the refugees were generally older married migrants with young dependents. Dominated by young single males, the displaced persons included also a number of married migrants and their children.

Despite the high proportion of arrivals under thirty years of age, the community has been marked by a trend toward senility. In 1921, over 45 percent of the Yugoslav residents were between 25 and 35 years of age - typical of a male dominated 'pioneer' community - but by 1936 only 23 percent were in this age group. This trend has continued into the present decade. Thus 42 percent of the Yugoslavs were over 55 years of age in 1971 compared with less than 5 percent in 1921. A lower rate of immigration, insufficient to counter the natural ageing of permanent residents, and the arrival of 'older' refugees and displaced persons are the principal causes. It is worth noting here that the number of Yugoslavs resident in New Zealand actually declined from 3,874 to 3,779 (percentage loss of -2.5) over the period 1966 to 1971. Available evidence suggests that the death rate in this ageing population is barely compensated for by the inflow of new arrivals.

Since 1945 the pattern of chain migration has again altered, indicating a well established Dalmatian community with a high proportion of completed family units (Table 2.7). Only 29.7 percent of the Dalmatians were sponsored by members of a nuclear family (parent, spouse, son, daughter, brother or sister), as compared with 63.2 percent of those sponsored by former displaced persons and refugees. Each of the two latter groups are actively completing denuded nuclear families or assisting married nuclear family members. There is, however, still evidence of 'classic' chain migration among the Dalmatian arrivals; 11.8 percent of the females were sponsored by a fiance in New Zealand, while 15 percent were sponsored by husbands, but 32.9 percent of arrivals were assisted by uncles or aunts. With the virtual disappearance of most of the original 'push' factors in migration from Dalmatia, it appears that the 'attractions' (of kinfolk in

particular) remain as incentives for the young and single migrants. Perhaps chain migration has also, over a period of half a century, generated its own raison d'etre.

Table 2.7

Yugoslav Chain Migrants Classified by Sponsor in New Zealand, 1951 - 1967

Sponsor in New Zealand	Dalmatian Chain Migrants				Other Chain Migrants			
	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%
No Data	26	25	51	5.54	-	-	-	-
Father and/or Mother	35	25	60	6.51	9	12	21	16.80
Husband/Wife	-	64	64	6.95	3	13	16	12.80
Son and/or Daughter	2	10	12	1.30	5	6	11	8.80
Brother/Sister	82	56	138	14.98	18	13	31	24.80
Uncle and/or Aunt	233	70	303	32.90	6	3	9	7.20
Niece/Nephew	-	1	1	0.11	-	-	-	-
Fiance/Fiancee[1]	5	50	55	5.97	4	5	9	7.20
Relative of Husb/Wife	15	53	68	7.38	6	7	13	10.40
Minor accompanying Parents	64	56	120	13.03	5	8	13	10.40
Others	27	12	39	4.23	2	-	2	1.60
Total	499	422	921	100.00	58	67	125	100.00

1. Includes those previously married by proxy.

Source: 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand'. Department of Labour and Immigration, Wellington.

A more recent group of Yugoslav arrivals (1966-1968) are the 238 skilled 'contract workers' recruited by Fletcher Industries Ltd. and the Utah Construction and Mining Company. Both of these companies, engaged upon major construction projects, were faced by a shortage of skilled labour. Government approval was therefore sought and gained for the temporary admittance of boilermakers, carpenters, welders, and general mechanics for work on the Marsden Point Power Station and to fill other vacancies in the Fletcher Industries organisation, and for skilled tunnellers to be employed on the Manapouri Hydro Electric Power Scheme by the Utah Construction Company. The arrival and employment of these migrants attracted considerable publicity partly because of unemployment in New Zealand and,

in the case of those employed at Manapouri, because of alleged feuds between migrant and indigenous workers over trade qualifications and language difficulties.[20] Data from the Labour Department indicate that the migrants were in fact well qualified for their work, either on the basis of formal training or on the grounds of previous experience on construction projects in Yugoslavia. A high proportion of the young (83 percent under thirty years of age), single (84 per cent) migrants recruited by Fletcher Industries have since settled in New Zealand and many have submitted applications for entry of fiancees and relations. The tunnellers recruited by the Utah Construction and Mining Company, however, were older (61 percent over thirty years of age), married (80 percent) migrants and with only a few exceptions returned to Yugoslavia.

Immigration Restrictions

The Kauri Gum Industry Act, 1898 created gumfield reserves which were to be exclusively exploited by 'British' diggers. 'Aliens' (i.e. those without British citizenship) were permitted to dig upon these reserves only after becoming naturalised British subjects. Even outside the reserves aliens required a licence to dig, and this licence could be obtained only upon completion of a three months residential qualification. The Act of 1898, however, was more than just a measure to aid the indigenous digger in competition with aliens - it was an attempt to stem the flow of temporary Dalmatian immigrants who were almost completely occupied upon the gumfields of North Auckland. As Premier Seddon (perhaps recalling the earlier example of Chinese gold miners) put it...

> ... the legislature had passed an Act which practically forbade in given terms their coming here because it had been announced that they could not get licences for gumdigging until they had been here three months. That was a gentle intimation by the legislature that we would not have them here.[21]

Further restrictive measures were passed in the Kauri Gum Industry Act, 1908 and Amendment Act, 1910; under the terms of the latter Act, British subjects alone could hold licences to dig for Kauri gum. Each of these Acts revealed the occupational and economic fears of a relatively small group within New Zealand society, who saw the Dalmatians as "birds of passage" whose labours and monetary gains were of no benefit to the Colony.

At first, immigration restrictions outside the occupational sphere were almost insignificant. The Immigration Restriction Act, 1899 and the education test were, for the Dalmatians, largely ineffective on Seddon's own admission.

> 175 Austrians [Dalmatians] have arrived during the six months ending 30th September 1903. Only one of these failed to pass the education test.[22]

A more severe restriction (apparently in support of the Kauri Gum Industry Act, 1898) was briefly imposed in 1900 when a number of Dalmatians were permitted to land only after the shipping company had given a bond of £10 per individual as a guarantee that they would not become a charge upon the state.

The introduction of the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1920, marked the first step toward tighter immigration control. Persons of non-British parentage were now required to submit an application form (in any European language) to obtain an entry permit. For Yugoslavs, provided the immigrant was literate, of good health and character, the permit system existed as a mere formality. Between 1922 and 1929 a total of 2,351 permits were granted to Yugoslavs, but only 1,588 applicants entered New Zealand.

Unfortunately the very success of Yugoslavs, Italians and Greeks in gaining entry aroused public dissatisfaction and provoked a review of immigration policy. Southern Europeans, and Yugoslavs in particular, were now becoming persona non grata. Ponton (1946, 76-77) reports that on the 18th January 1926 Cabinet decided to continue admitting Yugoslavs until their numbers reached 3,500 and thereafter only the wives, fiancees, fiances and minor children of permanent Yugoslav residents. The government felt that Yugoslavs formed settlements of their own, that they were not assimilated into the population and were therefore undesirable immigrants. It seems that one result of this move was a rapid increase in the number and proportion of female arrivals.

While the conditions of entry had become more difficult the Dalmatians themselves contributed to a further deterioration of their image in the eyes of the New Zealand authorities. Mention must be made, for example, of the abuse of the 'fiancee concession', a matter referred to by the Comptroller of Customs in letters to J. M. Totich (then acting as Yugoslav Consul in New Zealand).

> I would point out that they [the women] are not complying with the terms of their permits if they marry persons other than those whose names were shown in their permits...[23]

> Between 1/7/1929 and 12/6/1930 there were 14 cases of young girls arriving in New Zealand supposedly engaged to Yugoslav residents in New Zealand, but at date of writing had still failed to comply with regulations of marriage within thirty days after arrival in New Zealand.[24]

Given the regulations laid down the position of the authorities is perfectly understandable, particularly in the light of an advertisement which appeared in the New Zealand Herald (8 April, 1930): "Dalmatian girl 22, just arrived from home, wishes

correspond with Dalmatian, view marriage." Before long the fiancee concession was replaced by that of proxy marriages.

New Zealand was not alone in passing restrictive immigration legislation of this kind. In 1901, Australia prohibited the entry of persons likely to become a charge on public funds and in 1924 introduced an Act prohibiting the entry of any alien not possessing a written guarantee of employment from a sponsor in Australia or £40 of his own (a direct response to unemployment among southern Europeans). However, it is legislation passed in the United States which deserves special mention as American attitudes may possibly have influenced immigration policy in both Australia and New Zealand. The most significant feature of the United States legislation enacted between 1917 and 1924 was the sharp distinction made between immigrants from northern and western Europe and those from southern and eastern Europe. This distinction was noted by Handlin (1957, 75-76) who offered the following explanation.

> One fundamental premise lay behind the immigration legislation of 1917 to 1924... Embodied in the quota system this premise held that the national origin of an immigrant was a reliable indication of his capacity for Americanization. It was averred and science seemed to show that some people, because of their racial or national constitution, were more capable of becoming Americans than others. Furthermore it was argued that the 'old immigrants' who came to the United States before 1880 were drawn from the superior stocks of northern and western Europe... The Act of 1924 which pushed the base quota year back to 1890 and consolidated the theory of national origins was motivated by ... convictions as to the inferiority of the 'new immigrants'.

It is difficult to avoid the impression that similar (if not the same) attitudes toward southern Europeans guided policy in New Zealand. Turning again to Ponton (1946, 121-122), we find that:

> In 1937 the demands of the Yugoslavs for admission to New Zealand became very insistent (Report of Comptroller to Minister 11/1/1940, C33/24). However it was considered that they were not a suitable type of immigrant for they seldom became fully absorbed into the population. They maintained contact with their country of origin, live in separate communities and have little to do with outsiders.

This unfavourable view of the Yugoslavs, graphically revealed in Lochore's (1951) slender volume From Europe to New Zealand: An Account of our Continental European Settlers, influenced government policy until the early 1950s. In 1953, for example, the Director of Employment in reply to an inquiry for the entry of a young Yugoslav girl stated:

> There are... many of these applications for one or two children out of a family group, especially so with Yugoslavs. The Department's view is that if the Government's policy to bring Yugoslav immigration to an end is to be effected, applications of this nature must be declined. Such applications start off a new family and there is certain to be pressure brought to bear at a later date for other members of the family to follow...[25]

Much of the problem rests upon an understanding of the mechanics of chain migration and its effect upon the composition and character of ethnic settlements in the host society. Unfortunately, current immigration policy, though more liberal than in the past, is perpetuating the very 'problems' or aspects of Yugoslav settlement of which immigration officials are critical. Admission to New Zealand is allowed for most non-British migrants within a defined degree of relationship with permanent residents in New Zealand. The New Zealand resident, usually no more distantly related than uncle, aunt, nephew or niece (see Table 2.7), acts as a sponsor and is required to arrange or provide employment and accommodation. In terms of residential concentration and social segregation the results of such a policy are obvious and will be discussed at a later stage in this study.

Current policy not only favours close relations as migrants, but determines also the rate of immigration, the socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants and hence the character of the ethnic community. Applications for relatives are considered only when the most recently arrived relative has resided in New Zealand for at least two years, though exceptions are made in certain cases. Entry is limited to persons between 18 and 45 years of age. The minimum age (for young people unless they are accompanied by their parents) was imposed to ensure that young migrants were well cared for and not exploited in the labour field. The upper age limit is not aimed at excluding older people but to limiting their admittance because of the problem of providing for the welfare and accommodation of New Zealand's older age group. There is, however, clear evidence of discrimination on the basis of nationality. For instance, in the case of 'favoured nationals' such as Dutch, Swiss and Danes, over-age parents between 45 and 55 years are accepted when one of their children has been in New Zealand for at least three years. If the parents are over 55 years of age all the children must be here and one of them for at least three years. For Yugoslavs, however, it has not been the policy to extend the same treatment to over-age parents as it has been in the case of 'favoured nationals' unless the relations in New Zealand are prepared to sign a Deed of Covenant, which is in fact a guarantee by the signatories that they will indemnify the New Zealand government against all costs, charges and expenses that

may be incurred in the maintenance or relief of the immigrant.[26] This potential financial burden has discouraged the immigration of many older parents, although exceptions to such restrictions can be (and are) made for humanitarian reasons.

Given the above regulations the conclusions to be drawn are painfully obvious. Underlying immigration policy for Yugoslavs and other southern and eastern Europeans there has been an official view of immigration and assimilation that stressed the desirability of immigrants with a cultural background similar to that of most New Zealanders. Preference has been clearly expressed for British, western or northern Europeans. Like American legislation for the period 1917 to 1924, therefore, New Zealand's immigration policy has rested upon the premise that the national origin of an immigrant is a reliable indication of his or her capacity for assimilation. Translated into policy this premise has had, since the mid 1920s, a marked influence upon the numbers and characteristics of Yugoslavs settling in New Zealand.

Footnotes

1. For arrivals 1949-1967 data were collected from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers (Department of Internal Affairs) and from 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand' and 'Entry Permits' (Department of Labour and Immigration). Case histories for 1,674 migrants were subsequently produced by the integration of data from these sources. As the figure of 1,674 falls short of the 2,254 Yugoslav arrivals officially recorded, the following exclusions should be noted. Migrants born in Yugoslavia but not ethnically Slavs have been omitted; for example, approximately 130 Italians born in the Julian region, Istria, Fiume [Rijeka] and Zadar [Zara] which were pre-war Italian possessions within the present day boundaries of Yugoslavia. Also, as records are kept for 'aliens' only, all Yugoslavs arriving with British or Australian citizenship have been excluded for lack of data.

2. Table 2.2 now replaces earlier, limited versions included in Trlin (1967a), Trlin (1970) and Trlin (1978).

3. Novara shipping list held by Mr. S. Jelicich, of Auckland.

4. Another migrant, born in Ragusa [Dubrovnik], named William Jacob Marsh also arrived in 1857 and was naturalised in 1876. Whether or not this migrant is a Dalmatian who changed his name is impossible to prove and he is therefore not included in the list of pioneers.

5. Quoted (from a statement by Ljubo Lupis, a son of Paul Lupis) by R. Gilmore 'New Zealand's Slavs' The Auckland Star, 7 June, 1956.

6. Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry in New Zealand. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, Vol. 3, H. 12, 34-35.

7. See reference listed in footnote 6 above, pages 61-62 (Evidence of Hon. Edwin Mitchelson M.P.).

8. From personal interview with Joze Veza, January 1965 in Herekino, North Auckland, New Zealand.

9. From personal interview with Sylvester Delich, January 1965 in Sweetwater, North Auckland, New Zealand.

10. From personal interview with Ivan Veza, January 1965 in Herekino, North Auckland, New Zealand.

11. See reference listed in footnote 6 above, pages 19-20 (Evidence of William Reynolds).

12. The letters are included in the papers of the late J. M. Totich, and are held by his daughter Mrs. M. Clapham of Auckland. Translations of these letters were prepared by myself with assistance from Mrs. Marusich during the period of thesis research in late 1965 and early 1966.

13. J. M. Totich did in fact decide to settle permanently in New Zealand, and married a non-Yugoslav girl in Dargaville. He was naturalised in 1903 at which time his occupation was given as 'farmer' at Red Hill (near Dargaville).

14. Extract from a letter written by J. Segetin to J. M. Totich in January 1949. This letter is part of the Totich papers but a full copy is included as an appendix in Trlin (1967a).

15. Extract from a letter written by J. Kabalin to J. M. Totich in December 1948. A translation of the original is included as an appendix in Trlin (1967a).

16. Data compiled from the Register of Aliens 1917 which was based on individual returns for the 1916 Census.

17. Cited in the report of the Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry, 1893. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1893, H.24.

18. Data from Nominal Rolls of I.R.O. Displaced Persons held by the Aliens Registration and Naturalisation Division, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.

19. See Schou (1966) for a full discussion of such refugees. Data cited here were compiled from 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand', Department of Labour and Immigration, Wellington.

20. The following are among the more prominent newspaper reports: 'Foreign Labour Wrong While New Zealand Has Jobless' Evening Post 6 July 1967; 'Minister Hits at Foreign Labour Critics' The Dominion 8 July 1967; 'Foreigners Help Kiwis in Work' Evening Post 8 July 1967; 'West Armers in Language Feud' New Zealand Truth 11 July 1967; 'Ample New Zealand Labour to Drive Tunnels, He Claims' Evening Post 22 July 1967; 'More Labour From Yugoslavia' Evening Post 20 September 1967. For a general discussion of the foreign labour issue see Trlin (1969, 30-32).

21. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1900, Vol. 112 page 328. For further details of actions taken during this period, readers should consult the Seddon Collection (Seddon 20/1 and 20/2 Memoranda for His Excellency the Governor and Copies of Minutes, Letters... relating to influx of Austrians into the Colony for the Purpose of Becoming Gumdiggers, 1898-1902) in the New Zealand National Archives, Wellington.

22. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1903, Vol. 126 page 649.

23. Letter to J. M. Totich, 12 June 1930, reference number C33/147.

24. Letter to J. M. Totich, 30 April 1930, reference number C33/147.

25. Department of Labour and Immigration, file H.O. 91670, letter dated 16 December 1953.

26. Department of Labour and Immigration, file H.O. 152506, letter dated 9 January 1961.

3

THE GUMDIGGERS

What is kauri gum and where was it found? Kauri gum is formed when resin exudes from cracks or damage to the bark and branches of the kauri tree (Agathis australis), hardening on exposure to air. There are two types of kauri gum: 'tree gum', which can only be obtained from living trees (for example, by deliberate 'bleeding'), and 'fossil gum', which can be dug from areas north of 38° latitude where kauri forests had once flourished. It was upon the extraction of fossil gum that the industry was based. Found under lake beds, swamps, sand dunes and on higher ground, the best quality fossil gum came from the open fern lands of Northland while the swamps generally yielded gum of a lower quality. In the early 1890s the main gumdigging area was along the Northern Wairoa River, but twenty years later the most productive area was north of Kaitaia and Awanui. At the height of the boom period the 1898 Commission, which investigated the industry in depth, estimated that the gumfields totalled 814,000 acres of which 435,000 acres were Crown lands.

The industry developed rapidly once kauri gum was recognised as a resin suitable for the manufacture of both varnish and linoleum. Despite often sharp fluctuations the boom period in terms of export tonnage was from about 1890 to 1914, with the greatest tonnage for any one year being reached in 1899 with 11,116 tons valued at about £60 per ton. For the years 1901 - 1910 kauri gum ranked third in value (at £5,083,614) after wool and gold for exports from Auckland

Province. Gumdigging helped to sustain small village settlements, contributed to the expansion of some towns and was a key factor behind the influx of population into the northern counties during the 1890s. It was also a basic source of income during periods of economic adversity. In 1892, for example, it was reported that at Kaitaia:

> Depression alone rules. Gumdigging is the order here, settlers finding it hard to make both ends meet. Missionaries, farmers, storekeepers and their assistants have gone to the gumfields. (New Zealand Herald, 26 July 1892, page 6).

Finally, even under normal conditions, settlers on small holdings throughout Northland relied on gumdigging as a source of capital to finance property development and as a source of extra money when farming work was slack. For a great many of these settlers gumdigging made the difference between failure and success, between poverty and prosperity.

To suggest, however, that only benefits accrued from gumdigging would be far from the truth. Because gum usually fetched a fair price and because it required less effort and allowed more freedom for individual work habits, it seems that gumdigging retarded the process of permanent land settlement. According to a brief note in the annual report of the Department of Lands and Survey in 1903, the men of Herekino were busy on the gumfields and had consequently neglected their sections.[1] And when gum prices fell, as in May 1894, the business interests and hence prosperity of towns such as Dargaville and Mangawhare, which were largely dependent on the supply of goods to gumdiggers, suffered accordingly (New Zealand Herald, 3 May 1894, page 6).

Settlers, especially those on small holdings, repeatedly charged those whose only occupation was gumdigging with destruction of vegetation and soil, with reckless creation of fire hazards, with lawlessness and with major damage to the roads. Though undoubtedly motivated by self-interest, many of these charges were upheld by official inquiries. The 1893 Commission reported that the "desperate condition of the northern roads is due chiefly to the gum traffic, including under that term the cartage of stores to the fields, as well as gum from them".[2] On the burning of vegetation to clear land for gumdigging, the 1898 Commission reported that there were areas throughout the North "where repeated burnings have caused every vestige of soil to disappear and where there is nothing but the bare white pipeclay left."[3] In the process of digging the soil was upturned, great mounds of clay were left on the surface covering what fertile soil there was, while the holes (1-7 feet in depth and 2-12 feet in width) were a hazard to man and stock.

In the eyes of hard-working settlers (and many town dwellers) the full-time gumdigger was not only destructive but a primitive, irreligious, lawless nomad as well, having little respect for the property of others, frequently guilty of trespass and theft, inclined to drunkeness and prone to avoiding steady or regular work at any other calling. Both official and unofficial inquiries at the time concluded that the vast majority of diggers were both sober and industrious, but the stereotypes persisted. The gumdigging population was depicted as one composed of vagrants, dissipated remittance men, deserters from ships, the physically and mentally handicapped, bankrupt speculators, ex-convicts, out-of-collar clerks, Maoris and the like. Primitive living conditions on the gumfields reinforced this image and confirmed the digger's position at the bottom of the colony's social ladder. There were few who were prepared to acknowledge the gumdiggers contribution to both exports and to the prosperity of large landowners, storekeepers and merchants. Above all else the digger was a threat to the livelihood of settlers who feared the gum would be worked out and that with it would disappear the hope of small but economically viable holdings.

Yugoslavs on the Gumfields

Attracted by stories of quickly acquired wealth, his passage paid by relatives or friends in New Zealand or by a loan raised in Dalmatia, the Dalmatian immigrant arrived with no financial resources to draw upon. Under these circumstances gumdigging was the ideal occupation, for in the words of the New Zealand Year Book 1896 "It would be difficult to name any other product [beside kauri gum] which can be so easily obtained in such remunerative quantities without any previous outlay". From bitter experience many came to learn that the work was far from easy, that the initial outlay for tools and clothing would take months to pay off and that "remunerative quantities" were all too often dependent on market prices and the whim of Lady Luck.

For some new arrivals entry into gumdigging was involuntary. Charlie Segetin (from Vrucica, Peljesac) left home as a seaman, spent several years in the Louisiana oyster business and, after a brief return home, came to New Zealand in 1892 or 1893. Though well acquainted with the English language he found himself driven to gumdigging by the chronic shortage of alternative employment opportunities.[4] Even for those with trade skills the prospects were no better as Ivan Vegar (from Ravca near Vrgorac)[5] found out upon arrival in 1925.

> ... I tried to get a job as a bootmaker in Kaitaia with my brother's help. In Yugoslavia I had served my apprenticeship as a bootmaker and got my Diploma. But it wasn't any use... there was no opening for me in Kaitaia, and besides I was obviously more skilled at my job than the bootmaker then operating in Kaitaia... Therefore, like everyone else, I went into gumdigging.

The Dalmatians, of course, were not the only immigrants to find themselves forced into such work. McGee (1961, 84) reports that early Indian immigrants, peasant farmers and artisans alike, were pushed into rural labouring jobs either by the high cost of land or by opposition from trade unions

Table 3.1

Distribution of Yugoslavs ('Austrians') by selected Counties of Auckland Province, 1896 - 1911

County	Census Years			
	1896	1901	1906	1911
Mangonui	54	232	241	252
Hokianga	66	20	107	103
Bay of Islands	49	79	108	62
Hobson	136	337	557	345
Whangarei	35	95	179	98
Otamatea	29	84	29	155
Rodney	83	128	184	117
Waitemata	16	46	88	112
Manukau	-	58	75	184
Thames	2	317	102	65

Source: New Zealand Census of Population, 1896 - 1911.

Whether from choice or necessity entry into gumdigging virtually confined Dalmatian immigrants to Auckland Province, and within that area they tended to concentrate in Hobson and Mangonui counties. As a component of the gumdigging population they were highly mobile, responding quickly to the discovery and exploitation of new fields. This behaviour was reflected in a rapidly changing pattern of distribution and concentration throughout the northern counties (see Table 3.1). Recalling those days, Kleme Jurlina (from Zivogosce) said:[6]

> If you were a gumdigger you had to move about a fair bit, from field to field, depending on the type of gum discovered, gum prices for different types... also once you had 'worked over' a certain gumfield you just had to move on if you expected to earn money and to go on living.

The intensity of movement was illustrated by one informant in his evidence to the 1898 Commission.[7]

> There were only a few Austrians [Dalmatians] here three years ago and now there are about forty Austrians between Honhoura and Te Kao, but there were about two hundred at Te Kao twelve months ago. Most of the Austrians that were at Te Kao migrated to Mangawhai.

Inevitably their sudden appearance in large numbers, their systematic exploitation of a field, and their equally sudden departure, led to numerous complaints by local settlers. One writer claimed that at Mangawhai, Hakaru and Tikinui, where the "Austrians have passed over like locusts", it was impossible to earn a living (New Zealand Herald, 29 April 1898, page 3).

Given their concentration on the gumfields it is hardly surprising that they formed a substantial proportion of the total population. In 1896, Parengarenga (north of Kaitaia) was described as "a little Vienna in respect to the Austrian nationality" and in 1906 the Dalmatians accounted for 10 percent of the Hobson County population and 8.6 percent of Mangonui County's population.[8] Interesting though they are, such descriptions and figures tend to convey a false impression - implying perhaps that the immigrants and local residents lived together. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Observers on the gumfields often noted that the 'Austrians' camped in groups of twenty, thirty or more persons. A first hand description has been provided by Joseph Segetin[9] in an account of a journey throughout Northland during 1899.

> ... before I came down to Awanui I passed through a place called Waihopo and Ohara and I find [sic] our Dalmatian gumdiggers in several camps around there. There were at least 200 of them in these camps. Around those camps were several camps of English people and the others of Maori gumdiggers working on the same gumfields but living separately in different camps of their own... All of them were living in sack-ware shanties in groups of four or five in each shanty and an average of about ten or twenty in the camp.

There were strong social reasons for segregation into ethnically homogeneous camps. Ante Kosovich's poetry, marked by a pervasive nostalgia for the 'old country', emphasised the loneliness of the stranger in a foreign land. Obviously the company of fellow countrymen was desirable and fulfilled a definite social need. Then too the process of chain migration drew together relations and friends who

either shared the same shanty or lived in the same camp. Thus, to take only one example, between 1896 and 1901 about half the migrants from Novi (near Rijeka) were on the Mitchelson field while the rest were around Kaikohe and Poroti.[10]

Economic reasons were also important, at least as far as the Dalmatians were concerned. Comparing the work methods of diggers, Firth (1922, 87), who later became a renowned anthropologist, noted that:

> Among the British diggers to this day as a result of their individualistic tradition, there is little attempt to co-operate except where the work is impossible for one man alone... The Dalmatians however introduced the system [of co-operation] and by their methods have succeeded in raising to a considerable degree the amount of gum that the digger can produce.

Many preferred to work on their own but accepted the need for co-operation under certain conditions. Describing the situation on Ahipara Hill between 1928 and 1935, Ivan Vegar said:[11]

> ... there were about nine 'gangs' in the camp on Ahipara Hill and each gang consisted of five or six men who formed a 'company' and they shared whatever they earned in common. These 'gangs', or you can call them associations, were made necessary by the type of work we were doing. On other gumfields one man could manage to dig by himself... the ground was easier to work. But on Ahipara Hill we had to work a 'face' and the work simply couldn't be managed by one man alone ... therefore there were five or six men in a 'company'. We shared the duties of cooking... one of us would stay behind or stop work earlier to make the bread and tea [dinner] before the others came back from the day's work.

This readiness to co-operate, to secure a measure of security, was undoubtedly part of the Dalmatian way of life. In New Zealand it was reinforced not only by the difficulties of the job in hand, but by the presence of relatives and friends and by a collective eagerness among <u>temporary</u> migrants to quickly accumulate money and return to Dalmatia.

Was gumdigging profitable? Were temporary migrants able to amass petty fortunes of £200 to £400 over short periods of time? The evidence available provides little support for a favourable reply to these questions. Working on the assumption that the average savings per man were, at the lowest, £1 per week, the 1898 Commission calculated that the individual digger would save £52 per year, that an estimated 1,500 'Austrian' (Dalmatian) diggers would save £1,500 per week or a total of £78,000 per year. It was noted also that from one store alone on the gumfields a total of £1,277 was sent to 'Austria' through the clerk over a period of four and a half months - and this sum did not include Post Office orders or remittances forwarded directly by diggers themselves.[12] On the basis of the

Commission's assumption it would obviously take the average digger about four years to save £200 and as much as eight years to save £400 - but this in turn assumes favourable market prices, the diggers good health under difficult working conditions for a prolonged period and plain good luck in an activity where returns were notoriously uncertain.

In support of the £1 per week savings assumption one can cite the evidence provided by Richard Mitchelson (a storekeeper) with respect to the earnings of P. Pericic and D. Salle during 1897. Over a period of 33 weeks, Pericic earned £57..8s..2d. and after deduction of £24..10s..3d. for goods advanced, he received in cash £32..17s..11d. or almost exactly £1 per week. Salle's position was a little more favourable; over a period of 13 weeks he earned £29..13s..7d. and after deductions for goods advanced was left with £20..14s..9d. or an average of about £1..12s..0d. per week.[13] Against this, however, there is the personal testimony of men such as John Kabalin, Ivan Vegar and Mate Trlin. Engaged in gumdigging from 1896 to 1901, John Kabalin (from Novi) reported that with the exception of Anton Sokolich (also from Novi and reputed to be the most successful gumdigger) who earned £100 a year "the rest of us made from £35 - £40 per year. Few made £50..." [14] When Mate Trlin (from Ravca) arrived in 1924 he spent only 18 days on the Waiharara gumfield before taking work as a farm hand/share milker for only 25 shillings a week - because one couldn't be sure of getting that much or more at gumdigging.[15] And after one year's work on Ahipara Hill (1928/1929) Ivan Vegar and four partners had only £6 profit to share between them.[16]

With these experiences in mind it is easier to understand why many never returned in triumph to Dalmatia and why some sought loans to pay their return passage. Overpowered by their sense of failure some tried to find solace in alcohol, a few took their own lives and others became inmates of mental hospitals.[17] For one gumdigger, however, the trials and tribulations were catalysts that gave rise to a small but important collection of poems - Dalmatinac iz Tudjine by Ante Kosovich. The clear intention of the poet and his work was to stop Dalmatia's young men from coming to New Zealand in search of the cursed gum.

Seen from a distance, and in the light of their overseas experiences both good and bad, the attractions of Dalmatia began to wane and an increasing number of temporary migrants gradually opted for permanent settlement. Some found their way into jobs and businesses in the towns but the majority (until the late 1920s) turned to the land as scrub cutters, drainage contractors and rural labourers or used traditional skills in viticulture, fruit-growing and general farming (see

Gumfield Poet

Ante KOSOVICH, born c. 1873 in the village of Zaostrog and naturalised in 1906, at which time he was a gumdigger at Poroti.



Photograph

Ante Kosovich, from the frontispiece of his first collection of poems - Dalmatinac iz Tudjine, Split, 1908 (copy held in Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand).

Ante Kosovich was the author of numerous poems (occasional pieces, eulogies, etc.,) but his two major collections were published under the titles Dalmatinac iz Tudjine (From the Dalmatian in Exile) in 1908 and Uskrsnuce Jugoslavije (Resurrection of Yugoslavia) in 1920. Both volumes were printed in Serbo-Croatian. Of the two, Dalmatinac iz Tudjine is the most important. It stands as an almost unique case of a non-English speaking immigrant writing in his native tongue about life and events in New Zealand. Presented with the clear intention of discouraging the immigration to New Zealand of Dalmatia's young men, Kosovich's poems graphically portray the physical hardships, spiritual isolation, exploitation and persecution of Dalmatian gumdiggers in North Auckland. For a concise review of these poems, see Batistich, A. 'No Bells, No Bell Towers' New Zealand Listner, 5 August 1966, page 5.

Table 3.2

Employment of Yugoslavs by Industry in which engaged, 1916

Industry	Counties	Towns	Total No.	Total %
Primary Industry	1,048	21	1,069	61.05
Agriculture	(287)	(5)	(292)	(16.67)
Kauri gumdigging and assoc.	(724)	(11)	(735)	(41.97)
Forestry	(17)	(4)	(21)	(1.20)
Fishing	(12)	(-)	(12)	(0.68)
Mining	(8)	(1)	(9)	(0.51)
Secondary Industry	12	5	17	0.97
Building and Construction	28	1	29	1.65
Transport and Communication	8	5	13	0.74
Commerce and Finance	48	23	71	4.05
Domestic	85	11	96	5.48
Other Employed (Services)	13	25	38	2.17
Not Adequately Described	376	39	415	23.70
Not Actively Engaged	2	1	3	0.17
Totals	1,620	131	1,751	100.00

Source: Register of Aliens 1917. For a more detailed breakdown of the above statistics, see Trlin (1967a, 325-326).

Table 3.2). In such cases gumdigging often became a transitory occupation between the break from the homeland and the establishment of a farm, orchard or vineyard in New Zealand. Savings accumulated on the gumfields were used to purchase cheap, marginal land which could be transformed by the owner's tireless devotion. But sometimes the ruthless sacrifice of muscle, intellect and leisure time was insufficient. Additional income, either until the land was productive or to further improve the holding, was necessary. The obvious answer in many cases was part-time gumdigging, a pattern of activity that was quite in accord with the government's view of "settling the North". Settlement was seen as a gradual process by men possessing little or no capital who were prepared to invest the fruits of their gumfield labour in their holdings, eventually becoming independent.[18] Tensions surrounding the Dalmatian digger in the late 1890s and

early 1900s were, at least in part, rooted in the violation of this settlement concept by temporary immigrants. In 1916, at least 42 percent were still engaged in gumdigging as a full-time occupation (Table 3.2).

Opposition to Yugoslav Gumdiggers

The first significant signs of opposition to the presence and activities of Yugoslav ('Austrian') diggers appeared during the election year of 1893. A Commission was set up to investigate the industry, evidence was collected and a report was produced but nothing was done to act upon the Commission's findings. Describing the episode as a "minor artificial flurry", Marshall's (1968, 218-225) analysis notes that the lead was taken by two newspapers (New Zealand Observer and Northern Advertiser) and suggests that the whole issue may well have been seized upon and developed as an election year gimmick to divert public attention throughout Northland. Gimmick or not, however, the stage was set for the drama to develop. During the next four years the dissatisfaction of settlers and 'British' diggers increased, finally came to a head in 1897 (marked by the appointment of a second Commission) and was sustained by various factors until at least 1903.

Opposition was solidly based upon the fears of those whose livelihood depended, directly or indirectly, upon kauri gum as a source of income. As W. C. Walker, a member of the Legislative Council, put it:[19]

> Their very virtues, their industrial habits, make them [the 'Austrians' i.e. Dalmatians] a greater danger than they otherwise might be. They have systematised their work...

It was feared that by working methodically in co-operative groups the Dalmatians would remove all the gum from a given area and thus deprive small settlers of what was often claimed to make the difference between economic success and ruin. Hence the description of Dalmatian diggers as being "locust-like" in their behaviour, a description that only ten years earlier had been applied to the passage of Maori gumdiggers.[20] Then too it was believed that the Dalmatian's work pattern would glut the gum market, that prices would fall and that thereafter only the Dalmatians (accustomed to living "on the smell of an oily rag") could manage an existence on the lower prices paid. Moreover, it was feared that being unable to speak English the Dalmatian digger would also be cheated by storekeepers who would then refuse to buy gum from 'British' diggers except at the same low prices. And to cap it all there was evidence of large sums of money being remitted back to 'Austria' so that the young colony (soon to be a Dominion) gained nothing from these temporary migrants, these "birds of passage".



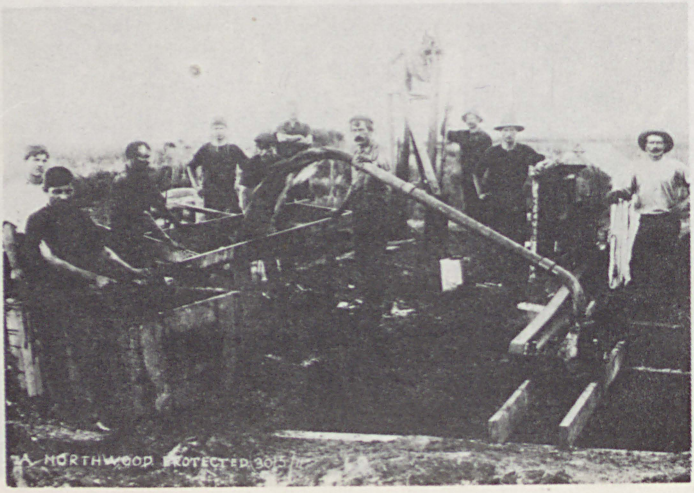
The complete gumdigger and camp cook. c. 1911 (opposite page), and a typical gumdiggers camp (above). Posing by the door of his shanty, this gumdigger is holding two 'rounds' of bread baked in his camp oven (at feet). Among his few household utensils were a shallow basin (set in a crude wooden frame at rear), a bucket and a tea-billy. The spade, 'gum-spear' and 'gumboots' comprised his essential working equipment. A long steel rod, tapering from one quarter of an inch thickness to a sharp point and with a spade handle attached, the 'gum-spear' was used to probe to depths of 4-6 feet in search of kauri gum. Many early diggers also used a 'hook' - a length of steel piping with a hook welded to the bottom - to pull up pieces of gum located by the spear.

The frame of the shanty was made of heavy tea-tree poles and bits of lumber, covered over with sacks sewn together and (if available) the odd piece of corrugated iron. Sacks were readily available at between sixpence and one shilling each (5-10 cents) and eighteen of them made a fair sized shanty. Additional shelter was often provided by erecting a tea-tree windbreak (see opposite). For inside cooking and heating in more permanent dwellings there was usually a fireplace with a chimney built of turf sods.

Photographs: taken by Arthur Northwood, Kaitaia, c. 1911 (Alexander Turnbull Library).






NORTHWOOD PROTECTED 30/5/



A significant innovation made by Dalmatian gumdiggers was their co-operative and systematic approach to kauri gum extraction. Pooling their resources a gang with an appointed leader would work on a 'face' and progressively turn over a large plot of ground or swamp (opposite at top). Initially, only larger pieces of gum were collected but by 1910 a profitable market for smaller pieces or 'chips' had been developed. The problem then was to devise an efficient collection method. Using an improvised screen and water delivered by a powered pump, the gang opposite sluiced buckets of gum-bearing mud and soil to extract the 'chips'. This methodical, exhaustive exploitation quickly earned Dalmatians the reputation of being locust-like in their activities. When cleaned, the gum was sorted according to size and quality ready for inspection by a gumbuyer who periodically visited each camp (above).

A gang commonly consisted of friends and relations from a particular village. The gang opposite was no exception - most, if not all, of them were from the village of Drasnice. From left to right (bottom photograph) numbers 1, 2, 3 and 6 are the Urlich brothers, and numbers 4 and 5 are their cousins Mate and George Urlich (later farmers at Lake Ohia). Grgo "George" Sulenta (at centre) was the gang leader.

Photographs: by Arthur Northwood, Kaitaia, in 1911 (Alexander Turnbull Library).

At a more personal level considerable antagonism was aroused by what was claimed to be the Dalmatian's blatant disregard for the unwritten laws of gum-digging. Generally (but not always) observed by 'British' diggers these 'laws' included: (a) no digging without an invitation on another gumdiggers patch or strike; and (b) no digging on land cleared or prepared (by fire or drainage) for gumdigging, unless one had contributed to such preparation. Evidence to the 1898 Commission, letters to newspapers and parliamentary debates include many examples or claims of instances when these 'laws' were broken by crafty, rapacious Dalmatian diggers. For example, there is the evidence of Frank Urwyn and Albion Cheeseman.[21]

> I struck a bit of gum, and fourteen Austrians came right round me working towards me, and worked me clean out of it in a ring.
>
> Where I left my gum-spear and spade in the evening I found Austrians at work in the morning, within 8 ft. or 9 ft. from the very spot where I was digging. Amongst the Britishers there is an understood code of honour that no one should come within, say, 50 ft. or 60 ft. of another gumdigger's workings.

What would happen once the gumfields were exhausted? Answers to this question also reveal the deeply rooted economic fears of settlers, diggers and labourers. If the immigrant decided to settle and follow the example of small farmers throughout Northland all would probably be well. But what if he didn't? It was feared that they would be willing to work for low wages, that they would gain work on government co-operative contracts and that New Zealanders would consequently become (and remain) unemployed. On this point, Marshall (1968, 179-180) notes that as early as July 1894 the Central Wairoa Gumdiggers Union drew the attention of the Hobson County Council to the fact that several county contracts had been let to Dalmatians and that they were employing foreigners to the exclusion of British labourers.[22] Fears of this type were expressed again and again in later years (especially in the late 1920s and early 1930s), adding additional fuel to the fire of opposition.

Another factor contributing to dissatisfaction was the belief that gumfield owners, storekeepers and merchants were enticing Dalmatians to come to New Zealand under some form of contract. Indeed, the Auckland Star (16 May 1893, page 5) went so far as to claim that the 1893 Commission resulted from representations made to government that certain storekeepers had agents abroad who were recruiting Dalmatians and sending them to the gumfields via Australia. In evidence to the 1898 Commission, Joseph Franich (from Vrgorac) stated that while in Dalmatia he had seen an advertisement signed by a Mr. E. Mitchelson (in the newspaper Narodni

List - Zora) in which "he [Mr. Mitchelson] notified that any person coming to his gumfields could make ten shillings a day."[23] Naturally the Honourable Edwin Mitchelson M.P., owner of extensive gumlands in the Northern Wairoa valley, denied the allegation that he was in any way connected with a system of contract labour. Unfortunately the Austrian Consul could not provide documentary evidence to prove the case one way or the other. Though (and probably because) both the 1893 and 1898 Commissions found insufficient evidence to substantiate claims concerning the existence of a contract system there was a lingering distrust and suspicion on the part of settlers and diggers who saw themselves being overwhelmed by an influx of 'Austrian' labour.

Arrivals did increase significantly during the years 1894 - 1899. Like the number of Dalmatians on the gumfields, however, the number of both actual and expected arrivals was often exaggerated. For example, on 6 December 1898 the New Zealand Herald (page 4) carried a report that no less than 200 'Austrians' were expected to arrive from Sydney. Writing on the subject of ethnic groups in America, Warner and Srole (1945, 49) have remarked that the reaction of a society to a 'foreigner' or 'alien' is apt to be sharp and that the intensity of the reaction increases in proportion to the number of such deviants who invade the society. Here then is the significance of newspaper articles and parliamentary debates concerned with the influx of 'Austrians' destined for the northern gumfields - the number of 'Austrians' was increasing and was believed to be increasing much more rapidly than available evidence suggested. Culturally distinctive, engaged in one particular occupation and thus geographically concentrated, the Dalmatian stood out against the 'British' matrix of the host society. Given also the low status and disreputable (stereotyped) character of gumdiggers, opposition was virtually inevitable quite apart from the understandable economic fears of sectional interests.

We come now to the final and least defensible factor underlying opposition to the Yugoslavs, namely (in the terminology of the times) 'racial' prejudice. From 1893 until almost World War I numerous letters, articles and editorials advancing 'racial' arguments for the exclusion of 'Austrians'/Dalmatians appeared in newspapers such as the New Zealand Observer, Auckland Star and New Zealand Herald.[24] His views coloured somewhat by economic fears, one writer said (New Zealand Herald, 13 February 1893, page 3):

> There is surely a screw loose somewhere in our political economy when foreigners are allowed to step in and reap all the fruits of treaties and hard fought battles of the Anglo-Saxon.

Five years later this view was echoed by another writer who found it "very annoying" to discover so many 'Austrians' entering the country after "many of our own race [had] shed their blood fighting against barbarism to gain the country" (New Zealand Herald, 10 October 1898, page 7). On another tack the Herald's editor raised the threat to democracy. (New Zealand Herald, 14 July 1900, page 4).

> How will it be with New Zealand and the New Zealanders if we lose to any appreciable extent that comparative purity of race which is our strength and pride, and find ourself weighted, in our honest effort to make democratic government a success, by the presence in local dominance of alien peoples who are unfit to be entrusted with the ballot?

The same editorial suggested that a breakdown of democratic government in the U.S.A. could be attributed to the swamping effect of "non-Teutonic elements", clearly implying that New Zealand now faced the same threat.

So pervasive was this prejudice that even the most learned were tainted. Dr. Guy Scholefield, historian, author of a series of press articles about New Zealand's immigrants, found "the Slav, rude, and scarcely cultured above the plane of the Huns and Goths... [but] more hopeful of rejuvenating usefulness than the derelicts of the Latin and Greek civilisations". Nevertheless, Dalmatians (and others from the 'Eastern Mediterranean') were deemed to be temperamentally unsuited for absorption in Teutonic nations, they were "the untamed advance guard of barbarism" unable to understand either ambition for individual betterment or "the spirit of colonisation which can found worthy colonies" (see New Zealand Herald, Supplement, 20 April 1907, page 1). Sad to say, even the most sceptical could be converted when confronted with well-publicised cases of Dalmatian lawlessness. On at least four occasions - November 1900 in Kaitaia, November 1901 at Aratapu, August 1903 again in Kaitaia, and December 1906 in Dargaville - groups of up to 15 Dalmatians were involved in and subsequently charged with drunken and riotous behaviour, actual and threatened assault, damage to property and brawling.[25] Small wonder then that when the Elingamite was wrecked in November 1902 the survival of all eleven 'Austrians' among the passengers aroused suspicions and claims of conduct contrary to that which could be expected of men of the "English race" (see Appendix 2).

In the face of such fears and prejudice it is nothing short of amazing that the 1898 Commission found the 'Austrians'/Dalmatians to be "a hardy, sober, industrious, law-abiding people" who, because of these qualities, "would make admirable settlers".[26] However, convinced that the supply of gum and land was not inexhaustible, the Commission also suggested that "means must be adopted to prevent

the spread of such further immigration" and then advised...[27]

> ...that due notice be given that after a certain date - say, six months hence - no person excepting a settler will be allowed to hold a gum-diggers license in New Zealand till after a twelve months' residence in the colony. In such a case, an immigrant on arrival must either at once take up land, or find some other employment than gum-digging, until qualified by a year's residence...

This and other recommendations of the 1898 Commission were incorporated, in a modified form, in the Kauri Gum Industry Act 1898.

Believing the Act did not go quite far enough, the New Zealand Observer (17 June 1899, page 2), like other newspapers and many citizens, nevertheless saw it as a move "to check the influx of Austrians". Premier Seddon himself later acknowledged it to be "a gentle intimation by the legislature that we would not have them here".[28] News of the Act was quickly passed to the Austro-Hungarian authorities by the Consul, Mr. E. Langguth, and to both the Governor of Dalmatia and the Bishop of Ragusa in letters from Mathew Ferri. By July 1901, Seddon and his Ministers found themselves in the midst of a minor crisis of international relations over the provisions and operation of an Act that appeared to discriminate against 'Austrian' nationals in New Zealand.[29]

What were the Act's provisions with regard to alien immigrants? In a memorandum to His Excellency the Governor, dated 19 July 1901, Seddon made the following points.[30] First, that a local authority empowered to issue licenses could refuse a license for gumdigging to any alien arriving in New Zealand after the Act's date of implementation, i.e. 1 January 1899. Second, that no person was entitled to dig gum on a kauri gum reserve (created to protect the interests of small settlers who were Crown tenants) unless he was a British subject by birth or naturalisation and was the holder of a special license (annual fee of five shillings) which covered such a reserve and other Crown lands. Third, an alien could not receive a special license to dig on Crown lands outside reserves unless he owned land in New Zealand (either in fee simple or under lease for a term of at least three years) or had been lawfully engaged in gumdigging for at least three months before 1 January 1899. Fourth, that no alien could receive or hold an ordinary license (annual fee £1) to dig on Crown lands other than kauri gum reserves unless he had resided in New Zealand for at least three months immediately prior to application for such a license. Further restrictions were introduced in 1908 and 1910.

Though not directed against 'Austrian' nationals by name the intent of the 1898 Act was plain - the Dalmatians were the aliens predominant on the gumfields.

By specifying a three months residence qualification and by vesting local authorities with power to refuse licenses, an attempt was being made to stem the 'influx' of temporary migrants who were unlikely to find alternative employment readily available and who lacked resources to 'wait out' the three month period. Those who managed to get by, and those already in the country before 1899, were also being 'encouraged' to become landowners, secure citizenship and thus become permanent settlers as opposed to 'birds of passage'. While naturalisation may have been seen as a loop-hole it proved to be difficult to obtain. Responding to criticism on this matter, Seddon noted the legal requirements of good character and intention to settle permanently, pointing out that the majority of Dalmatians were recent arrivals, had no intention of settling, were unable to speak English and were unable to obtain a certificate as to character.[31]

The success of these moves was indicated by Mr. E. Langguth in a letter to Seddon (dated 28 May 1901) concerning the migration plans of Anton Pirovich and Rafaelle Clarich who wished to visit Dalmatia in order to sell property and then return with their capital to become permanent settlers. Said Langguth:[32]

> The Austrians being practically barred from digging gum are now leaving this Colony in large numbers and the much discussed 'Austrian question' will soon be a thing of the past.

Correct in one sense, Langguth was proved wrong in another for the "Austrian question" reappeared in a new guise only fourteen years later.

Footnotes

1. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1903, C.1, page 10.

2. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1893, H.24, page 5.

3. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H.12, page 5.

4. Statement of Mr. J. Segetin in letter to Mr. J. Totich, dated January 1949. This letter is included as an appendix in Trlin (1967a, 244-250).

5. Information from personal interview with Ivan Vegar (now deceased), January 1965, Kaitaia. For further details see Trlin (1967a, 305-311).

6. Information from personal interview with Kleme Jurlina (now deceased), January 1965, Sweetwater (near Kaitaia). For further details see Trlin (1967a, 261-263).

7. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H.12, page 42 (Evidence of Albion Walter Cheeseman).

8. New Zealand Herald (Supplement), 19 September 1896, page 1. The percentages cited for 1906 are based on the New Zealand Census of Population 1906.

9. See footnote 4 above.

10. Statement of Mr. J. Kabalin in letter to Mr. J. Totich, dated 4 December 1948. This letter is included as an appendix in Trlin (1967a, 251-255).

11. See footnote 5 above.

12. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H.12., page 8. Premier R. J. Seddon likewise stated that information from eleven post offices in Dalmatia showed that "in the course of a few years" Dalmatians had sent about £20,000 out of New Zealand - see New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1899, Vol. 109, page 466.

13. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H.12, page 27 (Evidence of Richard Mitchelson - storekeeper).

14. See footnote 10 above.

15. Information from personal interview with Mate Trlin, August 1964, Lower Hutt. For further details see Trlin (1967a, 295-304).

16. See footnote 5 above.

17. The number of 'Austrians' (i.e. Dalmatians) in New Zealand's mental asylums increased steadily between 1902 and 1921. In 1902 there were 5 patients, but by 1921 the number had reached 32 (see Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1903 - 1922, H.7.). The Register of Aliens 1917 lists 15 Dalmatians and 1 Serbian as inmates of Auckland Mental Hospital, which represented 1 inmate per 126 resident Dalmatians in 1916.

18. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1914, Vol. 168, page 821.

19. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1898, Vol. 104, page 631.

20. Weekly News, 19 May 1888, page 14 (letter to Editor).

21. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H.12, pages 42 and 43. See also New Zealand Herald, 18 February 1899, page 3; New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1899, Vol. 109, page 467.

22. Reported in New Zealand Herald, 30 July 1894, page 6. The Chairman of the County Council later assured the Wairoa Gumdiggers Union of his sympathy and promised to introduce a resolution at the next Council meeting to the effect that all County contracts in future would be let to British subjects only (New Zealand Herald, 30 August 1894, page 6).

23. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H.12, page 60. See also New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1900, Vol. 112, page 328. Franich's allegation was denied by Mitchelson (see page 61 of the 1898 Commission's report) who had also denied a similar charge in 1893 concerning advertisements in the Sydney Morning Herald (see page 62 of 1898 Commission's report).

24. For detailed discussion on this matter see Marshall (1968, 199-207).

25. See, for example, New Zealand Herald 12 November 1901, page 7 and New Zealand Herald, 19 January 1907, page 5. Such behaviour, of course, was seen to conform to the typical lawlessness of gumdiggers and thus reinforced the old stereotypes.

26. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H.12, pages 7 and 9.

27. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H.12, page 9.

28. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1900, Vol. 112, page 328.

29. For full details readers should consult the Seddon Collection (20/1 and 20/2), New Zealand National Archives, Wellington.

30. See footnote 29 above.

31. See footnote 29 above; in particular, Memorandum for His Excellency the Governor, dated 8 July 1901 (Memo No. 89).

32. See footnote 29 above.

4

THE WINEMAKERS

Whether forced by restrictions on gumdigging or coinciding with individual decisions to become permanent residents, the number of Dalmatian farmers increased steadily over the years from 1899 to 1916. Consequently a new pattern of settlement soon emerged as small, relatively stable clusters of farms were established in the midst of mobile temporary immigrants (engaged in gumdigging) who still formed the bulk of the Dalmatian population. Though many individual farms could be found scattered throughout the northern counties there were, by 1916, three distinctive clusters: one at Herekino (Mangonui County), another in the Red Hill-Te Koporu-Aratapu district (Hobson County), and the third in the Henderson-Oratia-Taupaki-Kumeu area (Waitemata County).

Until World War I, Herekino, situated about twenty kilometers south of Kaitaia, was the principal 'Dalmatian settlement' in the far north. It began as an area of viticulture in the late 1890s and by 1906/1907 there were some fourteen vineyards established, producing about 2000 gallons of wine per year which was sold at ten shillings (approx $1) a gallon.[1] For a variety of reasons, however, dairy-farming and stock-farming increased in popularity and eventually appeared as the main occupations. Among the early settlers were members of the following families: Babich, Grbich, Kunicich, Lunjevich, Posinkovich, Urlich and Veza.[2] There were, of course, representatives of other families as well, but in the early years these men were usually 'drifters' not 'settlers'.

Elsewhere in Mangonui County in 1916 there were a few farms at Lake Ohia (Bakalich, Pribicevich, Stancich and Urlich), Waihopo (Antunovich, Jujnovich and Vuletich), Waiharara (Babich) and Waipapakauri (Kurta).[3] But in these areas, scarred by gumdiggers, settlement did not begin in earnest until the 1920s. And when it did, it caused a major shift in the centre of gravity of Dalmatian farm settlement so that Herekino gradually dwindled in importance. Recalling those pioneering days in the early 1920s when she and husband Mate cleared and burned scrub, filled pot-holes and ploughed on their 140 acres of land at Waiharara, Mrs. Vica Srhoj remembered a visit to the area by the Minister of Lands. "He said that the land was worthless and advised us and others not to waste our time. He was wrong."[4]

Land worked over by gumdiggers, or marginal land dismissed as difficult if not worthless, was similarly converted into viable farm units in Hobson County. The main concentration here was in the Red Hill-Te Koporu-Aratapu district, south of Dargaville, sandwiched between the coast and the Wairoa River. In 1916, settlers included members of the following families: Banicevich, Dragicevich, Glamuzina, Kumrich, Maich, Marinkovich, Marsich, Martinovich, Orsulich, Radich, Shine and Tomas. A few others were located at Taingaehe (Silich), Tangowahine (Cyprian), Dargaville (Urlich and Vuletich), Mangawhare (Cebalo, Nola) and Mamaranui (Babich).[5] Though some established and maintained small vineyards and orchards the main interests were dairying, sheep and cattle farming. Settlement in this area also expanded, along the Wairoa valley, during the next two decades.

Perhaps because of its proximity to Auckland, and its long association with vineyards and orchard products, the Henderson-Oratia-Taupaki-Kumeu area is undoubtedly the best known in terms of Yugoslav settlement. The first settlers were John Vella, Lovre Marinovich and Stepan Yelas (alias Stipan Jelich), all of whom were present by 1904 and had established vineyards.[6] Others soon followed their example and in 1910 it was reported that the district's vineyards provided a "striking example of what may be accomplished in the way of converting the once despised gumlands into highly-profitable country" (Weekly News, 5 May 1910, page 26). Coupled with their achievements at Herekino and Red Hill-Te Koporu-Aratapu, farms around Henderson, Oratia and Kumeu consolidated the Dalmatian's reputation as a diligent, tenacious and innovative settler. By 1916 families represented around Henderson-Oratia included the following: Balich, Borich, Erstich, Franich, Garelja, Glucina, Marinovich, Radalj, Sunde, Ujdar, Vella, Vujicich and White (alias Bilich). And around Taupaki-Kumeu were members of the Bebich, Bonkovich, Borich, Curin, Klinac, Kraljevich, Matich, Radonich, Sinkovich and Vella families, in addition to

individuals at Swanson (Kokich) and Waitakere (Erceg).[7] Most of these settlers described themselves as 'fruit grower', 'fruit farmer', or 'orchardist' but a few were also engaged in dairying and stock-farming and at least half had vineyards.

Over the period 1919-1939 settlement in the Henderson-Kumeu district expanded as former gumdiggers, rural labourers and settlers from other areas moved in. Among the new arrivals were Joseph Babich (1919, who had previously operated a vineyard and wine shop near Waiharara), Mick Ivicevich (1934, Panorama Wines), Marino Selak (1934), Peter Fredatovich (1937, Lincoln Vineyards), George Mazuran (1938), and George Antunovich (1939, Eastern Vineyards). Later arrivals included Ivan Yukich (1944,Montana Vineyard), Mate Brajkovich (1944, San Marino Vineyard), and Nicholas Delegat (1947). By the mid 1950s there were about eighty vineyards around Henderson-Oratia, 85 percent of them under 5 acres in size, and 9 out of 10 were operated by Yugoslavs and their descendents (Moran, 1958).

Looking at the Henderson area around 1957, Moran concluded that the predominance of Yugoslav ownership was clearly reflected in the character and operation of holdings. First, they were small in size the largest being 15 acres while non-Yugoslav holdings were twice as large. Many founders (unlike their sons) had little desire to expand beyond what they and other family members could readily manage. Second, viticulture was characteristically integrated with wine-making and marketing under the same management, a structure facilitated by the small size of holdings and their operation as family enterprises. Moran (1958, 67) points out that 87 percent of the Henderson holdings employed no labour outside the family and that in many cases a father and son or perhaps two brothers were fully and permanently occupied. Finally, viticulture was commonly practised in association with other agricultural activities. Between 80 and 85 percent of growers combined viticulture with orchards and most holdings included an area of permanent pasture on which fat stock or dairy cattle were grazed (Moran, 1958, 62). Like the reliance on family labour as a measure of self-sufficiency, this 'mixed-farming' feature was very much in accord with the Dalmatian's agricultural tradition. Moran was, however, conscious of pressures and forces that would transform these small, self-sufficient and unspecialised holdings during the next two decades. These challenges - urban sprawl, second generation aspirations, commercialism and modernisation of production methods - were the last to be confronted by New Zealand's Yugoslav winemakers in their long up-hill fight for survival, acceptance and success.[8]

The Fight for Survival and Success

For all of New Zealand's fledgeling viticulturalists and winemakers the period 1895-1921 was characterised by almost constant set-backs. The acreage of grape vines dropped from about 800 acres in 1910 to less than 500 acres in 1913 and then to under 200 acres in 1921. Key factors behind this retrenchment were phylloxera, the gains made by prohibitionists, competition from cheap imported wines and the effects of restrictive legislation.

Phylloxera, positively identified in 1895 by Romeo Bragato (the "visiting expert" who became New Zealand's first government viticulturalist), wreaked havoc on the viticultural scene until the early 1900s. Harsh measures were passed in a Phylloxera Act to detect, treat or destroy (without compensation to growers) all infected vines, but proved to be less than effective. Indeed, the ravages of this pest were not finally curbed until Bragato introduced the supply of phylloxera-resistant vines in 1902. By then, however, considerable damage had been done and a number of growers were no longer in business. Among the known Dalmatian casualties were Nicholas and John Silich (father and son) who had established a vineyard at Hukatere. After their 10 acres of mature bearing vines were wiped out by phylloxera they returned to gumdigging and Nicholas later established a farm at Taingaehe, south of Dargaville. For migrants like the Silichs, who might have thought they had escaped the problem upon departure from Dalmatia, the appearance of phylloxera in New Zealand must have come as a great shock.

Worse was still to come. In 1905 the prohibitionists won their first North Island 'dry' district (Grey Lynn) to add to the five already gained in the South Island. Responding to this event Bragato reported that growers felt their occupation to be a precarious one "liable at any general election to be crippled by the work of the Prohibitionist Party". This fear proved to be justified for in 1908 the Eden electorate (which included part of Henderson) voted no-license, as did Masterton. In the latter area, shortly after the poll, a local winemaker was prosecuted for selling wine from a vineyard. The charge was dismissed by a magistrate but when the police appealed the prosecution was upheld by Chief Justice Sir Robert Stout, a noted prohibitionist who did not conceal his bias in court. Stout's decision meant, in effect, that a winemaker residing within a no-license district could neither sell wine nor accept orders to sell within that district. However, there was nothing to prevent the winemaker from establishing a depot out-

First Government Viticulturalist

Romeo BRAGATO, born c. 1859, naturalised in New Zealand on 13 June 1908. Shortly after his retirement in 1909 he left New Zealand for Canada, where he ended his life by suicide "following a crisis in his domestic affairs" (Scott 1964, 60)



Photograph

Romeo Bragato

Bragato arrived in 1895, on loan from the government of Victoria, to report on New Zealand's regional prospects for viticulture. During this visit he positively identified phylloxera and recommended that all vines be inspected, infected plants destroyed, and that American resistant vines be imported from Europe for distribution to growers. The first recommendation was heeded, but not the second. Phylloxera outbreaks continued to occur. Bragato was invited to return to New Zealand in 1901. He reported that only replanting of vineyards with resistant stocks would bring phylloxera under control. In recognition of his expertise he was offered, and accepted, a post as New Zealand's first government viticulturalist. Among his significant achievements during the next eight years were: (a) introduction and supply of phylloxera-resistant vines; (b) establishment of a laboratory at Te Kauwhata to test wine samples and insecticides, and so raise the quality of production; and (c) publication of his handbook Viticulture in New Zealand.

All well and good, except for one point - Bragato has consistently been described by Scott (1964) and others (e.g. Moran 1958) as "an Italian viticulturalist". Bragato was a graduate of the Royal School of Viticulture and Oenology, Corregliano, Italy - but was he really an 'Italian' in terms of birthplace and nationality? The answer is NO he wasn't.

His naturalisation file (1908/868) records his prior nationality as 'Austrian' and his birthplace as 'Lussinpiccolo' - the Italian name for Mali Losinj, a small village on the island of Losinj, south of the port of Rijeka. It was common practice in Bragato's time for Dalmatian administrators to use Italian placenames rather than the Croatian ones. Significantly, a number of the early pioneers in New Zealand were also native sons of Lussinpiccolo (Mali Losinj) - for example, Mark Haracich and Duze Felice.

Bragato, then, should be known as an Austrian national, Dalmatian-born, possibly of Italian descent. One suspects that this had a bearing upon his enthusiasm and praise for Northland's early 'Austrian' winemakers. One also suspects that Bragato, conscious of anti-'Austrian' feeling in New Zealand, concealed both his nationality and birthplace in favour of a neutral Italian identity.

side the no-license area from which to conduct his business.[9] Henderson winemakers affected by Stout's decision responded accordingly. Ten years later, in 1918, the Eden electorate boundaries were changed with the result that all of Henderson was brought into the no-license area and the depots were unusable. During the following years winemakers and their customers had to resort to costly and complicated procedures that did nothing to encourage the industry's development.

While the 1918 Eden boundary changes were serious, the results of a special liquor poll in 1919 were almost devastating. Won by prohibitionists, the sale of liquor in New Zealand would have been banned had the result not been reversed by servicemen overseas who voted 4 to 1 in favour of continuance. It was against this background that a delegation of winemakers set out to defend their livelihood in Wellington's corridors of power. A parliamentary select committee had been appointed to encourage local industry and it was to this committee that the New Zealand Viticultural Association's delegation successfully presented its strong case. The committee subsequently reported that it had:[10]

> ...come to the conclusion that legislation should be provided to remove the industry from the present uncertainty and possible danger of being destroyed by the votes cast on the question of prohibition of the liquor trade.

Since politicians had now recognised the industry's plight all seemed to be well. Unfortunately, no action was taken!

Aside from phylloxera and the prohibition threat there was also the problem of unfair competition. In 1911 the duty on Australian wine was five shillings a gallon (considered to be fair protection for local growers) but South African products were imported with only two shillings per gallon duty. Despite protests this situation persisted until 1921 when the duty was raised, but only to 4s..6d per gallon.[11] Competition of another sort, that threatened the reputation of winemakers and their product, came from 'adultered wines'. As early as 1903 and 1904 Bragato had called, unsuccessfully, for a law to prohibit the sale of cheap fakes ("in which the grape is a totally foreign body or an unknown quantity") which gave unfair competition and which made all New Zealand wines suspect in the eyes of customers. In 1912 the Viticultural Association was still engaged in seeking a solution to this problem when it asked, again without success, that winemakers be licensed and that wines be tested for "deleterious additions". Among the Association's officers at this time were Stephen Vella (secretary), John Vella, Stephen Kokich, and Lovre Marinovich (committee members).[12] Who would have thought that only two years later the issue of 'adulterated wines' would come to an

unexpected climax, and that it would be marked by an indiscriminate attack against all Dalmatian winemakers and their wine.

The date was 21 July 1914. Items of business for the House of Representatives included, first, yet another report from a Kauri-Gum Industry Commission and, later in the day, the second reading of the Licensing Amendment Bill. Once tabled, conclusions and recommendations in the Commission's report were briefly noted and debated. Those M.P.s who cared to look at the tabled report during the day would have found the following paragraphs[13]:

> Your Commissioners feel that they would be failing in their duty to the State if they neglected to draw attention to the pernicious effects of the wine-shops established on several of the kauri-gum reserves... From Kaitaia northwards everywhere the same tale was told. Reputable residents of the districts affected waited upon your Commissioners at each centre visited. The evidence of one witness, a Justice of the Peace, who is a man of high standing and repute, in referring to this matter said that the wine-shops existing in different parts of the various gumfields should not be allowed to continue in any shape or form, and that they were conducive to great immorality. He further stated that he has known cases where the kauri-gum was bartered for wine. The usual experience was that as soon as a gumfield was opened the wine-shops followed.
>
> In the opinion of your Commissioners the traffic is having a most harmful effect in the districts mentioned, and is doing a great injury to a large number of the Maori people, whole families of whom for many months of the year camp on the fields and engage in gum-digging.

Two intriguing paragraphs, based on nothing more than the evidence of a 'reputable' witness (who might well have been a zealous prohibitionist), and an opinion of the Commissioners themselves!

Concern for the Maori population is quite understandable; the Maori race was popularly believed to be dying out and it was feared that its demise would be hastened by readily available supplies of alcohol. But there was also another factor to be considered. The 'Austrian' gumdigging population was heavily dominated by males, over half of them between twenty and thirty years of age. It was believed that Maori women were able (perhaps encouraged) to get, through them, intoxicating liquors. Aware of these points the Aliens Commission of 1916 expressed the opinion that (Auckland Star, 19 September 1916, page 8):

> Where young and vigorous men, attractive young women, free from conventional social restraints, and abundance of intoxicating liquors are found together, debauchery will certainly result amongst any race or races.

The Commission therefore suggested stricter control of the supply or sale of wine "where a considerable Native population exists".

Little is known about the exact location, ownership and operation of the wineshops in question. The only published pictorial record is that from three glass negatives showing one exterior and two interior views of the Babich Brothers wineshop at Kaikino, about ten kilometers north of Awanui, in 1916. Set about two hundred meters from the Babich homestead, the wineshop was a windowless tin shed surrounded in part by thick scrub. Inside were a stack of barrels (some marked 'Babich'), copper jugs, syphon tubing, a worn bottle-cleaning brush hanging from a nail, a funnel and a number of bottles.[14] It was from here that Joseph Babich sold wine produced from locally grown grapes (near Waiharara?)[15] and possibly from Herekino vineyards as well.

One man who did look into the Commission's report on 21 July 1914, and who took note of its contents, was W. F. Massey, the Prime Minister. A former dairy farmer and now a dedicated politician, Massey "was not a man of wide sympathies; in many respects he was narrow and bigoted" (Oliver 1960, 162). Shortly after 7 p.m. that day, during the second reading of the Licensing Amendment Bill, Massey informed the House of his intention to move an amendment to the Bill before it.[16]

> My attention was called to the necessity of it this afternoon. I propose to ask the House to agree to an amendment - I have not got it drafted at the moment - dealing with the manufacture and sale of what is called Austrian wine. I do not know whether the name is a misnomer or not; but it is a liquor that is sold in the district north of Auckland. I have never seen the stuff, but I believe it to be one of the vilest decoctions which can possibly be imagined. I do not know what its ingredients are, but I have come across people who have seen the effects of the use of Austrian wine as a beverage, and from what I have learned it is a degrading, demoralizing and sometimes maddening drink to many who use it. Any one who has read the northern papers will have seen that there have been loss of lives [sic] in that part of the country attributed - and, I believe, correctly - to the use of Austrian wine as a beverage. When members receive their copies of the Gum Lands Commission's report, will they look at page 20, and there they will see this paragraph:-
>
> [See paragraphs cited earlier. When the paragraphs had been read out, Massey concluded as follows.]
>
> That is the opinion of the members of that Commission - gentlemen well qualified to express an opinion. And I want to say this: if it is necessary to do so, the manufacture and sale of what is known as Austrian wine should be put down with very drastic measures, and I shall ask the House to do so when we reach the Committee stage.

True to his word, Massey introduced the amendment on 28 July 1914 during the Committee Stage of the Bill.[17] Under the terms of the amendment, wine was not to be manufactured for sale except under the authority of a winemakers license. The application for such a license was to be made to the Clerk of the nearest Magistrate's Court, was to be referred to a senior police officer for a report as to the fitness of the applicant, and was to be granted (for a fee of £10) only when the Magistrate was satisfied that the applicant was indeed a person fit to hold such a license. Tenable for only the current calendar year, the license permitted the holder to sell wine of his own manufacture (in accurately labelled containers) from one place only, in quantities of not less than two gallons to any one person at any one time. A person who breached these regulations was subject to a fine of up to £100, cancellation of his license and would be disqualified from holding a further license for two years after the date of cancellation. At no point in all of this affair did Massey acknowledge or give credit to Stephen Vella, John Vella, Stephen Kokich, Lovre Marinovich or other officers of the Viticultural Association who had made a plea for control of the industry two years earlier.

Scott (1964, 64) reports that 35 licenses were issued in 1915. We know, however, that in 1913 there were at least 70 winemakers producing about 90,000 gallons per year, 25 of them Yugoslavs who accounted for about one-third of annual production. The industry must therefore have suffered a severe set-back. For the survivors, and those who joined them in later years, the minimum sale of two gallons per person proved to be a major stumbling block on the path to success and prosperity.

Those who managed to ride out the ravages of phylloxera, competition from cheap imports and local 'fakes', and the rising tide of prohibition, but who had still to face Massey's assault and the events of 1918 and 1919, are listed in Table 4.1. As expected the majority were located at Henderson-Oratia-Kumeu and Herekino, but there were others at Red Hill-Te Koporu and near Thames. Pride of place for acreage and production, however, goes to the Frankovich brothers at Arkles Bay on the Whangaparoa Peninsula, north of Auckland. Established as early as 1899, the Frankovich vineyard provided employment not only for the three or four brothers but for a number of others as well. At the time of naturalisation (1902-1903), John and Mate Franicevich and John and Ivan Kavalinovich, each gave their occupation as "vintager", address 'Whangaparoa".[18] And as a measure of the vineyard's success, against formidable odds, it is worth noting that in 1916 Frank and George Frankovich were listed as "Wine-merchants" at 139 Victoria Street, Auckland.[19]

Table 4.1

Yugoslav Winemakers in New Zealand, March 1913

Names	Locations	Acreage[1]	Production[1] (gallons)
BACICH, John	Herekino	2	700
BARBALICH, Nicholas	Shortland, Thames	2	200
BILICH, Martin	Henderson	2	800
BORICH, Ante	Kumeu	8	2000
BORICH Brothers (prob. John & Joseph)	Avondale, Auckland	6	2000
DEVCICH Brothers (prob. Marian, Sam, Nicola)	Puriri, Thames	½	-
DRAGICEVICH, Tony	Te Koporu	1	100
FRANKOVICH Brothers (prob. Frank, John, George & Nicholas)	Whangaparoa	11	4000
FRANICEVICH, Mattey	The Wade, nr. Silverdale	3	400
GLAMUZINA, M (Mark/Mate ?)	Red Hill	1	200
GLUCINA, Ivan	Oratia	2½	500
KOKICH, Stephen	Swanson	1½	-
KUNICICH, Teda	Herekino	4½	1500
LUNJEVICH, Peter	Herekino	4	800
MARINOVICH Brothers (prob. Lovre, Stanko)	Oratia	8	2000
MILICICH, Peter	Henderson	6	1800
ORSULICH, John	Red Hill	2	100
PECHAR Brothers (prob. Frank, Paul & Tony)	Tokatoka, nr. Dargaville	6	-
RADALJ, Joze	Henderson	5	500
SUNDE Brothers (prob. Ivan, Marino & Tom and/or Cvitan and Filip)	Oratia	2	-
URLICH, Stephen	Herekino	3	900
VELLA, John	Oratia	6	2000
VELLA, Peter	Kumeu	5	1500
VEZA, George	Herekino	1	300
YELAS, Stephen	Henderson	4	1300

1. Marked discrepancies in wine yield per acre may reflect variations in the maturity of vines and the decision of some growers to market part of their crop as table grapes.

Source: Based upon list in Wine Review Vol. 3 (1966) No. 2, page 25, with appropriate corrections to spelling of names.

The Frankovich success story, and the names of 24 others in Table 4.1, should not be allowed to obscure the record of early casualties. Mention has already been made of Nicholas and John Silich. Others, who at the time of naturalisation described themselves as 'vinegrower' or 'grape grower' and who had apparently dropped out by 1913, included Andrija Bilish (1907, Waiuku), Joe Botica (1911, Awanui), Lovre Erstich (1907, Kaitara), Mate Lucietich (1907, Auckland), Mate Radojkovich (1906, Waimate North), Marino Radonich (1903, Wade), Andrew Sinkovich (1903, Waimate North), Jakov Stanich (1903, Herekino) and Nikola Vidosevich (1903, Mangawai).[20] The Sulenta brothers are also known to have established a vineyard at Waipapakauri over the period 1903-1905 (Sinclair and Harrex 1978, 23). Further casualties were soon to follow from among those still in business in 1913. One of them was John Vella, an active member of the Viticultural Association, who "despaired of the government's good faith in resisting the prohibitionists and withdrew from the industry" (Scott 1964, 57).

Some of the additional restrictions imposed between 1920 and 1949, discussed in detail by Scott (1964, 64-72), may be summarised as follows. First, a further Licensing Act amendment in 1920 terminated the issue of winebar licenses and thus another form of sale. Second, in 1924, regulations for control of winemaking were issued under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1908. Three of these regulations were: (a) that the addition of water was prohibited (though often necessary to reduce acidity); (b) that only wine spirits could be used for fortifying (but growers with under five acres were prevented from having a still or buying from others under an amendment to the Distilling Act in 1908); and (c) that wine could only be made from grapes (thus all fruit and citrus wines were illegal). Had these regulations been enforced, winemaking would have been virtually impossible. When prosecutions were brought by the police on behalf of the Health Department in 1927, the magistrate refused to convict the winemaker for fortifying with imported brandy because it had been supplied for that purpose by Customs at a reduced duty. In effect, as the magistrate noted, one government department was prosecuting winemakers for what another department approved (Scott 1964, 65). Finally, in 1932 the pinch of the depression years was sharpened by a 5 percent sales tax on New Zealand wine. This tax was increased to 10 percent in 1940, to 40 percent in 1942 and then reduced to 20 percent in 1949.

Another problem confronting winemakers was the absence of a formal organisation to represent their interests and press their claims. A North Auckland Vinegrowers Association, active at the turn of the century, had collapsed and its

successor, the Viticultural Association, had gone into recess. Fearing they would be ruined by the import of cheap fortified wines (mainly from Australia), by the sale of non-genuine grape wines and by chaotic laws and regulations, a group of winemakers met at Falls Private Hotel, Henderson, on 7 June 1926. Moved by P. Sunde and seconded by G. Glucina, a motion was passed to form an association to protect their interests - it was named the Viticultural Association of New Zealand. The meeting elected Simon Mitchell Ujdar (Birdwood Vineyards) as chairman, a position he held until 1946, and K. A. Corban (Mt. Lebanon Vineyards) as secretary. Subscriptions were set at £1 for the first acre in vines and ten shillings for each additional acre. The first seven entries in the Association's receipt book were for J. Balich (£2, 3 acres), J. Radalj (£2, 4 acres), G. Glucina (£1, 1 acre), P. and D. Sunde (£1, 1 acre), S. Yelas (£3, 6 acres), S. Ujdar (£3, 5 acres) and A. A. Corban (£8, 15 acres). Growers also agreed to pay on the same scale to meet the expenses of the delegates who would convey their petition for assistance to Wellington.[21]

Over the next two decades winemakers worked closely in Wellington with Labour M.P. Rex Mason. In one session of parliament after another Mason sought, with little if any success, to introduce reforms. Frustrations abounded. In 1951, for example, when winegrowers appeared before a Licensing Control Commission (set up to investigate licensing laws and recommend reforms) they found the Commission had no power to include their evidence in its deliberations. To some degree their problems were also magnified by organisational fragmentation. A clash of interests between large and small growers resulted in most of the former breaking away from the V.A.N.Z. in 1943. Another splinter group was led by Paul Groshek, a former Yugoslav miner turned viticulturalist, who established the New Zealand Grape Producer's and Wine Manufacturers Association (Inc.) and carried on a personal crusade for reform until his death in 1963. Despite the splits of 1943 the V.A.N.Z. survived. By 1965, when the Golden Jubilee was being planned, the Viticultural Association represented some 85 percent of those holding a winemaking license. Significantly, as a small growers' organisation, the Association's eleven executives in 1965 were all Yugoslavs or of Yugoslav descent.[22]

Fortunately, during decades characterised by restrictions, economic depression, lack of reforms and fragmentation, there were moments of relief - albeit shortlived. Elected in 1935, the Labour Government introduced import restrictions on a broad spectrum of goods, including wines and spirits. Thus the liquor trade was forced to market home-grown wines it had previously neglected. Imports did,

however, increase during World War II and rose sharply once it ended. Another Labour Government measure was an increase in duty on imported wines to 8s..3d. per gallon in 1938. New Zealand-made ports were thus able to compete with cheaper Australian ports that had dominated the market. But this favourable situation was largely offset by later sales tax increases on local products. Finally, there was the boom created by thousands of thirsty American servicemen who bought and consumed almost anything that was produced. Alleged declines in production standards and quality, precipitated by U.S. servicemen, were deplored both within and outside the industry. Nevertheless, Henderson's wine acreage and production rose by over 300 percent between 1940 and 1950 (Moran 1958, 81). Grateful growers would probably have considered 'Henderson' a fitting addition to the battle honours of the Marines.

Thanks largely to one man, real reforms and benefits finally came during the 1950s and 1960s. George (Jure Tomin) Mazuran, born in Nakovan on the Peljesac peninsula, arrived in New Zealand in 1926. Naturalised in 1934 (then a labourer in Auckland), Mazuran and his wife established a vineyard in the Henderson area in 1938, planting their first vines in 1939, and marketed their first wine in 1942. It was the marketing difficulties he encountered after the war that led him into a quest for better selling opportunities and ultimately into political lobbying. He soon acquired an enviable reputation for his amiable personality, stubborn determination and his hard-won extensive knowledge of legislation relevant to liquor licensing and the wine industry. A steadfast opponent to the intrusion of foreign capital and control, Mazuran stressed again and again the virtues and role of small private family enterprises in New Zealand's viticulture and winemaking.

Elected President of the Viticultural Association in 1950, George Mazuran's first claim to success came in 1952 when the annual February dinner and field day for parliamentarians, senior government officials and other special guests was launched. All the guests at this now well-established event have one special attribute - the power to make decisions that affect the wine industry. Cooper (1978, 7) reports that between 17 and 25 M.P.'s (government and opposition) are usually present. Essentially lobbying occasions, the dinner and field day "also serve to create a network of personal relationships between industry leaders and politicians". Commenting on this point, Cooper (1978, 7) has said:

> This is the essential political achievement of the field day; the creation and annual renewal of friendships between wine-growers and M.P.'s which link the wine industry with those who make the decisions in the legislature and enable information and influence to be supplied and exerted to shape these decisions.

Mazuran's brain-child, the dinner and field day was officially organised for the first two years by the short-lived Wine Manufacturers Federation and thereafter controlled by the Viticultural Association until 1976. There is abundant evidence that direct exposure to the small (mainly Yugoslav) growers visited and contacted on field days has deeply impressed the politicians. Talk of "vile Austrian wine" or "Dally plonk" is now inconceivable.[23]

The first pay-off, and George Mazuran's second claim to success, came in 1955. From the beginning he regarded a solution to the two-gallon minimum sale per person, introduced by Massey in 1914, as a key issue. In a recent interview with journalist Peter Trickett, Mazuran described the small winemakers plight.[24]

> The sales restriction was a stranglehold around our necks. Just imagine...someone comes to you wanting to buy a bottle of wine and you have to say to him, "Sorry. No. You have to buy a dozen". What does he do? Of course, he goes off to a hotel and buys a bottle there. Probably a bottle of imported wine, because the breweries weren't interested in stocking our local brands. It was murder. It was meant to strangle our industry.

Using information, contacts and goodwill already gained from the annual dinner and field day, Mazuran on his own pushed for and achieved in 1955 a vital reduction in the two-gallon minimum restriction applying to local wine sales by winemakers and wine resellers.

The wine industry boom now began in earnest. A Select Committee on the Wine-making Industry was set up in 1956. Wine resellers licenses proliferated, the number of premises jumping from 136 to over 250 between 1957 and 1964 alone. Sales of wine in restaurants was introduced (cautiously) in 1960 and by 1962-63 national sales of New Zealand wine had passed the million-gallon mark. Distillation of beverage brandy was initiated by the granting of experimental licenses to six winemakers in 1964. A standard values tax boost for maturing wines appeared in 1968, tariffs on almost all imported wines were doubled in 1972 and in 1976 vineyard bar licenses were created.

On the occasion of the Viticultural Association's Golden Jubilee field day in 1966, Hugh Watt, Labour M.P., made the following comment.[25]

> There are not 80 members of Parliament, but really 81. That extra one who comes down to sit in the House does not catch the Speaker's eye, but he has almost as much influence as a member; I refer to the man who conducts public relations of such a high order for you - George Mazuran.

In 1971, in his twenty-first year as President of the Viticultural Association, George Mazuran was awarded the Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.) for his services to the wine industry.

Even as the first post-war reforms and successes were being chalked up, however, another problem was becoming more and more difficult to ignore. Over half the Henderson vine acreage was situated either within the Henderson Borough or in close proximity to areas where subdivision for housing was making rapid advances. Moran (1958, 66) reported that several of the larger growers had already considered moving out to localities further from the city, but suggested that few small growers were likely to follow suit. The number of small-scale winemakers would therefore decline. Moran was correct. A number of small Yugoslav properties (like Tony Knezovich's Adriatic Vineyard) were engulfed by Auckland's suburban sprawl, but a few did retreat (e.g. Peters Vineyards Ltd. operated by Paul Talijancich and Selaks Wines Ltd. operated by Mate and Ivan Selak). As recently as 1977 the Balic Estate (formerly Golden Sunset Vineyard, established by Joseph Balich in 1912) was being seriously challenged by residential zoning that upset plans for further planting and the development of restaurant and barbecue facilities. Today Yugoslavs still dominate the Henderson scene, but it is sometimes the names of streets, avenues and crescents, not vineyard hoardings, which mark the presence of those who brought to New Zealand the traditions and skills of Dalmatian viticulture and winemaking.[26]

It remains now to note briefly a new era, one shaped by the aspirations of a younger generation and given substance by large injections of outside finance. Take, for example, Nobilo's Vintners Ltd. which began as a small family vineyard at Huapai, north of Kumeu. Development commenced in the late 1960s when Gilbeys bought a large shareholding in the company, providing finance to allow extensive plantings of European varieties of grapes. When Gilbeys pulled out (because shareholding transfers in Britain dictated a change in policy) the New Zealand Public Service Investment Society and Reid Nathan Ltd. both moved in (30 percent shareholding each) to join the Nobilo family (30 percent) and the New Zealand Development Finance Corporation (10 percent). Nobilo's Vintners now has 150 acres in fully productive classical vines.[27]

The success story, however, is that of Montana Wines. Founded by Ivan Yukich who began selling wine from half an acre of grapes in 1944, his sons Frank and Mate expanded the property to 50 acres by 1964 when they formed Montana Holdings with a fully paid capital of $200,000. The first to invest in Montana were Campbell and Ehrenfried, wine and spirit merchants, who were followed by Auckland financier Rolf Porter, by the New Zealand Development Finance Corporation and (in 1973) by Seagrams of New York, the world's largest distiller and a leading

producer and marketer of wine. Share capital in 1973 stood at $12 million! By 1976-1977, 20 percent of the company was owned by the New Zealand public, 40 percent by Seagrams, and the remainder by other interests including the original family. Few New Zealanders were aware of it, but Montana had also taken control of Ormond Wines Ltd. and Waihirere Wines Ltd.[28] Montana was now the largest and most powerful wine company in New Zealand. A far cry indeed from the days of temporary gumdigging immigrants and of small, unspecialised family enterprises that owed nothing to outside finance.

Footnotes

1. Weekly News, 7 March 1907, page 17; New Zealand Herald, 18 February 1907, page 7. It was claimed that quantities of this wine were being sold to the local Maori population and complaints were made to the authorities.

2. Register of Aliens 1917, listed under Mangonui County and also under Hokianga County.

3. Register of Aliens 1917. Note that Stive Babich at Waiharara gave his occupation as 'winemaker'.

4. Personal interview with Mrs. Vica Srhoj, January 1965, Waiharara. For further details see Trlin (1967a, 272-274).

5. Register of Aliens 1917. Where names have been mis-spelt in the Register these have been corrected, both here and in the earlier lists for Herekino, Lake Ohia, etc.,.

6. Of these three, only Stepan Yelas' enterprise (Pleasant Valley Vineyard) has survived to the present day. Yelas (alias Jelich) arrived in New Zealand in 1890 and in 1895 bought land in the Henderson area (with a partner) at £5 an acre for gumdigging. After a three year period in California he returned to his Henderson property and began market gardening and by 1902 had started winemaking. For further details, see Scott (1964, 90-91).

7. Register of Aliens 1917, listed under Waitemata County.

8. Aside from the concentration in the Henderson-Kumeu district there were, as late as the mid 1960s, a number of small Yugoslav vineyards scattered throughout North Auckland. Among the more notable of these were: M. Yovich and Sons Ltd. (near Ruakaka), Music's Kiripaka Vineyards, I.P. Markotich (near Kerikeri), Luka Lunjevich's Golden Vineyard (Kaitaia), L. I. Posinkovich (Herekino), Nola's Wines Ltd. (Dargaville). For further details, see "The Vineyards of the North" Wine Review, Vol. 3 (1966) No. 4, pages 10-13.

9. See, Scott (1964, 62) for further details.

10. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1919, I. 12, page xxv. For evidence presented by the New Zealand Viticultural Association delegation (D. Smith, F. Bray and K. A. Corban) see pages 233-234. Independent evidence was also presented by J. Craick of Te Mata vineyards - see pages 266-267.

11. Cited by Scott (1964, 63). Note also that in 1908 the Distilling Act was amended to raise the minimum vineyard area from 2 to 5 acres before a still was permitted. Scott (1964, 63) points out that: "Since each vineyard was allowed to distil only its own spirit, small growers deprived of licenses were prevented from combining their acreage to license a co-operative still. They had to buy imported brandy."

12. Cited by Scott (1964, 63).

13. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1914, C.12, page 20 (based on the evidence of T. S. Houston J.P., a resident of Ahipara - see page 39 of the Commission's report).

14. The photographs appear in an article titled "Five brothers on the gumfields and one a winemaker" Wine Review, Vol. 7 (1970) No. 2, pages 20-23.

15. See footnote 3 above.

16. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1914, Vol. 168, pages 829-830.

17. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1914, Vol. 169, pages 229-231.

18. Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand before 1948. A similar case was that of Tomaso Jerkovich (1903), Kuzma Matijevich (1903) and Mate Srhoj (1903), all of whom gave their occupation as 'vinedresser', residence 'Helensville'. Though one cannot be completely sure, given the evidence available, it seems likely that there was a vineyard at Helensville established (or operated) by Jakov Srhoj.

19. Register of Aliens 1917.

20. Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand before 1948.

21. "Winemakers Unite to Save Infant Industry" Wine Review, Vol. 3 (1966) No. 2, pages 20-23.

22. The executives of the Viticultural Association were: George Mazuran (President), Mate Brajkovich (Vice-President), Peter Babich (Vice-President), Peter Fredatovich (Secretary), Nicholas Delegat, Tom Antunovich, M. Jelas, N. Nobilo, Mate Selak, Victor Talijanich and Martin White [Bilich].

23. The whole question of influence through social contact (i.e. the function of the annual dinner and field day) is examined in detail in a superb thesis by Cooper (1977, 46-56), part of which has been published as a short article (Cooper 1978). This thesis also gives forthright recognition to the role and achievements of George Mazuran (Cooper 1977, 41-45) as well as tracing the history of the 'wine lobby' in its efforts to secure reform.

24. Peter Trickett "Vintage Years", New Zealand Listener, 25 November 1978, pages 24-25.

25. Reported in Wine Review Vol. 3 (1966) No. 2, page 14.

26. The following street names may now be found in the Henderson-Glen Eden area of Auckland: Adriatic Avenue, Babich Road, Divich Avenue, Garelja Road, Mariana Place, Milich Terrace, Nola Road, Ozich Avenue, Vodanovich Road, Yelash Road.

27. Information on Nobilo's is from Peter Trickett "Vintage Years", New Zealand Listener, 25 November 1978, page 25 and also from Saunders (1977, 47).

28. Information on Montana Wines is from Scott (1964, 100), Saunders (1977, 43), Cooper (1977, 116) and Peter Trickett "Vintage Years", New Zealand Listener, 25 November 1978, page 25.

5

ENEMY ALIENS

On 28 July 1914, exactly one month after Archduke Francis Ferdinand's assassination at Sarajevo, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Excited by this news, Dalmatians held a crowded, lively meeting (30 July) at a Federal Street boarding-house, presumably under the auspices of the newly formed Croatian-Slavonian League of Independence. Many of those present, despite efforts of leaders to restrain their more impetuous compatriots, advocated and gained support for a demonstration which would include the burning of a flag outside the Austrian Consul's office in Customs Street. Informed of this plan the police early next morning called on George Scansie, the League's president. He was advised that the demonstration would not be allowed. Scansie informed his countrymen of the view taken by the police, but they were still in favour of going ahead. A copy of the Austrian Field Marshal's flag was hastily prepared for the event. Shortly before 2 p.m. that day about one hundred demonstrators gathered outside the Consul's office. The police intervened. In the resulting scuffle demonstrators found it impossible to burn the flag as planned and had to satisfy themselves by hooting it, trampling upon it and tearing it into shreds. Forming a procession they then walked through Queen Street, singing and cheering for Serbia.[1] Four days later, 4 August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany, on 6 August both Serbia and Montenegro followed suite, and on 12 August Britain declared war on Austria-Hungary.

So began a fateful five-year period the events of which had a far-reaching effect upon the lives and reputation of Yugoslavs in New Zealand. Looking back at that period, Lochore (1951, 43) offered the following account of what happened.

> In 1914 the Dalmatians became technically enemy aliens. In the earlier war years the government left them very much to themselves, and apart from a vague sympathy with the Serbian cause they took little interest in the struggle. But late in 1917 notices were posted in the Northland requiring aliens to register for national service. Without knowing what national service meant, the Dalmatians remembered that conscription into the Austrian Army had begun with just such innocuous filling-in of forms. No official statement could reassure them, for they disbelieved officials on principle. In the end a dozen men refused to perform national service and were in due course interned as 'pro-Austrian'.

Rejected without reservation by Yugoslavs involved in the events concerned, Lochore's statement was nevertheless widely accepted as authoritative. Examination of records now open for perusal in the National Archives, however, reveals that Lochore was apallingly short on fact and liberal in his use of imagination. The aim of this chapter therefore is to set the record straight - warts and all!

Tension on the Gumfields, 1914 – 1916

Until the middle of 1915 antagonism toward the 'Austrians' was based primarily upon their potential as an economic threat, and not upon their status as enemy aliens. The war had an immediate adverse effect upon the kauri gum industry; the important German market was closed and shipping space for alternative markets was in short supply, thus merchants and storekeepers were very reluctant to buy. What would the gumdiggers do? Obviously they had to find employment elsewhere, and it was on this point that fears grew over the ability and willingness of Dalmatians (i.e. 'Austrians') to compete for road construction projects at low rates. In some instances the response of 'British' workmen was violent. For example, in November 1914, Frank Pavlovich, having successfully tendered for a project, withdrew his tender because he feared serious molestation from British labourers. This action did not prevent him being physically and verbally attacked, and shortly afterwards he committed suicide.[2] Employment of Dalmatians on railway extension works also aroused ill-feeling, especially when it was reported (New Zealand Herald, 9 March 1915, page 4) that one-third of those engaged on such works were alien-born. It is a fairly safe bet that behind this righteous concern over the employment of aliens was nothing other than ethnic prejudice.

Antagonism deepened during the latter half of 1915 and early 1916. The Dalmatians were accused of depleting the gumfields, of hoarding gum in anticipation of better prices, of abusing wine licenses and of promoting immoral behaviour via an illicit wine trade. Coupled with these 'traditional' fears and prejudices was a growing sense of injustice and consciousness of the Dalmatian's status as an enemy alien, both of which were fuelled by ever-increasing casualty lists from the front lines. Before their arrival in France, in May 1916, the Anzac (Australian and New Zealand) forces had suffered heavy losses between April and December 1915 in the ill-fated Gallipoli campaign. Accustomed to remitting money to families back home, the Dalmatians were now accused of sending money to enemy countries. Moreover, rumour had it that they were armed, being trained by enemy officers and awaiting the signal to revolt.

Two events during May 1916 illustrate the intensity of feeling reached. First, a group of young men brutally assaulted Mladen Jankovich at his home in Dargaville. His assailants were either unaware of or disregarded the fact that Jankovich, born in Smederevo, was a Serbian national and not an Austrian subject. Second, eleven days later, a public meeting at Kaihu passed the following resolutions: (a) that the Government be informed that Austrians are taking the places of men who have gone to the front and are reaping the benefits which rightly belong to returned servicemen; (b) that there are good grounds for believing that the enemy alien is provided with firearms; (c) that it is unjust to women and children that their menfolk are called-up for service and the aliens are left behind as a menace to the unprotected; and (d) that the Government be asked to grant facilities to subjects of British allies to return to their native lands, and that all enemy aliens be interned (New Zealand Herald, 25 May 1916, page 6). With respect to the last resolution, there was wide public discussion of a proposal (eventually abandoned) to intern all Dalmatians at Parengarenga (see Marshall, 1968, 268-276).

In response to these and similar public cries, Government appointed an Aliens Commission to investigate the matter. The Commissioners (J. W. Poynton of Palmerston North, and G. Elliot of Auckland) visited Dargaville, Kaihu, Whangarei, Kaikohe, Awanui, Kaitaia, Kaimaumau, Houhora, Te Hapua and Auckland. Sittings, widely advertised, were open to the public and evidence was taken from 125 witnesses. Presented to the Minister of Justice in August 1916, the Commission's report was published in full in the Auckland Star (19 September 1916, page 8). Few New Zealanders, and least of all the Dalmatians, could have anticipated the content and conclusions of this remarkable document.

One or two minor points aside, the Dalmatians were exonerated. Emphasis was placed upon their loyalty and law abiding behaviour (the incidence of crimes committed was half that of Britons and Maoris). Attention was drawn to the conduct of "some of the more ignorant British in the North", who subjected Dalmatians to insult and annoyance, and to substantial evidence of serious misrepresentation of Dalmatian behaviour and loyalty. A petition signed by 370 persons, including "members of local bodies, Justices of the Peace and others who might be expected to consider before acting in such a manner", was cited as an example. Having examined as many petitioners as they could find the Commissioners reported that:

> ...not one of them, even those who drew up the petition could be found to justify the charges therein made against the Dalmatians. These statements included... the assertion that many of the naturalisation papers granted to them were obtained by fraud; that the majority of them were trained to arms, and in the event of a reverse to our forces in Europe these 'Austrians' would be a serious danger to us... The man who originated the petition said he merely wanted the gumfields to be reserved for the British-born.

And to cap it all it was suggested that loyal and respected Dalmatian leaders should be given a status, "such as a special constable or Justice of the Peace", with powers to prevent a recurrence of "the absurd, lying and mischievous rumours recently so widely prevalent". Needless to say, the Commissioners, under their terms of reference, concluded that the community was not endangered by the Dalmatian presence, that neither public feeling nor interest required their internment or segregation, and that such internment (if carried out) would seriously disturb business conditions. Publicity and official pronouncement to make known their loyalty and to counter-act the feeling of disquietude was also recommended.

While Scansie and his countrymen had good cause to feel satisfied there were others who were far from happy. Two years later, when alien Home Service problems erupted in strikes and 'go-slow' routines, a scathing attack was launched in Truth. Under the heading "Royal Comic Opera Commission", it was claimed by "Black Watch" that the Commission had made up its mind before hearing evidence, that its function was "to insult and brow beat British residents into tame acceptance of an administrative evil", and that a stellar visitor (reading the report) would be convinced that (Truth, 31 August 1918):

> ...the British were at best but a vile scum of dangerous, drunken, ignorant, criminal liars; and the Slavs a race of saints and martyrs more fitted for the gumfields of heaven than the desolate diggings of the North.

> It is scarcely credible that sane adults could have been induced to occupy themselves with such vulgar drivel; yet you will find it is perfectly of a piece with the whole line of research pursued by this troupe of queer fellows in their zeal to establish the superiority of the Slav over the Briton!

If nothing else the views of "Black Watch" serve to remind us that 'racial' (ethnic) prejudice was never far below the surface of public attitudes and opinion.

Question of Yugoslav Enlistment, 1914 – 1917

Only a week after Britain declared war on Germany, Scansie, as President of the Croatian-Slavonian League of Independence (C.S.L.I.), acting on instructions from his committee, wrote to Prime Minister W. F. Massey inquiring if Dalmatian volunteers for service with Serbian forces could join the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. The inquiry, acknowledged by Massey, was passed to Sir James Allen, Minister of Defence. At about the same time John Totich advised M.P. Gordon Coates of an offer of volunteers from a meeting in Dargaville. On 23 August a memo was sent from H.Q. New Zealand Military Forces, Wellington, to all District H.Q.s advising that members of the C.S.L.I. were to be allowed to enlist for military service. Six days later, however, Allen informed Scansie that as the full quota for the Expeditionary Force had already been made up the services of C.S.L.I. members could not be immediately accepted, but their applications would be gladly considered if a reinforcement followed the main body of troops. Though not the outcome hoped for by those keen to engage the enemy it was at least established, by the end of August 1914, that there were Yugoslavs able and willing to enlist for armed service.[3]

The first enlistment stumbling block - citizenship - appeared in June 1915, and gained importance as an obstacle during the following seven months. According to Scansie "a fair number of Slavs who were naturalised British subjects enlisted and were accepted" but there seemed to be some difficulty in the case of those not naturalised, including a number of such men already in training at Trentham Camp. One of the latter had been discharged "Not being a British Subject" and thus, Scansie claimed, others who had enlisted and not yet been called-up for training feared that they too would be sent back. He therefore begged Sir James Allen to "look into this matter and allow these men to proceed", noting that Government had suspended the issue of naturalisation papers until after the war.[4] Scansie's plea was fruitless. For reasons which will be stated later, this was not solely due to the government's stand on naturalisation (although it would hardly wish to set a precedent).

Clearly aware of the citizenship obstacle a number of individuals sought alternative solutions. Peter Sulenta, in response to Serbian appeals, suggested that a small group of New Zealand's Slavs could be organised and despatched to land near Serbian territory. Others, like Ivan Sokolich and Joseph Rudalj, offered their voluntary services to assist with construction work behind the front lines in France and Belgium. These suggestions and offers, while appreciated by Allen, were declined.[5] Nevertheless the search for alternatives continued and toward the end of the year was given a point of focus by events in Europe.

On 5 October, Allied troops landed at Salonika (Greece), it being clear that the Central Powers and Bulgaria were about to mount an offensive against Serbia, and on 12 October the Allies declared they would assist Serbia under the Bucharest treaty of 1913. For New Zealand's Yugoslavs there appeared at last to be a real chance for direct assistance. Early in November, Barthul Mihaljevich wrote to Government, listed the names of 45 Dalmatians in the Whangarei district who volunteered for service with Serbia, and offered to act as organiser for a Croatian Contingent.[6] The idea caught on. An Auckland Star editorial (25 November, 1915) suggested that the so-called 'Austrians' "could easily be formed into a separate detachment on the lines of the Foreign Legions..." Prompted by this editorial, and probably sensitive to shifts in public opinion during the Gallipoli campaign, Scansie also wrote in support of a Slav Contingent and offered his services for either office or camp work as an interpreter.[7]

Once again Government's response was negative. In a personal letter to T. W. Leys (Editor, Auckland Star), Allen stated: "I have considered your suggestion that we might form a contingent of Croatians and I do not think it practicable at the present time." When the whole matter (including Scansie's offer) was discussed in Cabinet on 6 December it was formally decided to take no action. Scansie was duly informed of this decision by Allen.[8] Unnaturalised Dalmatians thus remained unacceptable and by the end of December 1915 even the position of naturalised British subjects was in doubt.

Against the background of events in the Balkans, October-December 1915, the Brigadier-General commanding New Zealand Military Forces (Col. C. M. Gibbon, Chief of General Staff) sent a memo to the Minister of Defence (Sir James Allen) recommending that "no alien enemies or descendents of alien enemies should be accepted for service with the Reinforcements for the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, except under special authority..." Acting through the Governor (Lord Liverpool), Prime Minister W. F. Massey sought advice from the Imperial Authorities. The reply received on 25 January 1916 (to the Governor's telegram to the

Secretary of State for the Colonies) read: "consider there is grave objection to enlistment alien enemies or descendents in New Zealand forces".[9] A critical question now presented itself. Did this ruling apply strictly and without exception to all aliens (naturalised or not) and to descendents of naturalised British subjects resident in the Dominion for many years? From the evidence available it seems not, but the Dalmatians unfortunately fell foul of administrative error.

In October 1916, Scansie, elated by the Aliens Commission report published four weeks earlier, drew Allen's attention to two cases of naturalised Dalmatians who were refused enlistment on the grounds that even if naturalised "Men of alien nationality could be accepted only if their fathers were naturalised British subjects". If correct such a regulation placed all but a few Dalmatian immigrants (proclaimed to be loyal, law abiding) in the unacceptable category. Something had obviously gone wrong, and sure enough the error was admitted to the Minister of Defence in early November.

> The paragraph "Men of alien nationality may be accepted only if their fathers were naturalised British subjects" refers to instructions issued in regard to the sons of Germans or Austrians, and evidently the Auckland Office has taken the instruction to apply to Slavs. The matter has been rectified and naturalised Slavs are to be accepted for service in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.

So once again the eligibility of naturalised Dalmatians was confirmed while the unnaturalised (approximately 55 percent) remained in limbo.[10]

The war was now into its third year and there appeared to be little prospect of an immediate end to the carnage and destruction. If only to appease public opinion, showing signs of increasing dissatisfaction, some way of securing recruits among unnaturalised Yugoslavs was clearly desirable to all concerned. To this end a Yugoslav deputation met with the Acting Prime Minister (none other than Sir James Allen, Minister of Defence) in Wellington on 10 February 1917. The deputation, T. A. Petrie and G. M. Erceg, was introduced by J. S. Dickson M.P., and others present were Hon. W. H. Herries, Col. C. M. Gibbon (Chief of General Staff) and J. D. Gray (Secretary of the Recruiting Board).

Minutes of that meeting record discussion on three issues.[11] First was a proposal to set up a Slav Committee to seek recruits; the deputation wanted Government to draft a circular which the proposed Committee could distribute to each of their countrymen asking them whether or not they would volunteer for military service. Second was the related issue of unnaturalised men. Petrie was

firmly of the opinion that:

> ... it would only be fair for any volunteer, who was not naturalised, to be naturalised, so that he could be protected by International Law. If any unnaturalised man was taken prisoner by the Austrian Army he would be shot.

Allen's reply was brief - it "was a matter for Cabinet to consider". Finally, there was the question of enlistment conditions. Here, apparently locked into the Slav Contingent notion he had earlier dismissed as being impractical, Allen stressed that a contingent of men who were:

> ... perfectly loyal and naturalised... could not be officered by New Zealand officers, or be treated as part of the Expeditionary Force. The instructions sent to the Government were that Slavs who were loyal might be enlisted, and sent to Salonika, where they would be trained, and where they would join the forces now operating about Salonika.

Allen also remarked, on the question of pay, that he "did not think Cabinet would refuse to put them on the same footing as New Zealanders". Putting it bluntly, what Allen wanted to know was whether men could be secured for this purpose, and, if so, how many and how soon. Petrie, favouring a Slav Contingent, mentally noting Allen's brief comment concerning pay "on the same footing as New Zealanders", but wary of committing himself on the expected number of volunteers, agreed to do all that he could. The meeting adjourned on an understanding that Col. Gibbon would draft the deputation a letter setting out the position.

Chafing under rumours and attacks from his opponents concerning the meeting, Petrie was forced to wait six weeks before Gibbon's letter finally arrived, dated 20 March 1917. Consultation with Serbian authorities (hence the delay) had yielded enlistment conditions so frugal that Petrie must surely have doubted his eyes. Pay was to be at the rate of ordinary Serbian troops, no allowances were made for dependents, and the Serbian Government was prepared to grant five hectares of fertile land at war's end to each volunteer. Gibbon's letter finished with a request that he be informed at the earliest by Petrie and Erceg of the probable number of volunteers they considered would be forthcoming under these conditions. Petrie replied: "We are doubtful that [a] sufficient number of men will volunteer under the conditions offered..." and questioned why they should be paid less than New Zealand soldiers, etc.,.[12]

Apparently accepting Petrie's reply as both definite and definitive, Government took no further action! After all, if the volunteers were to serve with the Serbian Army then they were logically subject to its enlistment conditions, and not those of soldiers in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Later in the year, during the second reading of the Registration of Aliens Bill

on September 11, Allen declared that the Slavs had in fact refused to go without New Zealand pension provisions and rates of pay.[13] Goaded by these remarks, Petrie retorted that since Government had never formally asked or appealed for volunteers the Slavs had never had an opportunity to refuse. Furthermore, it was unreasonable to expect married men to enlist without provision for dependents, and an injustice to offer volunteers (who regarded themselves as colonials) less than New Zealand rates of pay "seeing that they would be fighting for Great Britain and New Zealand as much as for Servia [Serbia]."[14] In fairness to Allen, however, it should be noted that he was more restrained and tolerant than many of his parliamentary colleagues, and his remarks in the House were not without sympathy for Petrie's views.

Conscious of public opinion, anxious to demonstrate their willingness to serve, a meeting of Yugoslavs was held at Auckland's Chamber of Commerce on 29 October. The following resolution was adopted and reported (New Zealand Herald, 30 October 1917).

> That this meeting requests the Government to remove the restrictions placed upon Jugo Slavs in the matter of enlistment with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force; that the Government devise ways and means whereby Jugo Slavs desiring to do so may be despatched to join the Servians at Salonika to fight their direct national foes; that Jugo Slavs are prepared and willing to devote all their energies to such essential industries, or other works, in the Dominion as the Minister for Internal Affairs may direct, and so help the Government and the country to bear the burden of war easier; that all work so done may be at the same rate of pay, and under similar conditions as pertain to the Expeditionary Force.

Covering much of the same old ground and grievances the resolution nevertheless made one important advance. It established a commitment to engage in Home Service work, a course of action that had gained increasing public support since January 1917.

Mounting Tension : Conscription for Home Service, 1917

Publication of the Aliens Commission report in September 1916 had the desired effect of quashing wild rumours, allaying public fears on matters of internal security, and won for Dalmatians their rightful status as technical enemy aliens who were law abiding, friendly and loyal to the Allied cause. During 1917 therefore the issue was not one of loyalty and/or security but of Dalmatian contributions to the war effort. Why? Quite simply because it was believed that

they were taking advantage of conditions created by the departure of New Zealand's menfolk for military service. In particular resentment was aroused by their alleged demands (in the face of labour shortages) for higher wages as farm labourers. Similarly, it was believed they were buying up land that New Zealand servicemen were forced to place on the market.

The land issue, described by the New Zealand Herald (27 August 1917, page 4) as an injustice to New Zealanders, was effectively resolved in August. Government advised land registrars and registrars of deeds that dealings by alien enemies should not be registered and formalised the move via the War Legislation Act 1917. It was the labour issue, however, that attracted most attention throughout the year.

Resolutions or statements favouring alien labour conscription were passed by various associations, conferences, local bodies and public meetings. To illustrate the ground swell of such opinion the following sources may be cited as examples: (a) Mangonui and Ohinemuri County Councils, and the Kaitaia Chamber of Commerce (March 1917); (b) the Auckland Provincial Farmers Union, and Returned Soldiers Conference in Dunedin (May); (c) Te Aroha Chamber of Commerce, and North Auckland Dairy Factories Conference (June); and (d) Bay of Islands County Council, and public meetings at Kaikohe, Kawakawa and Okaihau (July). Very supportive editorials appeared with increasing frequency in the New Zealand Herald and other newspapers. Finally, in September, further resolutions were passed and telegraphed to Government by a large public meeting in Dargaville and by the Northern Wairoa Branch, Second Division League.[15] In Wellington, Prime Minister W. F. Massey responded by passing these two telegrams to the National Efficiency Board on 2 October 1917.

Recognising a need for urgency the Board's chairman replied immediately with a memorandum specifying resolutions passed during the Board's current sitting.[16] Enlistment of allied aliens fit and liable for military service, either with the New Zealand or other allied forces, was endorsed. Second, the Board resolved that allied aliens unfit for military service should be invited to volunteer for New Zealand Home Service. Third, conscription for use upon government work was favoured for "all males of military age and subjects or sons of subjects of countries with which the allied nations are at war", payment for such to be "at the same scale as is allowed to privates on active service together with a fair allowance for maintenance". And fourth, the Board favoured the use of such alien labour "for the preparation of undeveloped Crown, private or Maori land

for settlement of New Zealand Returned Soldiers..." For unnaturalised Dalmatians, technically 'Austrian' enemy aliens, the last two resolutions were directly relevant.

Government's decision on the matter was made known to the N.E.B. chairman five weeks later. Sir James Allen would receive a representative deputation of Yugoslavs, in Auckland, and would put before them three proposals.[17]

> That those who are naturalised will have the opportunity of joining the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.
> That those who are not naturalised will be given an opportunity of going to Australia [to join a Croatian Contingent being formed] with the object of proceeding to Europe, and joining the Servian Army there.
> The Government will use the remainder for industrial and other purposes within the Dominion at military rates of pay.

Upon reading these proposals the Board's chairman could have been forgiven for thinking he had seen or heard them before. He had. In essence they matched resolutions passed by both the N.E.B. (early October) and by the 29 October meeting of Yugoslavs in Auckland's Chamber of Commerce. This being the case it is difficult to say whether Government was taking the initiative (at last), and simply capitalising on the 29 October resolution, or whether Government was all but capitulating to both public opinion and the Yugoslavs.

The Auckland meeting took place on 10 November 1917, at the Grand Hotel. Yugoslav representatives present were J. Barbarich, S. P. Cvitanovich, G. M. Erceg, M. A. Ferri, T. A. Petrie, D. Rudalj, G. L. Scansie, M. Simich, P. M. Sulenta, J. Totich, and S. M. Ujdar. Proceedings were recorded.[18] Called by Allen, the meeting was quickly defined to the representatives as one to solicit their assistance and views with respect to a decision that had already been made. Acknowledging their loyalty, Allen stated (emphasis added):

> If the Jugo Slavs are to be organised to assist in the battle for freedom or in the service of New Zealand I have come to the conclusion that the best plan is for the New Zealand Government itself to take in hand the organisation of the Jugo Slavs, whether it is for service with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force or for service with your own countrymen or for service in New Zealand if that can be arranged. We have been accepting naturalised Jugo Slavs in our Expeditionary Force and we are prepared to accept them so long as we have no doubt in our minds as to their loyalty...

What he wanted from those present, therefore, was first of all assistance in finding naturalised men who were loyal, willing and able to serve. Second, on the question of Home Service, he wanted their views with respect to: (a) pay rates,

either military plus allowances (favoured by implication) or current civilian in local districts; (b) whether there were many married Yugoslavs on their own holdings who, in the interests of the country or production, should be left alone; and (c) whether, if enlisted for Home Service, they and their countrymen would be prepared to go wherever they were asked to go.

Allowing for minor variations between viewpoints expressed, Allen concluded "they were all pretty well agreed about the main point", namely that "the only course was for the Government to take the matter in hand." Recommendations would be made to Cabinet, which, if agreed to, would be made public. That the meeting should end on this note was virtually a foregone conclusion. Government's proposals, communicated by Allen, matched the 29 October resolution and were openly supported by Simich and Ujdar (President and Secretary, respectively, of a committee elected at the 29 October meeting), Cvitanovich, Petrie, Totich and Sulenta. Why then was the meeting called if the outcome was obvious? Only one answer presents itself. A consensus of opinion was desired and sought by Government in the midst of confusion and conflict generated by factions in the Yugoslav community.

Yugoslav Factions, 1917

On 10 February 1917 the Petrie - Erceg - Dickson deputation met with Allen and others in Wellington, and as noted earlier six weeks passed before Serbian enlistment conditions were made known to Petrie by Col. Gibbon. Early in March, Petrie complained of the delay and informed Gibbon that:[19]

> ... in the meantime there is a rumour going on among the Slavs accusing me of taking Mr. Erceg to Wellington for the purpose of assisting the Government with some scheme or other which is against the Slav interest here in New Zealand, for which services we are accused of receiving payment from the Government.

The fact that a meeting had taken place between "a deputation of Jugo Slav representatives, Mr. Dickson and Government" was announced by the New Zealand Herald, on 17 March, and readers were notified (incorrectly) "that a scheme had been formulated to overcome the difficult position of Jugo Slavs." Petrie, meanwhile, was still waiting for Gibbon's letter! Thanks to Dickson's precipitous statement to the Herald, the divisive forces of factionalism were unleashed.

Fired by the Herald article, and (he claimed) "at the request of many influential Dalmatians", Mathew Ferri wrote to Allen damning the deputation.[20]

> ...the so-called representatives... who accompanied Mr. Dickson to Wellington have not the respect or confidence of the large decent body of our Race here. They had no authority from that Race to represent them. They were in fact self-styled representatives and therefore any representations or arrangements they may have made with your Government... may and probably will come as a surprise to the large body of Dalmatians, and will no doubt lead to further and greater difficulties arising.

Who and what were Allen and Gibbon to believe? Petrie was a 'trusted contact', but on his own admission had not mixed with his countrymen for some years and had no wish to do so in the future. A reasonably successful entrepreneur, he was also an Anglo-phil declaring "I am happy among the British where generally I am not among my own countrymen", a stance reflected in his anglicised name (Petrie = Petrich).[21] Ferri, on the other hand, was closely associated with his countrymen; he served for years as an interpreter, business and estate agent, as editor of two prominent foreign-language newspapers (Bratska Sloga and Napredak), and from time-to-time was vocal on affairs concerning the Dalmatians. With some justice, and more than a little arrogance, he obviously considered himself a 'leader'. Ferri, however, was not trusted by the police and had only recently been released from internment on Somes Island. His judgement was also suspect for reasons of personal jealousy concerning Petrie.[22]

One other figure was well placed to speak with authority on or for the Yugoslavs - George Scansie. Well educated, perhaps inclined to a touch of flamboyance, Scansie had been president of the Croatian-Slavonian League of Independence, was closely associated with the Mayor of Auckland's Serbian War Relief Fund, and was editor of Zora (The Dawn) the most successful of the Serbo-Croatian newspapers. A more vocal and committed opponent of Austria just wasn't to be found among his contemporaries. Unhappily, Scansie was also deemed to be untrustworthy. In March and April of 1916, opinions had been sought on Scansie from a handful of Auckland businessmen; the results were bad - "from a business point of view a bad mark", "no good, very shifty", "an unprincipled man, whose loyalty is doubtful". On the strength of such reports Gibbon had issued instructions that Scansie was not to be permitted to visit interned Dalmatians or 'Austrians'. Now, Scansie too was caught in the web of factional intrigue.[23]

While Ferri was damning the Petrie - Erceg - Dickson deputation, Scansie was drafting and then published a circular titled "Jugoslovenska Narodna Obrana" (Yugoslav National Defence). Early in April, Col. Gibbon received a translation from Petrie, who described the circular as a "mass of selfishness and ingratitude towards our Empire and the Allies." Meanwhile, Sir James Allen received a letter

from Barthul Mihaljevich who was also concerned and angry over the circular's tone and contents, so much so that he felt like challenging Scansie to a duel. A former associate of Scansie, and briefly editor of Zora (The Dawn), Mihaljevich declared he was no longer a Scansie supporter. Within a matter of days, however, he almost completely reversed his position. He now advised Allen that Petrie, whom he had recently met, had inaccurately translated the circular, was personally prejudiced against Scansie and was plotting to get Scansie interned. Admitting he was "not on friendly terms with Mr. Scansie", Mihaljevich concluded "I do not wish to help Mr. Petrie in his action, which is purely a personal revenge."[24]

What did Scansie have to say for himself? Learning from the Auckland police that he was reported to be causing strife by turning Yugoslavs against their leaders in New Zealand, he wrote to Col. Gibbon as follows.[25]

> ... As a matter of fact there are no Jugo Slav leaders in New Zealand appointed by the people, and when I said that the Jugo Slavs should be organised to prevent anybody representing them to the Government and promising anything on behalf of the people, it was because many of the 'would be' leaders on several occasions offered 500 or 1000 volunteers, while to my knowledge no such men have offered, with the exception of those who have already joined the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces.
>
> The Jugo Slavs in general have become very disturbed, complaining that nobody has a right to put any proposition before the Government regarding their service. Knowing that this made them less ready to answer any call should the Government make any on them, I have, in the circular, raised their national duty towards their home country and have prepared them to be in readiness to offer to help local industries for which the Government may need them.

Leadership protestations notwithstanding, Scansie was undoubtedly displeased with the Petrie - Erceg - Dickson deputation because it usurped his carefully cultivated position and power as a spokesman. His comment concerning Home Service, however, provided food for thought (especially given the easily discernible trend in public opinion) so once again Col. Gibbon had to decide who and what to believe.

Hard on the heels of his own circular translation, requested by Gibbon (13 April 1917), Scansie despatched another letter accusing Petrie of intrigue and deliberate misrepresentation.[26]

> I have discovered that various letters have been written by T. A. Petrie of Auckland who asked different ones to sign and forward to the Defence Authorities... He also urged them to hold meetings in a certain boarding-house in Auckland against me, to pass a resolution to substantiate his aim.

> The meeting was held and speeches were made but none would adopt the resolution against me.

In the same letter, having outlined background objectives of Zora, he reported that his position as editor of this newspaper had been attacked by "certain men" in 1915 and 1916. Elections were held in both years to appoint a "a chairman of their organisation [presumably the Croatian Publishing Company] and editor of their paper", and on both occasions the result was overwhelmingly in his (Scansie's) favour. "This", said Scansie "created much ill-feeling amongst those placed for election and explains the quarrelling for leadership."[27]

If anything, Scansie's correspondence made the decision-making tasks of Gibbon (Chief of General Staff), and particularly Allen (Minister of Defence) that much more difficult. On the basis of available evidence Scansie was loyal, the leading spokesman, and clearly opposed to Petrie. But was he or Petrie to be trusted? In retrospect, the fact that Government decided to take no further action regarding enlistment of unnaturalised Yugoslavs after March 1917 was probably a decision that owed much to the bewilderment created by Yugoslav factionalism.

Against this background, and undeniable public support for conscription of alien labour, we return to the 10 November 1917 meeting in Auckland. Allen's desire for a consensus of opinion was evident from the outset when he described those present as "representatives of the various committees" which had communicated with Government. Underlying tensions came to the surface on at least three occasions during the meeting. First, M. Simich stated that the 29 October meeting of Yugoslavs (which elected a new committee, and of which he was President) had taken place against the wishes of Scansie, who, it appeared, claimed to be the official Serbian Consul in New Zealand. Allen quickly dispensed with this matter; it was not a question to be discussed at that time, and Government would not recognise Scansie's appointment until official information was received. Second, Petrie, touched with remorse, admitted to "a great deal of worry and sorrow to see that there was so much dissention amongst them", and with respect to Scansie and himself acknowledged "they had not been friendly for a long while". Finally, toward the end of the meeting, Simich and Scansie "had a rather heated discussion" with Simich accusing Scansie of calling him disloyal and demanding an apology. Small wonder then that Allen, in his concluding comments, virtually demanded that "all little differences had to be abolished". Furthermore, Allen's key conclusion that "the only course was for the Government to take the matter in hand", a conclusion about which "they were all pretty well agreed", is given an extra



John Cullen, Commissioner of Police 1912-1917 and Aliens Commissioner 1918-1919.



Sir James Allen, Minister of Defence (in uniform of N.Z. Garrison artillery, Otago Div.)

Photographs: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

dimension of meaning within the context of competing factions and conflicting personalities.[28]

John Cullen and Home Service, 1917 – 1919

Returning from Auckland, Allen briefed his Cabinet colleagues and by the end of November a decision had been reached. Though details of policy had yet to be finalised it was announced that Mr. John Cullen was to take charge of organising Yugoslavs for Home Service.

Born in Ireland in 1850, where he was educated and served with the Royal Irish Constabulary, Cullen arrived in New Zealand in 1876. Joining the Armed Constabulary, he was detailed for duty at Blenheim when New Zealand's provincial police forces were merged. Promoted to Sergeant in 1878, he attained the rank of Inspector at Greymouth in 1897 and in the following year was appointed Inspector of the Auckland district. Finally, in 1912, he became Commissioner of Police, a rank he held until retirement five years later.[29] Authoritarian, zealous in his performance of his duties, Cullen on at least one occasion betrayed a tendency to partiality. During the Waihi Strike (1912-1913), a milestone in New Zealand trade unionism, Cullen, as commander of the police, is known to have taken " a particularly combative stance" and to have become "more partisan as the fight wore on" (Campbell, 1974, 38 and 40), supporting and encouraging the arbitrationists against the Federationists. Familiar with the Auckland scene, skilled in criminal apprehension, this was the man selected for Home Service organisation of Yugoslavs - men divided into factions and imbued with stubborn determination. He came to his task with preconceptions of the character and loyalty of Mathew Ferri, George Scansie and Tony Petrie.

Cullen's duties as Commissioner of Aliens were wide-ranging. He was to: (a) investigate and report upon the loyalty and suitability of all naturalised Yugoslavs who enlisted for service with the Expeditionary Force; (b) prepare a register of all Yugoslavs, showing name, address, and occupation of each individual; (c) determine which of those Yugoslavs who volunteered for Home Service should be utilised under Government supervision and which should remain in their current occupations; (d) indicate the class of work each man was best fitted to perform for Home Service, and the rate of payment which should be made; and (e) exercise general supervision over men employed on Home Service.[30] Paid £256..10s. per annum (the difference between his superannuation and pre-retirement salary), entitled to claim travelling allowances, office space found and a

qualified typist installed, Cullen set about his duties in January 1918.

Over the next eighteen or nineteen months an indeterminate number of Yugoslavs were directed by Cullen to employment with the Department of Public Works, and Lands and Survey, while others were engaged on private farms, by local bodies or were exempted from Home Service altogether. For those on government 'works' (about 600) the main activities and locations were:

1. Swamp drainage and stopbank construction - at Kaitaia-Awanui, Thornton-Rangitaiki, Kerepehi, Paeroa, Ruawai, Tirohia-Rotokuhu and upper Waihou River.
2. Railway construction work - at Okahukura (Stratford main trunk railway), Kaikohe-Hokianga, Whangarei-Mangapai, north of Maungaturoto, and on the Waiuku branch railway.
3. Road making - at Ruawai.

Since the majority of those conscripted had previously laboured under wet and difficult conditions as gumdiggers, Cullen considered that the work they were put to differed little from what they were used to.[31] Men accustomed to being self-employed, however, were apt to appraise their working conditions and payment with a more critical eye when working for someone else. Add to that the element of compulsion behind their conscription, the Commissioner's growing reputation for tactlessness and lack of sympathy, and the result was inevitable. Trouble. Trouble, within six months of the scheme's initiation!

In June 1918 strikes occurred at the Okahukura railway construction works and at the swamp drainage works near Kaitaia-Awanui. At Okahukura about forty Yugoslavs went on strike because they objected to the Public Works Department's piecework system under which they were employed and paid.[32] Working conditions and pay were at the root of the Kaitaia-Awanui strike as well, with a formal complaint being made by Peter Sulenta, but were overshadowed by the action of a foreman who discharged one of the Yugoslav workers. Other Yugoslavs immediately downed tools and refused to return to work until the discharged man was taken on again.

Cullen's perception of and response to these events is typified by his report to Allen after visiting the Kaitaia-Awanui works.[33]

> The Slavs engaged on these works are no worse off as regards their earnings than if they were gumdigging, as the incessant rain we have been having would have prevented them digging gum just as effectively as the Drainage Works.
>
> The men are provided with good tents and a dry camping ground within two hundredyards from their work.

> With regard to the writer of attached letter [Sulenta's letter of complaint] , I consider this man to be an out-and-out agitator and a disloyalist at heart, and is causing a good deal of trouble amongst the Slavs at work as well as amongst others who are being called up for work at the present time.

Summing up, Cullen urged internment of Sulenta, Mick Zidich and Ivan Sumich "in the interests of the public as well as that of the Slavs in the North, who are being worked up against the Government by the under-hand agitation of Sulenta.." George Divich was also identified as an agitator. The men named were subsequently interned. Sulenta, it will be remembered, was one of the representatives who met with Allen in November 1917. On that occasion he had little to say beyond expressing complete agreement with Allen's proposals and conclusions.

Problems of another kind involved tracing the whereabouts of men liable for registration and service, getting them registered and then directing them to their place of work. Cullen's files are replete with difficulties encountered in this area, difficulties which must have thwarted his effectiveness and rapidly eroded what little tolerance and sympathy he had. One of these 'difficulties' warrants special attention.

Early in June 1918 Cullen wrote to George Scansie seeking an answer to a simple but crucial question. Was Scansie an Austrian-born subject? "I am a Serbian subject", replied Scansie. "Should you at any time desire to see my passport I would be pleased to show it to you." A month passed. Inquiries were conducted and Cullen, convinced he was correct, wrote Scansie a sharp demand, "... you were born in Dalmatia under the Austrian flag and that being so I must insist upon you calling at my office without delay." Scansie placed the matter before his solicitors, who, on information supplied, then wrote three letters to an increasingly irate Commissioner. The solicitors first advised Cullen that their client was born in Kossovo, a town in Serbia. In the second letter it was claimed that Scansie's parents (father Italian-born and mother Serbian) had been living in Serbia at the time of his birth, had later returned to Dalmatia, and hence Scansie's mistaken declaration recorded on his naturalisation papers (having only recently learned of all this from his older brother) that he was born at Sumartin on the island of Brac in Dalmatia. The third letter amended the birthplace "Kossovo", stated in the first letter, to read "town of Sveti Martin in the Province of Kossovo".[34] While the first two letters might have convinced Cullen, the final amendment gave the game away.

Cullen was not impressed. Reporting to Sir James Allen (in August) he dismissed Scansie's claims as nothing more than fraud, suggested that it was vanity which led him to pose as a Serbian with the object of being appointed Serbian Consul, and described him as "a thorough schemer, and utterly untrustworthy so far as the Allies are concerned..." Not one to stop short for deserved punishment, Cullen recommended that Scansie's naturalisation be cancelled and that he be prosecuted for failing to register under the Aliens Act. A week later, in another letter to Allen, Cullen reported attempts (some by Scansie) to 'convert' Dalmatians into Serbians by securing new passports.[35] This business, characterised throughout by a lack of hard evidence against Scansie, continued until well into 1919. As far as Cullen was concerned, Scansie was "a sort of head centre among the malcontent Dalmatians, all of whom belong to Revolutionary Secret Societies ..."[36]

Scansie's naturalisation was not cancelled, nor was he prosecuted, but Government refused to recognise him as the official Serbian Consul. Whether or not one accepts Cullen's assessment of Scansie's character it must be conceded that he was, as Cullen suspected, guilty of fraud. "Sveti Martin", described as a town in Kossovo Province and claimed by Scansie as his birthplace, was indeed a play on "Sumartin", a town on the Dalmatian island of Brac. Thus at a time when Yugoslavs were in sore need of a reputable, recognised representative, Scansie's position and power as a spokesman was completely undermined.

On 3 November 1918 the Allies signed an armistice with Austria-Hungary, and a week later another was signed with Germany. The war was over but in New Zealand the Yugoslav immigrant found himself bound to continued Home Service employment. Cullen made the position perfectly clear in a letter to J. B. Thompson, Chief Drainage Engineer, Department of Lands and Survey.[37]

> It appears that a number of Jugoslavs are now under the impression that the armistice having been signed they are no longer liable to work in National Service, and inquiries are being made by them as to when they will be permitted to proceed to their homes.
>
> I would thank you to have all Jugoslavs employed by your Department informed of the following conditions:
>
> The War Regulations Act, Amendments, and all Regulations made therein remain in force for one year after the declaration of peace with Germany and Austria, unless meantime repealed by the Governor by order in Council.
>
> All Jugoslavs must remain subject to the conditions of the Alien Service Regulations until such time as the Regulations have been revoked, which will not be for some time...

Events during the next three months (December 1918 to February 1919) left memories, associated with Cullen's name, which numerous Yugoslavs would recall for many years afterwards with loathing and anger.

Complaints from the Resident Engineer, Public Works Department, Taumarunui, barely a month after the armistice with Germany, are indicative of changing attitudes, resentment and open defiance. Less than half the Yugoslavs engaged on railway construction were presenting themselves for work on any one day. Some simply declined to work before Christmas, although apparently in good health, some alleged they were unable to work but offered no proof, and a number of others were absent without leave. There seemed, stated the Resident Engineer, to be "a general conspiracy on the part of the men to work only half-time and so prejudice the carrying on of the work, the object being no doubt to make the Government realise that the conscripting of Yugoslav labour is not worth while".[38] How true, and yet the influenza epidemic did have a marked effect on health and a large percentage of Yugoslavs engaged on government projects were given leave of absence to recuperate. The problem was, however, that some of those granted leave seized the opportunity to make themselves scarce and were joined by numbers of their comrades over the Christmas vacation.

Cullen responded with a proclamation, ordering them to recommence their duties by 27 January, and recommended internment of those suspected of causing disaffection. The proclamation proved to be fruitless and internment just aggravated the situation. For example, at the Waihou River public works (near Paeroa) all Yugoslavs downed tools and refused to resume work immediately after two of them were arrested and escorted to Featherstone Camp for internment. Cullen's actions, and their consequences, were not to the liking of his masters.

By mid February 1919, Cullen found himself in an unenviable position. Unable to say how many more were likely to be interned before peace returned to the Home Service scheme, he claimed that to date only extreme cases had been recommended for internment. But now further recommendations seemed to be inevitable because the Yugoslavs were "showing a very defiant and offensive attitude" toward himself and officers of the Public Works and Lands Department. Bitter and frustrated, he declared "it would have been much better to have interned all Jugoslavs at the outbreak of war" and then to have given them the option of volunteering for Government work. In his opinion, "most of them would ... have so volunteered". Government's decision, however, communicated to Cullen via Col. Gibbon (Chief of General Staff), was that no more Yugoslavs would be interned but consideration was being given to prosecution of all recalcitrant aliens.[39]

Possibly seeking a compromise to avoid internment of would-be martyrs and an escalation of tension, one also suspects that Government was sensitive to a potential source of trouble in international relations. A new nation had emerged from the chaos of war - on 1 December 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (officially called Yugoslavia after 1929) came into being, with Alexander, former Regent of Serbia, as King. The Dalmatians were among the subjects of this new multi-cultural nation.

The Yugoslav Home Service Record

With disputes over pay and working conditions, strikes, agitators and internment figuring prominently in the above account of Yugoslav Home Service participation, one could be forgiven for concluding that the scheme was a complete failure and that the Yugoslavs as a group were troublesome, unco-operative and hence disloyal to the Allied cause. Certainly this is the conclusion implicit in Lochore's (1951, 43) brief account quoted at the beginning of this chapter. But is it a conclusion supported by evidence in Cullen's files?

In August 1919, Cullen (well qualified as an ex-policeman) set himself the task of preparing, "for the information of the Government, a list of all Jugoslavs who have given or caused trouble on Government works or who have left the works without permission or who have shown themselves in any way hostile to the allied cause." To obtain the evidence required he despatched a memo outlining his task to J. B. Thompson (Chief Drainage Engineer, Department of Lands and Survey, Auckland), G. Murray (District Engineer, Public Works Department, Auckland), J. Wood (District Engineer, Public Works Department, Whangarei) and to the Resident Engineer, Public Works Department, Taumarunui. Each was asked to "supply information respecting each individual Jugoslav employed" on works under the supervision of their officers.[40] Replies received from all but one of these civil servants (i.e. Resident Engineer, Taumarunui) have been located and are summarised below.

J. B. Thompson reported with respect to men employed on the Hauraki Plains, at Ruawai, on the Rangitaiki Plains and Kaitaia-Awanui as follows:[41]

1. Hauraki Plains

> Generally speaking the Slavs... have been loyal and have caused very little friction. To date one hundred and twenty one have reported. Sixteen of same have left the Works, some having died during the Epidemic, the others having been transferred or granted exemption. I should say the approximate number of disloyalists would not be more than twelve percent.

A list of eleven men, described as "agitators", was included with this report. The men in question were those who had caused friction, left work without authority, defied authority, indulged in "go-slow" work or used abusive language.

2. Ruawai

> Generally speaking none... at present employed have shown themselves to be in any way disloyal or hostile to the Allied Cause.

3. Rangitaiki Plains

> ... very loyally disposed... none have caused any trouble... in fact they are an industrious and sober Race.

4. Kaitaia - Awanui

> Very few of these men are friendly at heart and several who seem at first sight friendly make the balls for the others to fire. On the whole the men have been a very 'Bolshevik' crowd and very restless. Prominent men in the district have not been above inciting them on account of less trade since their leaving the gumfields.

Of 37 Yugoslavs named and assessed, only 13 were classed as "agitators", "sneaks", etc., while the remainder were described as "fairly well behaved, quiet, no trouble, good workers". A "very 'Bolshevik' crowd"?

Compared with the extremes of good and bad experienced on Lands and Survey Department projects, behaviour on Public Works Department projects elicited little more than mild criticism from G. Murray and J. Wood. Two or three instances aside, Wood found behaviour to be satisfactory, nothing had occurred to indicate disloyalty or hostility, and on the whole instructions given were carried out willingly.[42] Murray too was generally satisfied, though there were "a few isolated cases" of disloyalty. His comments with respect to the Paeroa, Mauku and Maungaturoto sub-districts reveal a measure of sympathy, of understanding, absent from Thompson's reports.[43]

1. Paeroa

> ... no specific act of disloyalty... have always abided with the War Regulations imposed upon them, although they have expressed dissatisfaction with same, and will welcome the removal of such restrictions.

2. Mauku (Waiuku branch railway)

> ... very little trouble ... majority appear to be loyal, when allowance is made for their natural dislike of being compelled to work and having their movements restricted. Only one man ... [had] pronounced Bolshevik ideas...

3. Maungaturoto

> ... the men on these works have shown very little sign of disloyalty...

Cullen used these reports, together with other information and evidence, to recommend deportation, cancellation of naturalisation papers and surveillance of a substantial number of Yugoslavs. Some of his recommendations were apparently accepted, though by no means all of them. For the record, however, it must be stressed that only a very small minority (probably no more than 40 to 50 individuals) were in any way 'hostile', 'unco-operative' or 'difficult' and that the vast majority made a willing and useful contribution under the Home Service programme. If blame is to be apportioned for the problems and troubles that beset all involved with Home Service then a significant share must be laid at the door of an authoritarian, officious and intolerant Commissioner. Nowhere is this responsibility more obvious than in the records of those Yugoslavs who were interned.

Internment, Loyalty and Justice

How many were actually interned? Were they all, without exception, pro-Austrian or pro-German and thus a source of disaffection and danger to the community? The first question is easily answered; at most, a total of 68 men identifiable as Yugoslavs (i.e. Dalmatians, Croatians) are known to have been interned at one time or another.[44] The second question, more contentious and crucial to the reputation of New Zealand's Yugoslav settlers, is dealt with in the following pages. For illustrative purposes, two groups of interned Yugoslavs will be examined: (a) 13 men interned on Somes Island in 1916; and (b) 11 men interned at the Featherstone Camp who were finally released in September 1919. Two cases - Mathew Ferri and Peter Sulenta - are examined in detail.

Beginning with the Somes Island group, the men can be divided into five categories with respect to reasons for arrest and internment.[45]

1. Failure to report to the Police as required by war regulations for aliens: Luka Lendich, Tom Martinac, Antonio Novak, Stipe Prizmich, Ante Radojkovich, Luka Vegar. These men were interned because it was felt necessary to make an example of them to ensure compliance by others. One of them, Luka Vegar, refused to report to the Police "as he considered he was a British subject [though not naturalised until 1922] and had a brother [Thomas Vegar, naturalised 1913] serving in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force."
2. Travelling without authority from the Police: Ivan Cvitanovich, Ivan Antin Vodanovich.
3. Remitting money to their wives (or family) in Dalmatia: Marin Jukich, Ivan Nikolich.

4. Considered by the Police to be decidedly pro-German. Two men, who will remain unnamed, were in this category and their disloyalty was confirmed during internment when they were observed to "mix freely and always with the Germans and Austrians".
5. Civil offence: Mathew Ferri, clearly identified as a person arrested and interned "by direction of the Hon. Attorney-General on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Police [J. Cullen] not "for military reasons, but, on the contrary, for civil". This case will be looked at shortly.

Summing up, only 2 out of 13 were interned as "pro-German" enemy aliens and, with the exception of Ferri, the remainder had been arrested for technical offences under war regulations.

Petitions for release of all but the two pro-German internees were forwarded by the Somes Island Commandant to the Adjutant General in August 1916. The Commandant was obviously troubled. Friendly among themselves, the Dalmatians kept aloof from Germans and Austrians in the camp and six months internment (he ventured to suggest) was "sufficient for first minor and technical offences". But there was another reason for unease as well.[46]

> It appears from Police reports that at times there were doubts whether the evidence given by their own compatriots against suspects was false. From the conduct of the Dalmatians interned here I would consider that some of them are victims of party feuds.

Passing through appropriate channels the petitions came to Cullen, Commissioner of Police, who objected to release of the men named. It wasn't until 19 December 1916 that they were freed by order of the Adjutant General.[47]

Mathew Ferri's internment stands as a conscious travesty of justice on the part of Police Commissioner Cullen. Inquiries were begun in February 1916 when an unknown correspondent drew attention to Ferri's association with "Austrians, Greeks, etc.,." A short (5 feet 4 inches), dark complexioned, vocal individual, Ferri stood out as "a foreigner". Following requests for inquiries to be made (Attorney General to Commissioner Cullen, and Cullen to Superintendent Kiely in Auckland) three reports were submitted by Detective Sergeant Hollis.[48] The first report (3 March) stated:

> Ferri has an office at No. 33 His Majesty's Arcade, Queen Street, his business being acting as agent for Austrians residing in country districts. As regards his loyalty and conduct I have heard nothing that could be objected to.

Directed by Cullen, via his Inspector, to ascertain the nature of Ferri's agency, Hollis's second report (8 March) described Ferri's activities as:

> ... a general agency business and Dalmatian interpreter. He buys and sells gum, assists them in buying and selling land and generally acts as adviser to Austrians. He is now engaged in assisting to recruit Dalmatians for the Expeditionary Force and on 7th inst. secured two recruits.

Three weeks passed during which Cullen established that Ferri was naturalised (February 1899) and that he had been convicted of forgery in New South Wales (c. 1896). By 23 March, Cullen had formed and recorded his opinion that Ferri should be interned. Then came Hollis's third report (3 April).

> I respectfully report having made enquiries and was informed that when war was declared against Austria a number of Austrians burnt the Austrian flag. Ferri with one or two other Austrians took exception to their conduct and appeared before Mr. Langguth, Austrian Consul, protesting against their conduct and declaring their sympathy with Austria. I questioned him about this matter when, he said, he simply acted as the interpreter. I cannot learn of any disloyal remarks used by him since the outbreak of war.

Believing his opinion to be confirmed, Cullen dismissed Ferri's recruiting activity as "a blind" and recommended to the Hon. A. L. Herdman (Minister of Police and Attorney General) that Ferri be interned.[49] The recommendation was accepted and acted upon. Hollis's repeated statements concerning lack of evidence of disloyalty were ignored. Nor was any consideration given to the possibility that Ferri, acting as an agent and/or advisor for his countrymen, would be in frequent contact with Langguth, and that such contact (over a period of eighteen years) might have engendered respect and sympathy for the man and not his position as Austrian Consul or the country he represented. Had Cullen bothered to consult the 1898 report of the Royal Commission on the Kauri Gum Industry he would have found Ferri's evidence condemning Austrian rule of Dalmatia. Had he also sought expert advice regarding Ferri's stance as editor of Bratska Sloga and Napredak, he would have found a man extolling the virtues of life under the British flag.[50] Bearing these points in mind, Cullen may be said to have acted on the basis of one fact (a previous conviction) and his own suspicions!

Arrested on or about 18 April, Ferri was initially perceived by Major Matheson (Commandant, Somes Island) as "an enthusiastic nuisance unable to distinguish between important matters and trifles". Several months later, however, he noted that Ferri's "expressions of loyalty have raised the bitter hatred of the enemy" and added:[51]

> After his eight months internment I do not think his conviction in Austria [sic] long ago should be further taken into account.

On 22 December 1916, Ferri was granted parole and released from internment.

Cullen remained firmly opposed to Ferri, a stance carried over into his new role of Commissioner in charge of Yugoslav Home Service organisation. In September 1918 he described Ferri as "one of the lowest type of Jugo-Slavs in the Dominion" and insisted that he "should not have been released from internment". Again, in September 1919, in correspondence concerning George Scansie and Serbian passports, he asserted that Ferri (along with Scansie and a returned soldier named Frank Hrstich) belonged "to the inner circle of the Yugoslav Secret Societies".[52] Smacking of undercover, nefarious, anti-law and order activities, the "Secret Societies" remain a complete mystery. Neither Cullen nor anyone else has offered evidence as proof of their activities or even their existence. Could they have been an illusion conjured up by the reserve (and reluctance to co-operate) of 'foreigners' approached to provide evidence or information against their respected leaders?

We turn now to the second group of internees, those at Featherstone Camp released on or about 18 September 1919. The men in question were: Frank and Paul Arnerich (interned March 1918); John [Ivan] Alach (February 1919); Daniel Borich (February 1919); Bozo Buselich (February 1918); Mark Bulgan (February 1919); George Divich (August 1918); Michael Pavlovich (April 1919); George Ravlich (August 1918); Peter Sulenta (July 1918); and Anthony N. Tomic (February 1918). Most, if not all, were interned on Cullen's recommendation as Commissioner in charge of Yugoslavs. Why? Because they were either a "disaffected and disturbing element among the Jugo-Slavs" (e.g. Frank and Paul Arnerich) or because they were involved in or prime movers (i.e. "agitators") behind the strikes and 'go-slow' routines at Kaitaia-Awanui (Divich, Sulenta), Okahukura (Borich) and Paeroa (Alach).[53]

Given the earlier Somes Island examples one is virtually compelled to question the justice of internment of men in this second group. To begin with, Cullen was clearly prejudiced with respect to Ferri and (with cause) Scansie, so much so that the possibility of general prejudice (ethnically based) cannot be dismissed. Wartime xenophobia would hardly have helped him to remain objective and tolerant! Second, Cullen's career was one of command and law-enforcement. His work, for four decades, centred around laws and regulations to be respected and obeyed. As an Inspector then Commissioner of Police, backed by in-service discipline, his lawful orders or directives were to be obeyed by those under his authority... so too were those issued in his new role as Commissioner responsible

for Home Service organisation of Yugoslavs. But these immigrants were not policemen, nor were they of British origin and the majority were not even naturalised British subjects and thus citizens of New Zealand. They were mature, determined men, with few exceptions anti-Austrian, debarred from the Expeditionary Force for lack of naturalisation papers. Widely acknowledged to be "loyal" (by Ministers of the Crown no less), their spokesmen were convinced of their 'rights' and were prepared to argue and demand these rights when required. What then was "an agitator"?

To take but one example, Peter Sulenta (born 1875 in the village of Drasnice and naturalised in New Zealand in August 1911) was said to be and was interned as an agitator in July 1918. Sulenta had worked as a gumdigger, storekeeper and viticulturalist. On issues concerning his countrymen he was vocal, and over a period of some seventeen years wrote numerous letters to Ministers of the Crown in Wellington. He was one of the representatives called to meet with Sir James Allen in Auckland in November 1917, and was on record as concurring with Allen's conclusions and intended course of action. When in June 1918 he complained about pay and working conditions on the Kaitaia-Awanui drainage works, he was, to those who knew him, behaving as he always did with respect to an issue affecting Dalmatians in New Zealand. Neither Cullen nor the police shared this view.

In a police report dated 4 December 1918 (some months after his internment), Sulenta is depicted as "a man who would not do any hard work if he could obtain a living by other means".[54] The same report adds:

> There is not the slightest doubt that this man, who has a fairly good education, was an agitator among his own countrymen. He was looked upon by the English portion of the population in this district [Waipapakauri] as a very sly, scheming person, and the general expression at the time of his arrest was "It is about time he was put away."

Cullen was in full agreement, Sulenta was "an out-and-out agitator and a disloyalist at heart". In an undated retrospective report, Cullen said:[55]

> ... Sulenta commenced an underhand agitation among his countrymen with the object of preventing them helping the Government. In that direction he succeeded only too well as was evidenced by the fact that nearly all the Jugoslavs in the Waipapakauri district either failed to render national service or adopted a 'go-slow' policy on Government work... Since his internment the trouble on Awanui-Kaitaia works has practically ceased ... Sulenta is undoubtedly a most disloyal person and a confirmed mischief-maker. I consider this man a most undesirable alien and recommend that he be sent out of the Dominion.

Through the eyes of his Camp Commandant, Peter Sulenta (like Mathew Ferri) was portrayed with features that bore little resemblance to those etched by Cullen. To Major J. W. Brunt he was "an excellent influence on [the] Jugoslavs", his conduct was "very good" and he was "strongly pro-British". Speaking from the experience of more than twelve months contact, Brunt reported (emphasis added):[56]

> This man's character whilst here has been excellent. He has in every way endeavoured to promote a friendly spirit among his men. He has rendered valuable assistance as an interpreter. He has a peculiar gift of being able to control his fellow-countrymen. They look up to him as a chief.

Genuine leadership qualities could hardly escape the notice of a veteran major. Brunt recommended that Sulenta be allowed to remain in New Zealand.

"He has a peculiar gift... They look up to him as a chief". At best, Sulenta was the victim of both wartime xenophobia and misconstrued behaviour. At worst, the innocent victim of an authoritarian (perhaps ethnically prejudiced) Commissioner unable to distinguish between a leader with strong convictions and a disloyal agitator. This Commissioner was no doubt proud of his career record (recognised by award of Kings Police Medal in 1917), a record that could be tarnished by the actions of foreigners, of alien enemies.

Final Words

Contrary to Lochore's (1951, 43) opinion, the Yugoslavs did not have a "vague sympathy with the Serbian cause", nor did they stand aloof from the struggle on Europe's battle-fields. Among those naturalised, some did enlist and serve with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. But the majority were not naturalised and so could not serve, despite efforts made to find means by which this difficulty could be overcome. That no solution was found was as much the fault of the Imperial authorities and New Zealand Government as it was of petty factionalism among more prominent Yugoslavs.

Contrary to Lochore's opinion, the vast majority of Yugoslavs called up for Home Service contributed willingly and usefully. Certainly there were troubles over pay and working conditions, and troubles of another kind when Home Service was enforced for several months after the armistice was signed. But no small part of these troubles can be laid at the door of John Cullen; his faults were probably the more serious given his responsibilities and powers. Cullen used compulsion and internment rather than negotiation and friendly persuasion, behaving as though the Yugoslavs had been stripped of all rights. And this was obviously not the understanding of men like Scansie, Sulenta and Ferri.

Some of those interned were unquestionably deserving of internment for their pro-Austrian, pro-German views. But again the vast majority did not fall into this category. Given the examples of Luka Vegar, Marin Jukich and others on Somes Island, many were interned for contravention of war regulations - travelling without authority, failing to report to the police, sending money to a wife and children in Dalmatia. Given the examples of Mathew Ferri and Peter Sulenta, the notion of justice seems sadly absent from the drama enacted. Nevertheless, wartime internment (like the issue of enlistment) yielded a reputation of disloyalty and resistance to assimilation, perpetuated by the uninformed statements of a so-called 'authority' (i.e. Lochore), that was therefore all but completely unwarranted.

A few final notes are now in order. John Cullen went on to become Warden of Tongariro National Park and member of the Park Board in 1923. Tony Petrie prospered as an enterprising businessman. The first New Zealand-based Consul for the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, was George Scansie. Mathew Ferri continued to serve his countrymen as he had in the past. Peter Sulenta was not deported as Cullen recommended. In accordance with a Cabinet decision concerning interned enemy aliens, however, his naturalisation papers were revoked in November 1919. He was deprived of New Zealand citizenship for fifteen years before his renaturalisation was permitted in 1936.

Footnotes

1. Reported in the Auckland Star, 1 August 1914, "Slavs and the War: Ljepa Nasa Domovina: Croatia War Songs in Auckland.."

2. New Zealand Herald, 1 December 1914, page 7 and also 2 December 1914, page 7.

3. For correspondence cited in this paragraph, see: G. L. Scansie to W. F. Massey, letter dated 11 August 1914; J. Totich to G. Coates, telegram dated 15 August 1914; H.Q. New Zealand Military Forces, Wellington, to District H.Q.s, memo dated 23 August 1914; J. Allen to G. L. Scansie, letter dated 29 August 1914. Department of Defence file D 9/86 "Jugo Slav Contingent: Formation for Service Abroad", National Archives, Wellington. This file is hereafter cited as D 9/86.

4. G. L. Scansie to J. Allen, letter dated 19 June 1915, file D 9/86.

5. P. Sulenta to J. Allen, letter dated 20 September 1915; Ivan Sokolich and others to J. Allen, letter dated 3 November 1915; J. Allen to Ivan Sokolich and others, letter dated 12 November 1915. File D 9/86.

6. B. Mihaljevich to R. H. High Excellency The Premier, letter dated 9 November 1915, file D 9/86.

7. G. L. Scansie to J. Allen, letter dated 26 November 1915, file D 9/86. In the same letter, Scansie, aware that some of his countrymen were also writing to Government and that the diverse opinions/suggestions offered were likely to cause confusion, wrote: "I understand it is a very difficult matter for the Government to deal with these Slavs, as it has to depend entirely on the report of a few excited ones, and eventually not being able to comprehend their way, has to drop any dealings with them." Scansie was surprisingly clairvoyant!

8. J. Allen to T. W. Leys, letter dated 4 December 1915; J. Allen to G. L. Scansie, letter dated 9 December 1915. File D 9/86.

9. Key correspondence on this matter is as follows: Brigadier-General Commanding New Zealand Military Forces to Minister of Defence (J. Allen), memo dated 23 December 1915; W. F. Massey to Governor (Lord Liverpool), dated (?) January 1916; Governor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, telegram dated 17 January 1916; Secretary of State to Governor, telegram received 25 January 1916. File D 9/86.

10. G. L. Scansie to J. Allen, letter dated 19 October 1916; Defence H.Q. to Minister of Defence (J. Allen), memo dated 6 November 1916. File D 9/86.

11. "Enlistment of Jugo Slavs: Deputation to the Acting Prime Minister (Hon. Sir Jas. Allen) and the Hon. W. H. Herries, Wellington, 10th February, 1917", Department of Defence, file D 9/86/1, National Archives, Wellington. This file is hereafter cited as D 9/86/1.

12. Col. C. M. Gibbon to T. A. Petrie, letter dated 20 March 1917; T. A. Petrie to Col. C. M. Gibbon, letter dated 27 March 1917. File D 9/86/1.

13. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1917, Vol. 180, pages 45-46.

14. "Enlistment of Slavs" New Zealand Herald, 14 September 1917. With respect to the notion of 'refusal', Petrie was perfectly correct. This point is borne out by the text of a telegram (dated 11 August 1917, file D 9/86/1) sent by J. Allen to the Kaipara Chamber of Commerce, in which he said (emphasis added): "... the [Slav] leaders reported that there was little possibility of raising any men... at Serbian Rates pay and asked New Zealand Government pay rates as paid to New Zealand soldiers. New Zealand Government declined pay soldiers at New Zealand rates no further action taken."

15. For further details on these resolutions and newspaper editorials, see Marshall (1968, 283-285).

16. W. Ferguson, Chairman of National Efficiency Board to Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister, memo dated 3 October 1917, National Efficiency Board Papers, National Archives, Wellington.

17. W. F. Massey to W. Ferguson, letter dated 9 November 1917, National Efficiency Board Papers.

18. "Report of Conference with Jugo Slav Representatives, Grand Hotel, Auckland, 10th November, 1917." (typed report, 9 pages), file D 9/86/1.

19. T. A. Petrie to Col. C. M. Gibbon, letter dated 7 March 1917, file D 9/86/1.

20. M. A. Ferri to J. Allen, letter dated 22 March 1917, file D 9/86/1.

21. Petrie's admissions/statements are included in the "Enlistment of Jugo Slavs: Deputation to the Acting Prime Minister..." report (page 2) more particularly in his letter to Col. Gibbon (7 March 1917), file D 9/86/1. In the Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948, he is listed (page 312) as: Petrich, Tony; born in the village of Starigrad (island of Hvar), Dalmatia; naturalised in March 1908, at which time he was a farmer (25 years old) at Waiharara. In the Register of Aliens 1917, he appears (page 394) as: Petrie, Anthony; 32 years old, widower; resident in New Zealand for 13½ years; occupation, Merchant and Farmer; address, 1 Park Avenue, Auckland.

22. Ferri's internment is discussed in detail toward the end of this chapter, and his background and roles as Editor of Bratska Sloga and Napredak are examined and discussed in Chapter 7 Newspapers and Clubs. He was born in the village of Trpanj (Peljesac peninsula), Dalmatia, arrived in New Zealand in 1896 and was naturalised in 1899. His opinion of Petrie is made crystal clear in a letter to the Chief Censor (27 August 1918, "Mathew Ferri" P.O.W. file 519, Department of Defence, National Archives, Wellington): "I do not hesitate to state that a man named Tony Petrie is boasting about the City [Auckland] that he reads as many as 30 Slav letters per week for the Censor. If that is so and if the Chief Censor knows that Petrie is extremely prejudiced and that he has never been educated enough to even understand his own language, I am sure he would not be given this privilege. In fact he is not to be trusted." Ferri, of course, was in business himself as an estate and business agent and interpreter.

23. Further details on Scansie's background are provided in a later section of this chapter, and his role as Editor of Zora (The Dawn) is examined in Chapter 7 (which also includes a one-page biography and photograph). With respect to reports obtained by Col. C. M. Gibbon and denial of permission to visit interned Dalmatians, see "Correspondence re G. L. Scansie", Department of Defence, file D 10/527, National Archives, Wellington (hereafter cited as D 10/527).

24. T. A. Petrie to Col. C. M. Gibbon, letter and translation dated 9 April 1917; B. Mihaljevich to J. Allen, letter dated 5 April, 1917; B. Mihaljevich to J. Allen, letter dated 11 April 1917. File D 10/527.

25. G. L. Scansie to Col. C. M. Gibbon, letter dated 10 April 1917, file D 10/527.

26. G. L. Scansie to Col. C. M. Gibbon, letter dated 16 April 1917, file D 10/527.

27. Scansie's stance and opinions, as published in Zora (The Dawn), were often regarded as inflammatory. For example, Mathew Ferri, only days before the declaration of war, recommended suppression of Zora for fear that it might provoke conflict and bloodshed throughout the gumfields (M. A. Ferri to Premier, telegram dated 1 August 1914, "Mathew Ferri" P.O.W. file 519). In 1915, Peter Sulenta wrote in protest to W. F. Massey, concerning an article by Scansie in Zora (24 November) in which Scansie deplored the fact that Britain did not send stronger assistance to Serbia. Sulenta felt that publication of such articles was poisoning the minds of Slavs in North Auckland. He too recommended suppression of Zora, but then advocated Government authorisation of an alternative journal with his cousin in charge (P. Sulenta to W. F. Massey, letter dated 30 January 1916, file D 9/86).

28. All quotations in this paragraph are from "Report of Conference with Jugo Slav Representatives, Grand Hotel, Auckland, 10th November, 1917", file D 9/86/1/

29. Details of Cullen's career were obtained from Who's Who in New Zealand and the Western Pacific, 3rd Edition, 1932.

30. J. Allen to J. Cullen, letter dated 15 December 1917. Alien Service Board files AD 86/1 - 86/6, National Archives, Wellington. Hereafter cited as AD 86/1-6.

31. J. Cullen to Col. Andrews (Defence Office, Auckland), letter dated 7 January 1919, file AD 86/1-6.

32. For report of Court hearing re this strike, see "The Jugo-Slav Strike", Taumarunui Press, 25 July 1918.

33. J. Cullen to J. Allen, letter dated 4 July 1918, file AD 86/1-6.

34. Quotations in this paragraph were obtained from the following correspondence: J. Cullen to G. L. Scansie, dated 11 June 1918; G. L. Scansie to J. Cullen, dated 12 June 1918; J. Cullen to G. L. Scansie, dated 10 July 1918; Jackson, Russell et al (Solicitors) to J. Cullen, dated 11 July 1918; Jackson, Russell et al to J. Cullen, dated 15 July 1918; Jackson Russell et al to J. Cullen, dated 18 July 1918. File D 10/527.

35. The two letters are: J. Cullen to J. Allen, dated 13 August 1918 and 21 August 1918, respectively, file D 10/527.

36. J. Cullen to J. Allen, letter dated 30 September 1919, file D 10/527.

37. J. Cullen to J. B. Thompson, letter dated 22 November 1918, file AD 86/1-6.

38. See memos from Baker to J. Cullen, dated 9 December 1918 and 12 December 1918, respectively, file AD 86/1-6.

39. Relevant correspondence is as follows: J. Cullen to Col. C. M. Gibbon, letter dated 15 February 1919; Col. C. M. Gibbon to J. Cullen, memo dated 18 February 1919. File AD 86/1-6.

40. J. Cullen to those named (i.e. J. B. Thompson et al), memo dated 14 August 1919, file AD 86/1-6.

41. J. B. Thompson to J. Cullen, memos dated 29 August 1919 (re Hauraki Plains), 30 August 1919 (re Ruawai), and 1 September 1919 (re Rangitaiki Plains), file AD 86/1-6. A further memo from J. B. Thompson to J. Cullen, dated 2 September 1919 (re Kaitaia-Awanui) was located in file D 9/86/1 (apparently mis-filed). In each case Thompson quotes direct from reports received from his officers in charge in each district.

42. J. Wood to J. Cullen, memo dated 12 September 1919, file AD 86/1-6.

43. G. Murray to J. Cullen, letter dated 9 September 1919, file AD 86/1-6. Like Thompson, Murray also quotes direct from the reports of his Assistant Engineers in each of the sub-districts.

44. This figure is based on a list of records of Prisoners of War interned at Somes Island and at Featherstone Internment Camp, Aliens Series 2 File 29/51 No 1, National Archives, Wellington (copy in "Peter Sulenta" P.O.W. file 319).

45. The categories and names were derived from: Col. C. M. Gibbon to Minister of Defence (J. Allen), memo dated 9 December 1916, file D 9/86/1.

46. Major Matheson (Commandant, Somes Island) to Adjutant General, memo dated 17 August 1916, file D 9/86.

47. See: J. Cullen to Minister of Police, memo dated 7 September 1916; Major Matheson (Commandant) to Adjutant General, memo dated 7 December 1916; Adjutant General to Matheson, memo dated 19 December 1916. File D 9/86.

48. The three reports by Detective Sergeant Hollis, together with all other correspondence referred to and quoted from in this paragraph, are located in "Mathew Ferri" P.O.W. file 519.

49. J. Cullen to Minister of Police (A. L. Herdman), memo dated 12 April 1916, "Mathew Ferri" P.O.W. file 519.

50. Ferri's evidence to the 1898 Royal Commission is cited in Chapter 1, Dalmatia, of this study. His views as Editor are cited in Chapter 7, Newspapers and Clubs.

51. Major Matheson's initial view appears, as a signed marginal note, on: M. A. Ferri to Matheson, letter dated 10 May 1916. Matheson's later view is expressed in: Matheson to Attorney General, letter dated 7 December 1916. "Mathew Ferri" P.O.W. file 519.

52. See: J. Cullen to Col. C. M. Gibbon, memo dated 5 September 1918, P.O.W. file 519; J. Cullen to J. Allen, letter dated 30 September 1919, file D 10/527.

53. Names and reasons for internment are specified in: Major J. W. Brunt (Commandant) to Defence H.Q., Wellington, memo dated 23 August 1919, "Peter Sulenta" P.O.W. file 319.

54. Report by Constable D. L. Calwell, dated 4 December 1918, "Sulenta" P.O.W. file 319.

55. Report by J. Cullen, undated, "Sulenta" P.O.W. file 319.

56. Major J. W. Brunt, undated, "Sulenta" P.O.W. file 319.

6

IN TOWN AND CITY

One legacy from the gumdigging era is a persistent stereotype of the Yugoslav immigrant as both a rural dweller and rural worker. This stereotype has been sustained by the visible presence of second- and third-generation descendents throughout Northland, by occasional newspaper articles on a handful of old local celebrities and has probably been given an additional boost by the contemporary success of Yugoslav winemakers. Surprisingly few New Zealanders are aware of significant changes that have characterised Yugoslav settlement since the early 1930s, changes which were initiated during the heyday of gumdigging. Among the more important of these were the following: an increase in urban and a decrease in rural settlement; a movement into urban areas south of Auckland; and the ascendency of Auckland Urban Area, paralleled by the decline of the Dargaville-Northern Wairoa district, as the recognised centre for Yugoslav life and social activities in New Zealand. The proportion of urban residents has increased from 16.9 percent in 1921 to about 82 percent in 1971.

As one would expect the shift from rural to urban residence has involved a fundamental change in the pattern of employment. Whereas 47 percent of Yugoslav males were employed in 'Primary Industry' (i.e. agriculture, mining, and fishing) in 1936, the figure had dropped to 10.4 percent by 1966. Over the same period there was a steady increase in employment in 'Secondary Industry' (manufacturing), the percentage rising from 4.9 to 26.3, and a small gain was also made for those engaged in 'Transport and Communication' (1.9 to 5.4 percent).[1]

Table 6.1

Distribution of Yugoslav Immigrants in New Zealand by Statistical Areas, 1921-1971

Statistical Areas[1]	1921		1936		1945		1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Northland	750	47.3	952	35.1	714	23.3	323	8.5
Central Auckland	382	24.1	955	35.2	1,533	50.0	2,269	60.0
South Auckland-Bay of Plenty	326	20.6	497	18.3	405	13.2	300	7.9
East Coast	9	0.6	4	0.2	10	0.3	4	0.1
Hawkes Bay	6	0.4	50	1.8	59	1.9	37	1.0
Taranaki	43	2.7	42	1.5	60	2.0	49	1.3
Wellington	43	2.7	132	4.9	209	6.8	550	14.5
South Island	26	1.6	79	2.9	70	2.3	247	6.5
Totals	1,585	100.0	2,711	99.9	3,060	99.8	3,779	100.0

1 Statistical Areas as defined in the 1961 Census.

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1921-1971.

Table 6.2

Urbanisation of Yugoslav Immigrants in New Zealand, 1921-1971

Year	Total	Total Urban Areas	% Urban	Yugoslavs in Auckland Urban Area		
				Total	% of N.Z. Total	% of all Urban
1921	1,588	269	16.9	213	13.4	79.2
1936	2,721	732	26.9	589	21.6	80.5
1945	3,090	1,355	43.8	1,084	35.1	80.0
1956*	3,143	1,907*	60.7	1,466	46.6	76.9
1961*	3,534	2,469*	69.8	1,711	47.5	69.3
1966*	3,874	2,863*	73.9	2,005	51.7	70.0
1971*	3,779	3,112*	82.3	2,206	58.4	70.9

* For the years 1956-1971 the total number in urban areas does not include those residing in boroughs and townships outside the major urban areas.

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1921-1971.

A possible relationship between urban residence and retirement from the labour force is also worth noting. Betweeen 1936 and 1966 the proportion of males not actively engaged rose from 15.7 to 30.2 percent, a natural outcome of the ageing process (accelerated by a reduced rate of immigration after the early 1920s). But retirement has apparently coincided with a shift from rural to urban residence. Unpublished data from the 1961 Census, for example, revealed that 308 out of 497 retired males were urban residents. The Auckland Urban Area alone accounted for 54 percent of all retired males and for 88 percent of those residing in urban areas.[2]

The movement of Yugoslavs into urban areas and townships south of Auckland was closely associated with their entry into food retailing and catering - notably restaurants and fish and chip shops. In some cases entry into this type of activity reached monopoly proportions: for example, in the early 1950s in Petone (a small industrial borough near Wellington) all three restaurants and one of the three fish and chip shops were owned or operated by Dalmatians. There were three main reasons for the popularity of this type of business. First, it provided an avenue for economic advancement requiring little training or education, factors which debared the Dalmatian from many trades and most professional positions. Only six months work as an assistant and a basic working knowledge of the currency, supplemented by a command of a few commercial words, was necessary. Second, economic advantages included the small capital required (compared to land) and savings on accommodation where living quarters were available above or behind the shops or restaurant (either for a family or for two or three men in partnership). Finally, relative freedom from legal or trade union restrictions not only permitted long hours of work but satisfied the tradition of family labour, substantially reducing labour costs where the wife and children could be employed in the kitchen or to wait upon customers. Thus despite the drudgery of hard work and long hours many Dalmatians were lured far south of the gumfields and Auckland by a chance to 'make good'. In Auckland itself opportunities were limited for by the 1920s there were already a large number of such businesses, many of which had passed into Yugoslav hands.

It must be emphasised that men involved in this southward movement were usually 'veterans' who had spent from five to twenty years in various rural jobs - for example, gumdigging, scrub cutting, drain digging and so on. To provide a concrete illustration one can cite the example of Joze Sutich (from Gradac) who arrived in 1926, following in the footsteps of his father who had been on the gumfields between 1896 and 1899 (see Trlin 1967a, 313-323). Finding his efforts on

the gumfields near Dargaville relatively unprofitable (because of low prices), he spent a few months drain digging near Helensville before moving south to the Wairarapa region where he worked as a scrubcutter with 30 - 40 other Dalmatians until the end of 1929. When work became scarce he moved north, and during 1930 was engaged first in drainage work in Mt. Albert (Auckland) and then as a quarry worker in Whangarei. In 1931 he again moved south, this time to the Waikato region for contract work clearing drains and then on to the Hawke's Bay region for another spell of scrub cutting. Toward the end of 1931 he visited a friend in Wellington, saw that there were definite opportunities in the restaurant trade (as compared with Auckland) but decided against this course of action even though he had saved up the necessary capital. From 1932 until early 1936 he spent most of his time scrub cutting and flax cutting in the Wairarapa region, thereafter combining off-season work in this area with seasonal work in the Ngauranga freezing words (near Wellington) until 1940. As in so many other cases marriage (in 1940, to his fiancee brought out from Dalmatia) finally changed Joze Sutich's way of life. After a brief partnership with a cousin in a fish and chip shop in Petone (Hutt Valley) he went into business on his own account with a fish shop in Wellington at the end of 1940.

Another factor that must be considered when explaining the southward spread of settlement is the attraction exerted by a handful of successful pioneers. Naturalisation records, though incomplete on length of residence and time engaged in a particular activity prior to naturalisation, provide useful evidence in support of this factor (Table 6.3).[3] For example, Jacob Kurta, Sam Pivac and Frank Sanko, all from the village of Podgora and all resident in New Plymouth at the time of naturalisation, are clearly identifiable as restaurant pioneers in the Taranaki region before 1909. A survey of naturalisation records for the years 1909 - 1940 brought to light a further 30 Dalmatians resident in the Taranaki region (encompassing the cities and towns of New Plymouth, Inglewood, Stratford, Hawera, Eltham, Patea and, for convenience, Wanganui) of whom 26 were listed as restaurateurs or in related occupations (cooks, waiters), and of these 14 were men from Podgora.

There can be little doubt that the success of Kurta, Pivac and Sanko attracted their friends and relations or provided them with an example to emulate in other cities and towns (e.g. Ivan Sanko in Fielding, Vicko Marinovich in Napier and Peter Milicich in Hamilton). Much the same can be said of the example set for migrants from Drasnice, Tucepi and Vrgorac by men such as Steve Cvitanovich, Tony Urlich, Sam Jakich and Ivan Radich. And further south, in Wellington, where

Table 6.3

Yugoslav Restaurateurs, Fishmongers, Confectioners, and related workers, South of the Auckland Urban Area, 1900-1925

Name	Date[1]	Occupation[2]	Location[2]	Village
BABICH, Mathew	1905*	Oyster merchant	Wellington	Kladanj
	1916	Fruiterer		
BAKALICH, Antonio	1908*	Waiter	New Plymouth	Igrane
	1916	Shopkeeper		
CVITANOVICH, Steve	1916	Waiter	New Plymouth	Drasnice
	1922*	Cook	Wanganui	
DEAN, Emil	1916	Cook	Hawera	Podgora
	1939*	Restaurateur	New Plymouth	
DUHOVICH, Jim (Jack)	1916	Farm labourer	Waipipi	Korcula
	1925*	Confectioner	Palmerston North	
JAKICH, Samuel	1916/22*	Restaurateur	New Plymouth	Tucepi
KUNAC, Mate	1924	Chef	Rotorua	Podgora
KURTA, Jacob V.	1904*/16	Restaurateur	New Plymouth	Podgora
KURTA, John G.	1916	Cook	New Plymouth	Podgora
	1922*	Restaurateur		
LETICA, Felix	1916	Cook	Wellington	Podgora
LUCIJETICH, Toma	1916	Cook	Feilding	Podgora
MARINOVICH, Vicko	1922*	Restaurateur	Napier	Podgora
MASTROVICH, Jack	1923*	Confectioner	Gisborne	Makarska
MILICICH, Peter	1924*	Restaurateur	Hamilton	Podgora
NOLA, Stephen	1922*	Restaurateur	Wanganui	Podgora
NOVAK, Mirko	1916	Waiter	New Plymouth	?
PASALICH, James	1916/27*	Restaurateur	Hawera	Makarska
PIVAC, Samuel J	1908*	Restaurateur	New Plymouth	Podgora
	1916	Restaurateur	Stratford	
POPOVICH, George	1923*	Restaurateur	Wellington	Gdinj (Hvar)
RADICH, John) ?	1916	Cook	Hawera	Vrgorac
Ivan)	1922*	Restaurateur		
RADICH, Ivan	1924	Restaurant worker	New Plymouth	Vrgorac
RADICH, Joseph	1916	Cook	New Plymouth	Vrgorac
	1925*	Restaurateur	Eltham	

Table 6.3 continued...

Name	Date[1]	Occupation[2]	Location[2]	Village
RADICH, Mate	1925*	Restaurateur	Inglewood	Vrgorac
RADICH, Mathew	1925*	Restaurateur	Stratford	Vrgorac
SANKO, Frank	1908*	Restaurateur	New Plymouth	Podgora
SANKO, Ivan)	1912*	Restaurateur	Feilding	Podgora
John) ?	1916	Restaurateur	Feilding	
SISARICH, Dominik	1916/24*	Restaurateur	Stratford	Podgora
SISARICH, Vincent	1916/23*	Restaurateur	New Plymouth	Podgora
SUMICH, Steve	1922*	Cook	New Plymouth	Podgora
URLICH, George	1916	Cook	Stratford	Drasnice
URLICH, John	1916	Restaurateur	Hawera	Drasnice
URLICH, Joseph	1916	Cook	Stratford	Drasnice
URLICH, Tony	1916	Cook	Hawera	Drasnice
	1923*	Restaurateur		
VELA, Joseph	1923*	Restaurateur	Stratford	Podgora
VELLA, Miroslav	1928*	Restaurateur	Tauranga	Podgora
VODANOVICH, Ivan	1923*	Restaurateur	Wanganui	Podgora
VODANOVICH, Joseph	1916	Cook	Stratford	Podgora
	1923*	Restaurateur	Wanganui	
VODANOVICH, Joseph G.	1924*	Restaurant worker	Patea	Podgora

1. The date(s) cited are as recorded in the two sources noted below. Where a date appears either before or after 1916 coupled with an asterisk (e.g. 1905*) that is the year in which naturalisation occurred.

2. Changes of occupation and/or location revealed by the two sources have also been recorded where appropriate. It should be noted that restaurateurs often combined their main business with that of fishmonger (fresh fish sales) and fish and chip sales as additional sources of income.

Sources: Register of Aliens 1917 (based on 1916 census);
Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948.

Pioneer Restaurateurs in Taranaki – Kurta and Pivac

(see opposite page for basic background details and photographs).

Jacob Kurta was only nineteen years old when he arrived in Auckland in 1896, on his way to the gumfields of Northland. After a period of gumdigging he returned to Auckland, where, in partnership with two of his countrymen, he operated a combined fish and restaurant business. Around 1900 he moved south to New Plymouth, where he established and managed another fish and restaurant business until 1910. During this decade Jacob was naturalised (1904) and married (1907). From 1910 to 1914 he successfully occupied himself with a book, stationery and china business. It seems, however, that the call and opportunities of the restaurant trade were strong, especially for a man with a growing family, and so he returned to his old trade in 1915. This time he was in partnership with James Pasalich and Mirko (Mick) Novak, until the 'Loyal Restaurant' was sold in 1917. Also employed in the business was Jacob's young nephew John (Jack) Kurta, a new arrival from Podgora. In 1918 Jacob opened a new fish market, combined with a retail fish shop, and in 1919 the business was extended to incorporate a restaurant ('Kurta's Restaurant'). To undertake this venture a company was formed with Tony Vodanovich, Sam Jakich, and his nephew Jack Kurta, who were later joined by Ivan (Jack) Radich and Steve Sumich (the latter replacing Vodanovich, who left the business in 1923). Once again a relative, George Vrsaljko, also from Podgora, was employed for a time as a non-partner. Like his earlier enterprises this venture also proved to be successful. Finally, in 1929, Jacob retired but continued to take an active interest in property speculation and recreation, the latter including a world tour in 1938 during which he visited Dalmatia for the first time in forty-two years.

Samuel (Sam) Pivac was barely twenty when he arrived in Auckland and found employment with Sanford's, the city's largest fishing, fish marketing and retailing company. It was here that Sam met his future wife to be. Probably attracted by what he knew or heard of Jacob Kurta and Frank Sanko (both from Podgora like himself) Sam moved to New Plymouth and was recorded as being a restaurant-keeper when naturalised there in 1908. By 1910 he had married and moved to Stratford where he also managed a restaurant ('Golden Grid') and fish shop until 1919. Contemporaries (associates/partners?) in Stratford included Dominik Sisarich (restaurateur in 1916), Joseph Vodanovich, George and Joseph Urlich (cooks in 1916). In 1919 the family moved to Hawera, where Sam opened another restaurant (also called 'Golden Grid') which occupied him until his death in 1931. During his years in Hawera he became a member of the Racing Club and the Gentleman's Club, contributed to local charities, and in the early depression years gave considerable assistance to local Maori families. The regard the Maori people had for Sam was evident when they came from far and near to line the main street of Hawera at his funeral.

Sources: Mary Kurta, New Plymouth; Vic Pivac, Manaia near Hawera.

Jacob Vincent KURTA, born 1877 in the village of Podgora. He arrived in New Zealand in 1896 and was naturalised in 1904, at that time a restaurateur in New Plymouth. In 1907 he married Christina Agostinelli (Italian), in New Plymouth, and the couple were blessed with seven children. Jacob Kurta died in 1965, in his 89th year.

Photograph (top right)

Jacob Vincent Kurta in 1904, photograph supplied by his daughter Mary Kurta, New Plymouth.





Samuel James PIVAC, born 1885 in the village of Podgora. Arrived in New Zealand about 1905 and was naturalised in 1908 - like Kurta, a restaurateur in New Plymouth. In 1910 he was married to Frances Mary Gill in Stratford (they first met in Auckland). Two daughters and two sons were born in Stratford, and a third daughter was born after the family moved to Hawera. Sam Pivac died in Hawera in 1931.

Photograph (bottom left)

Samuel James Pivac in 1931 (shortly before his death), photograph supplied by his son Vic, Manaia near Hawera.

Greeks and Italians initially dominated the restaurant scene, a similar function was performed by George Popovich and shortly afterwards by Ivan Vlahovich, Ivan Lunjevich, Ivan Kurta, Visko Matulich, Joze Arnerich, the Vrsaljko brothers, Ante Marinovich and Stanko Letica. The attraction of such men was not, of course, limited to migrants already in New Zealand. As the years passed, settlement in localities south of Auckland was consolidated by new arrivals via the chain migration process.

Auckland's ascendency, over the Dargaville-Northern Wairoa district, as the recognised focal point of Yugoslav settlement is without question the main feature of the urban phase. As elsewhere increasing urban employment opportunities with better economic prospects and entry into independent catering businesses were the main attractions, reinforced by difficult conditions in rural areas. The decline of the kauri gum industry, due to the depletion of readily available gum, falling market prices and increasing costs of extraction, compelled the immigrant to seek alternative employment. Rural labouring jobs (fencing, drainage work, scrub cutting) were available on a short term basis but were not particularly well paid, while entry into farming was restricted by the lack of capital, especially among new arrivals during the 1920s. Under these conditions, coupled with the transition from temporary to permanent migration and settlement, the attractions and advantages of urban residence were obvious.

In 1921 only 13.4 percent of the Yugoslav population resided in Auckland, but by 1945 the proportion had risen to 35 percent and thereafter steadily increased to 58.4 percent in 1971. Part of the initial growth can be attributed to the immigrant's familiarity with the city. For many years Dalmatian owned and operated boarding-houses, first established during the late 1890s, had catered for rural visitors and those on holiday. These establishments became important centres for social contact, places where friends could be met and news of available work passed on. Added attractions in the early 1930s were first the Yugoslav Club (Inc.) and later the Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society. Both organisations fulfilled vital social needs for migrants conscious of the linguistic and cultural gulf between them and other New Zealanders. The establishment of similar clubs and societies in Whangarei, Hamilton and Wellington enhanced the attraction of these centres also.[4] Finally, there were the viticulturalists and fruit growers of Henderson and Oratia. Situated on the rural-urban fringe of Auckland these farmers contributed to the process of concentration as settlement expanded with the rising demand for orchard and vineyard products both during and after World War II.

Initial Location of New Arrivals, 1949 – 1967

What effect do the mode of migration and established settlement patterns have upon the distribution of new arrivals? Given the changes outlined above the ideal procedure for an answer to this question would be to compare the initial distribution of new arrivals during consecutive time periods (i.e. pre 1914, the 1920s, 1930s, etc.,). Unfortunately, complete and reliable data are not available for the years prior to 1949. Consequently the present examination is limited to the period 1949 - 1967 using information culled from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers. The initial location of new arrivals, classified by type of migration (e.g. chain migrants, displaced persons, refugees) is shown in Table 6.4

Table 6.4

Yugoslav Arrivals 1949-1967; Location of First Address by Statistical Areas [1]

Statistical Areas	Dalmatian Chain Migrants	Displaced Persons	Refugees	Other Chain Migrants	Remainder	Totals
Northland	84	6	-	-	-	90
Central Auckland	629	71	26	34	22	782
South Auckland-Bay of Plenty	82	17	26	8	10	143
Taranaki	11	2	1	-	5	19
East Coast	1	3	4	-	-	8
Hawkes Bay	7	6	9	-	6	28
Wellington	81	104	167	69	16	437
South Island	23	75	33	14	7	152
Not Defined	3	12	-	-	-	15
Totals	921	296	266	125	66	1,674

1. First address excludes adjustment period of displaced persons in Pahiatua Camp or of refugees temporarily settled in the Roman Catholic operated 'Polish Hostel' in Wellington City.

Dalmatian chain migrants, passages paid and accommodation and employment arranged by relatives, have upon arrival concentrated in the Central Auckland Statistical Area (68.3 percent), with small migration chains drawing the bulk of the remainder to Northland, South Auckland - Bay of Plenty and Wellington

(approximately 9 percent each). Chain migration from certain districts within the area of origin to specific localities in New Zealand was also clearly evident. Of the 82 arrivals in South Auckland - Bay of Plenty, 28 were from the island of Korcula (15 of them from Pupnat, a village on this island). Likewise, of the 81 who settled in Wellington Statistical Area, 34 were from the coastal zone between Makarska and the Neretva estuary, and of these 18 were from the village of Podgora. Migrants from Podgora also dominated the small migration chain to Taranaki (5 out of 11 arrivals), while migrants from Drasnice were predominant among arrivals in Christchurch (South Island). The classic example of chain migration, however, is that of the 49 Dalmatians who settled in Mount Wellington Borough (Auckland): 38 were from the island of Korcula, and of these 30 were from Zrnovo, a village on that island.[5] A similar pattern was observed in the Wellington-Hutt Urban Area; here, of the total non-Dalmatian chain migrants, 25 out of 37 Serbians and 11 out of 18 Macedonians settled upon arrival in close proximity to their relations.

Initially the distribution of displaced persons and refugees was determined by conditions governing their entry to New Zealand. After a brief three month adjustment period in the Pahiatua Camp, the D.P.s were directed to certain types of employment throughout the country - 12 percent to construction work (e.g. Roxburgh hydro-electric power project), 12 percent to agriculture and forestry, 14 percent to transport (particularly the railways) and 34 percent to manufacturing industries. On the other hand, it was the location of sponsoring organisations which directly influenced the distribution of refugees, most of whom were resettled in the Wellington-Hutt district under the auspices of the International Council of Churches. Individual refugees and family groups were also sponsored and resettled by church and rotary groups throughout New Zealand. Subsequent concentration of both displaced persons and refugees in Auckland, Christchurch, and especially Wellington, has in turn influenced the distribution of chain migrants that they have sponsored.

Overall, the new arrivals have both responded and contributed to the evolving urban phase of settlement. The distribution of Dalmatian chain migrants accurately reflects the decline of settlement in Northland, the ascendency of Auckland (all but 30 of the 629 moving to Central Auckland Statistical Area were located within the Auckland Urban Area), and the filtering into towns and cities south of Auckland. By comparison, the displaced persons and refugees have boosted settlement south of Auckland by their marked preference for Wellington, and to a lesser degree, the South Island.

Settlement in Auckland

Inner city concentrations are typical of many ethnic and racial minorities in New Zealand and abroad. Factors favouring such concentration, especially during the early years of arrival and settlement, include the availability of cheaper accommodation and proximity to both the main transport routes and places of work. It comes as no surprise therefore to find that as early as 1899 there were three Yugoslav boarding-houses situated within a few minutes walk of Queen Street: Jozip Franich's 'Austrian-Croatian Boarding House' in Princes Street, Lui Kinkela's 'Hobson Boarding House' in Hobson Street and Ivan Bilich's 'Sydney Boarding House' on the corner of Wyndham and Albert Streets.[6] During the next four decades Yugoslav settlement in the area was consolidated as former gumdiggers and rural labourers moved into the city.

By 1916 the core of the community was established in a small area to the west of Queen Street, along Victoria, Hobson, Federal and Durham Streets. Aside from gum buyers and gum merchants (such as Mate Ban and Paul Kokich in Customhouse Street East) there were at least six restaurants (operated by Joseph Caima and Peter Garea in Hobson Street and by Tony Cezarija, Jack Markovina, Peter Milicich and George Vujnovich in Victoria Street), one hairdresser (Nicholas Bradanovich), one tobacconist (Frank Pasalich) and one confectioner (Marin Segedin), as well as Frank and George Frankovich who had set themselves up as wine merchants in Victoria Street. The hub of the community, however, was formed by boarding-houses, the three most important of which were those operated by Paul and Mary Cvitanovich (94 Federal Street), Luka and Mary Dean (54 Durham Street) and by John and Mandalina Mallisich [Milicich?] (91 Hobson Street). Together these three boarding-houses accommodated some thirty males while others found board with Olaf Anderson and Violet Petricich (both in Hobson Street) or had private accommodation in the same general area. Only 10 to 15 percent of the early settlers in Auckland were scattered over the surrounding suburbs of Grey Lynn, Ponsonby, Newton, Mount Eden, Parnell, Newmarket and Remuera.[7]

Settlement in the central city reached a peak during the early 1940s, the number of Yugoslavs in Auckland City increasing from 390 to 670 over the period 1936-1945. By 1944 there were within the core area (bounded by Wyndham, Nelson, Cook and Queen Streets) a total of 13 restaurants and cafes, 9 shops, 3 billiard saloons and 17 boarding-houses and apartment buildings that were either owned or operated by Yugoslavs (see Table 6.5). The boarding-houses and apartments provided

Table 6.5

The Core Area of Yugoslav Settlement in Central Auckland, 1944
(area bounded by Wyndham, Nelson, Cook and Queen Streets)

Victoria Street West	
2 Private dwellings	83 A. Staub; 90 M. Rudelj
4 Boarding-houses, apartments	81 T. Kesara; 87 Mrs. V. Mihaljevich; 117 C. Radojkovich; 139 T. Nizich
3 Informal boarding-places	43 A. Jovich; 66 M. Glavas; 83 A. Staub;
6 Restaurants	13 G. Jelcich; 35 J. Urlich; 55 J. Markovina; 59 I. Kosovich; 62 J. Lipanovich; 91 N. Clarich.
2 Billiard saloons	79 Mrs Jelicich; 100 G. Katavich.
8 Shops, services	43 A. Jovich (fruiterer); 49 J. Trbuhovich (clothing outfitter); 66 M. Glavas (dairy); 69 A. Devcich (tailor); 84 P. Stanich [Stanisich ?] (grocer); 101 B. Kriletich (hairdresser); 111 S. Godinovich (dairy); 120 T. Radojkovich (fish shop).
Hobson Street	
5 Private dwellings	85 M. Trlin; 85d (Foleys Lane) J. Ivicevich; 86 Mrs. M. Ravlich; 131 N. Segedin; 154a P. Zurich.
4 Boarding-houses, apartments	101 J. Anzulovich; 126 G. Lovich; 128 Mrs. J. Klinac; 137 Mrs. I. Govorko.
1 Informal boarding-place	86 Mrs. M. Ravlich,
2 Restaurant, cafe, etc.	90 Mrs. M. Ravlich (tea rooms); 116 S. Katavich
1 Billiard saloon	79 M. Dragich [Dragicevich] .
1 Shop	88 I. Antunovich (confectionary).
2 Clubs	79a Yugoslav Club (Inc.); 106 Yugoslav Benevolent Society[1] 'Marshal Tito'

Table 6.5 continued

Federal Street	
2 Private dwellings	88 J. Ravlich; 107 N. Skokandich;
3 Boarding-houses	72 J. Jelicich; 94 B. Martinovich; 111 L. Marinovich.
2 Restaurants	68 Mrs. Modrich; 84 J. M. Jelicich
Nelson Street	
5 Private dwellings	27 P. Bilish; 29 Mrs. Hrstich; 46b V. Jelicich; 70a M. Posa; 74a Mrs. L. Matutinovich
1 Boarding-house, apartments	46 V. Jelicich.
1 Informal boarding-place	29 Mrs. Hrstich
Cook Street	
1 Private dwelling	41 A. Nizich
Darby Street	
1 Cafe	8 Tolich and Mrkosich
Queen Street	
1 Cafe	213 U. Marinovich
Greys Avenue	
1 Cafe	13 G. Lovich
Others Around Core Area Boundary	
6 Private dwellings	D. Lovich (151 Nelson St.); F. Sokolich (96b Nelson St.); M. Roglich (196 Hobson St.); J. Duganzich (208 Hobson St.); M. Franicevich (127 Vincent St.); Mrs. M. Kostanich (68 Cook St.).
1 Boarding-house, apartments	J. Alach (79 Vincent St.).
1 Cafe	Mrs. Rosandich (32 Albert St.).
1 Shop (fish shop)	T. Sumich (180 Hobson St.).

1. Formerly the Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society.

Source: Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory 1944, and personal interviews with former residents.

accommodation for between 160 and 200 men, varying in size from the informal establishment with 5 or 6 boarders in rooms above or behind a small business (e.g. the Glavas dairy in Victoria Street) to the full-time enterprise with about 15 boarders (e.g. the Jelicich boarding-house in Federal Street). During weekends, when men were free of work, English ranked a poor second to Serbo-Croatian in the conversations of small groups up and down Hobson, Federal and Victoria Streets. And to complete the picture of an immigrant community, both the Yugoslav Club (Inc.) and the Yugoslav Benevolent Society 'Marshal Tito' (formerly the Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society) were located in Hobson Street and catered for members throughout the urban area as well as many out-of-town visitors.

Initially, a significant proportion of the boarding-house clientele consisted of short-term residents - men who normally earned a living in various types of rural employment and who returned to the city between jobs, during holidays and to attend to business matters. Later, from about 1930 onwards, more permanent residents, engaged in unskilled and semi-skilled urban employment, were predominant. For both groups the boarding-house was an ideal meeting-place where one could spend leisure hours in talk, card-playing and drinking with old acquaintances, friends and relations. Naturally the proprietor emerged as an influential figure. Familiar with the ways and means of the city, and often having a command of English above that of most others, the proprietor was able and willing to perform a variety of services and favours for his countrymen. For example, he (or she) could act as an interpreter, advisor, banker, agent and confidant as well as being a source of information on employment opportunities and the well-being and whereabouts of other migrants. These functions, coupled with that of a recognised meeting-place, made the boarding-house a reasonably secure financial venture. However, as the prosperity of migrants increased, as they got married and had children, new needs were created which could not be met by the boarding-house and thus contributed to its demise.

Aside from the Henderson-Oratia area on the western periphery, the movement into Auckland's suburbs did not begin in earnest until the mid 1930s. Between 1936 and 1945 the numbers resident in areas such as Mount Eden, Mount Albert, One Tree Hill, Onehunga, Ellerslie and New Lynn more than doubled. Consequently the proportion located in Auckland City (i.e. near the C.B.D. and in the inner city suburbs of Ponsonby, Grey Lynn, and Newton) declined from 66.2 to 61.8 percent of the Auckland Urban Area total over the same period. During the next two decades the suburbanisation process accelerated so that by 1966 only 15.9 percent were left in the 'inner city'.[8]

Though rooted in the typical centrifugal movement of immigrants advancing in social and economic status, or seeking accommodation and surroundings appropriate to child rearing, the contemporary suburban distribution of Auckland's Yugoslavs owes much to the continuation of chain migration (see Table 6.6). Most of the 599 Dalmatian chain migrants arriving in Auckland between 1951 and 1967 resided initially in the 'outer suburbs' (57.6 percent) while the 'inner city' and 'inner suburbs' accounted for almost equal proportions of the remainder (21.4 and 21.0 percent, respectively). The initial distribution of migrants from specific villages and localities, however, varied considerably. Among new arrivals from Korcula, for example, those from the villages of Zrnovo and Pupnat were heavily over-represented in the 'outer suburbs' as compared with fellow islanders from the village of Racisce who were over-represented in the 'inner city' zone. Similar contrasts appear between migrants from Sucuraj, Gdinj and Zastrazisce (Hvar Island). Such contrasts between new arrivals from often neighbouring villages can scarcely be dismissed as the result of mere chance. Nor can they be realistically attributed solely to differentials in the ability of new arrivals to achieve residential decentralisation. Recognition must in fact be given to the operation of chain migration based upon the relative 'success' or 'failure' and background histories of earlier migrants from the respective villages or localities of origin.

Division of the urban area into three broad concentric zones - 'inner city', 'inner suburbs', 'outer suburbs' - reveals variations in the degree of decentralisation but has the disadvantage of masking intra-zonal residential patterns and the importance of specific localities. The most important reception areas were the Henderson-Oratia Zone, Ponsonby-Grey Lynn (forming the western residential area of the 'inner city') and the Borough of Mount Wellington (a south-eastern 'outer suburb'), which together accounted for 291 (48.6 percent) of the arrivals while the remainder were liberally scattered over a wide variety of 'inner' and 'outer suburbs'. Comparison of the village origins of migrants moving into these three reception areas reveals once again the distortion in the residential pattern wrought by chain migration (see Table 6.7). For example, although migrants from Zrnovo and Pupnat on the island of Korcula were both over-represented in the 'outer suburbs' (Table 6.6) it is now clear that they were nonetheless effectively segregated from each other. While villagers from Zrnovo were drawn to Mount Wellington (30 out of 49 arrivals), those from Pupnat were drawn to the Henderson-Oratia zone and a number of other suburbs. Similarly, small migration chains linked the villages of Drvenik and Rascane with Henderson-Oratia, but this area (like Ponsonby-Grey Lynn) was characterised primarily by its accommodation of

Table 6.6

First Residential Location of Dalmatian Chain Migrants in the Auckland Urban Area: Arrivals 1951-1967, Classified by Birthplace

Birthplace	Auckland Urban Area (%)			Total %	Auckland No.
	Inner City[1]	Inner Suburbs[1]	Outer Suburbs[1]		
North Dalmatia					
Novi-Vinodol	30.0	20.0	50.0	100.0	10
Central Dalmatia					
Korcula Island					
Lumbarda	54.5	36.4	9.1	100.0	11
Zrnovo	-	8.2	91.8	100.0	49
Pupnat	9.1	13.6	77.3	100.0	44
Racisce	36.6	19.5	43.9	100.0	41
Other	14.3	23.8	61.9	100.0	21
Hvar Island					
Sucuraj	30.9	23.8	45.2	100.0	42
Gdinj	36.8	31.6	31.6	100.0	38
Zastrazisce	8.3	33.3	58.3	100.0	24
Other	-	7.1	92.9	100.0	14
Brac Island	26.1	52.2	21.7	100.0	23
Vis Island	-	33.3	66.7	100.0	3
Peljesac Pen.	-	11.1	88.9	100.0	9
Neretva Est.	35.7	7.1	57.2	100.0	14
Coastal Zone					
Podgora	7.9	26.3	65.8	100.0	38
Drasnice	25.0	12.5	62.5	100.0	16
Zivogosce	11.5	19.2	69.2	100.0	26
Drvenik	11.8	11.8	76.5	100.0	17
Other	7.0	17.5	75.5	100.0	57
Vrgorac Zone					
Vrgorac	52.9	41.2	5.9	100.0	17
Rascane	-	-	100.0	100.0	11
Kozica	38.5	7.7	53.8	100.0	13
Other	60.0	13.3	26.7	100.0	30
Remainder	29.0	32.3	38.7	100.0	31
Total No.	128	126	345		599
%	21.4	21.0	57.6	100.0	

1. See footnote 8 for definition of 'inner city', 'inner suburbs' and 'outer suburbs'.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, 1951-1967.

Table 6.7

Birthplaces of Dalmatian Chain Migrants (Arrivals 1951-1967) Residing Initially in Henderson-Oratia Zone, Ponsonby-Grey Lynn and Mt. Wellington

Birthplaces	Henderson-Oratia Zone[1]	Ponsonby-Grey Lynn	Mount Wellington	Total Auckland Urban Area
North Dalmatia				
Novi Vinodol	3	1	-	10
Central Dalmatia				
Korcula Island				
Lumbarda	-	5	1	11
Zrnovo	10	-	30	49
Pupnat	26	-	-	44
Racisce	9	13	5	41
Other	6	-	2	21
Hvar Island				
Sucuraj	7	9	-	42
Gdinj	3	6	-	38
Zastrazisce	5	-	-	24
Other	5	-	1	14
Brac Island	1	5	-	23
Peljesac Pen	5	-	1	9
Vis Island	-	-	-	3
Neretva Est.	7	4	-	14
Coastal Zone				
Podgora	14	3	-	38
Drasnice	3	3	-	16
Zivogosce	12	2	-	26
Drvenik	13	2	-	17
Other	11	3	6	57
Vrgorac Zone				
Vrgorac	-	4	-	17
Rascane	11	-	-	11
Kozica	3	2	-	13
Other	5	15	-	30
Remainder	4	2	3	31
Total	163	79	49	599

1. This area includes Henderson Borough, Glen Eden, and adjacent areas of Waitemata County, notably Te Atatu South, Ranui, Sunnyvale, Henderson Valley and Oratia.

Source: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, 1951-1967.

migrants from practically all villages and districts in central Dalmatia. On the other hand, with 38 out of 49 arrivals born on the island of Korcula, Mount Wellington Borough was a much more homogeneous reception area.

The net result of social and economic advancement, suburbanisation and chain migration is revealed in Figure 6.1 which depicts the residential dissimilarity of Yugoslav immigrants as compared with the remainder of Auckland's population in 1966. Residential dissimilarity is defined here as the difference (plus and minus) between the percentage distributions of two populations by urban census sub-divisions. The map thus illustrates the spatial variations which may be summarised as an index of residential dissimilarity to indicate the percentage of one population (usually the minority) that would have to redistribute itself in order to approximate the same percentage distribution by spatial units as another population.[9] Contiguous census sub-divisions attaining similar values of dissimilarity (within the intervals specified in Figure 6.1) have been shaded continuously in order to simplify cartographic presentation.

Major concentrations for the group were: (a) on the western periphery (Henderson and nearby sections of Waitemata County, about 19 percent of the Yugoslavs as compared with about 6 percent of the remainder of the total population); and (b) in the eastern suburb of Mount Wellington (7.2 percent). Apart from these concentrations the residential pattern was one of a mixture of levels of under- and over-representation (usually within the range plus or minus 2 percent) for the 'inner' and 'outer suburbs' across the isthmus and one of uniform under-representation in the northern (excluding part of Waitemata County), eastern and southern 'outer suburbs'. Thus, although the proportion in the 'inner city' was relatively low (15.8 percent as compared with 9 percent for the remainder of the total population), the index of residential dissimilarity was at 38.0 roughly comparable with that of more recent immigrant groups such as the Hungarians and Samoans (Trlin 1973, 281-287).

The Mount Wellington Concentration

The tendency for new arrivals to settle in certain localities has been criticised by a former Minister of Immigration, who stated:[10]

> The greater and more obvious the difference between the immigrant and the average New Zealander, the longer and more difficult the period of assimilation, and the greater the tendency of immigrants to hive off into little colonies which become self-sufficient and resistant to the process of assimilation.

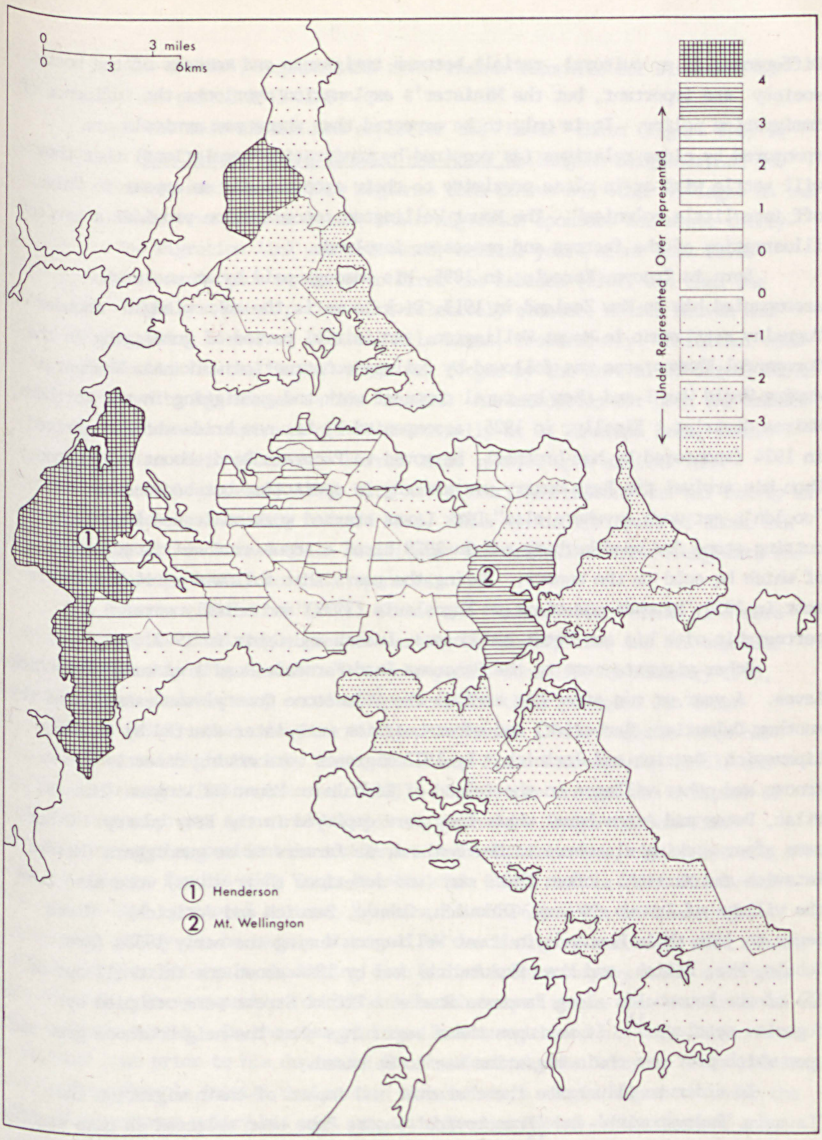


FIGURE 6.1 Residential Dissimilarity of Yugoslav Immigrants as compared with the Remainder of Total Population, Auckland Urban Area, 1966

Differences (i.e. cultural, racial) between immigrants and members of the host society are important, but the Minister's explanation overlooks the influence of immigration policy. It is only to be expected that where new arrivals are sponsored by close relatives (as required by immigration regulations) that they will settle with or in close proximity to their sponsors and so appear to "hive off into little colonies". The Mount Wellington concentration provides a perfect illustration of the factors and processes involved.

Born in Zrnovo, Korcula, in 1895, his passage paid by an uncle who accompanied him to New Zealand in 1913, Dick Lavas is the acknowledged 'founder' of Yugoslav settlement in Mount Wellington. An initial period of gumdigging in the Coromandel-Thames area was followed by railway construction work near Whangarei during World War I and then by rural contract work and gumdigging in the Northern Wairoa district. Finally, in 1925, accompanied by his new bride who had arrived in 1924 (sponsored by her brother), he moved to Panorama Road, Mount Wellington. Upon his arrival the Bray quarry was already in operation, but because he "couldn't get work anywhere else" Dick Lavas started work on leased land by cutting stone for road kerbing and in 1928 hired a stone crusher the product of which he sold to the owners. During the years that followed until his retirement in 1954, he made one visit to Yugoslavia (1937) and briefly entered a partnership with his son Peter and Messrs. Lusich and Grbin in 1949.

Other migrants came to the Panorama Road-Ferndale Road area soon after Dick Lavas. A year or two after his arrival the 'Bluestone Quarry' was established (by another Dalmatian, Barbarich) and other quarries were later started by Messrs. Lipanovich, Bercich and Jericich. By 1927 migrants were moving directly from Zrnovo and other villages on the island of Korcula to Mount Wellington (Messrs. Milat, Peter and Anton Laus) where they were employed in the Bray quarry. Others came after working elsewhere in New Zealand, as farmers or as gumdiggers (Messrs. Katavich and Marsich); often these men (and sometimes their wives) were also from the village of Zrnovo (Messrs. Didovich, Cebalo, Bercich and Jericich). Wives began to join their husbands in Mount Wellington during the early 1930s (Mrs. Cebalo, Mrs. Bilish, and Mrs. Skokandich) and by 1944 about one third (12 out of 35) of the households along Panorama Road and Titoki Street were occupied by Yugoslav settlers.[11] It was upon these beginnings that the neighbourhood grew and upon which post-war chain migration was to be based.

In order to illustrate the character and impact of chain migration the 'Lavas', 'Radovanovich' and 'Franotovich' chains have been selected as case studies for more detailed attention.[12] Basic information on each chain is presented in

Figures 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4; together the three chains accounted for 21 out of 49 arrivals over the period 1951-1967.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the 'Lavas' chain (Figure 6.2) is that Dick and Mila Lavas, having founded the Mount Wellington neighbourhood and attracted (but not assisted) fellow migrants from Zrnovo and other villages on the island of Korcula, remained as latent chain migration sponsors for about thirty-six years. The migration link was activated, several years after Dick Lavas' retirement, with assistance rendered to first the Rabadan (1961) and then the Melvan (1967) family. Kinship ties were relatively slender, Antica Melvan and Jacica Rabadan being nieces of Dick and Mila Lavas, respectively. A further and closer kinship link in the 'Lavas' chain was forged by the arrival of Bartul Curac (1965) sponsored by his sister Jacica Rabadan. Accommodation for both the Rabadan and Melvan families in turn was provided initially at 34 Panorama Road, almost directly opposite their sponsors. Bartul Curac resided upon arrival (and remained until at least early 1971) with his sister, her husband and her family at their second address in nearby Leonard Road. Thus within the space of about six and a half years the 'Lavas' chain facilitated the arrival of nine immigrants who settled in close proximity to their sponsors.

By comparison with the 'Lavas' chain, the 'Radovanovich' chain is a more elaborate example, involving a greater variety of kinship ties and six separate acts of sponsorship (Figure 6.3). Over the period June 1959 to February 1965, Marin and Frana Radovanovich acted as sponsors for their youngest son Vicko Radovanovich (1959), their daughter Marija Matulovich (1961, together with her husband Jakov and child Marin), their oldest son Frano Radovanovich (1963) and finally for a nephew Frano Bakarich (1965). The latter arrival was a nephew of Frana Radovanovich who sponsored him jointly with Jako Jericevich and Frank Bakarich, two uncles resident in Auckland. Frano Radovanovich, the oldest son, acted as sponsor for his wife Vanja Radovanovich (1965), while Jakov Matulovich (the son-in-law) sponsored a niece, Katarina Sain (1965). The influence of immigration policy can be easily discerned in the timing of arrivals, with almost perfect two year intervals separating each act of sponsorship by Marin and Frana Radovanovich. Co-sponsorship for Frano Bakarich helped reduce the time interval to about sixteen months. In the case of Frano Radovanovich and his wife Vanja, whom he married just prior to his departure for New Zealand, the delay in their reunion stemmed from Frano's initial declaration that he was a single migrant. Under the terms of government policy his wife was accordingly treated as his fiancee and permitted entry when he had been a resident for at least one year.

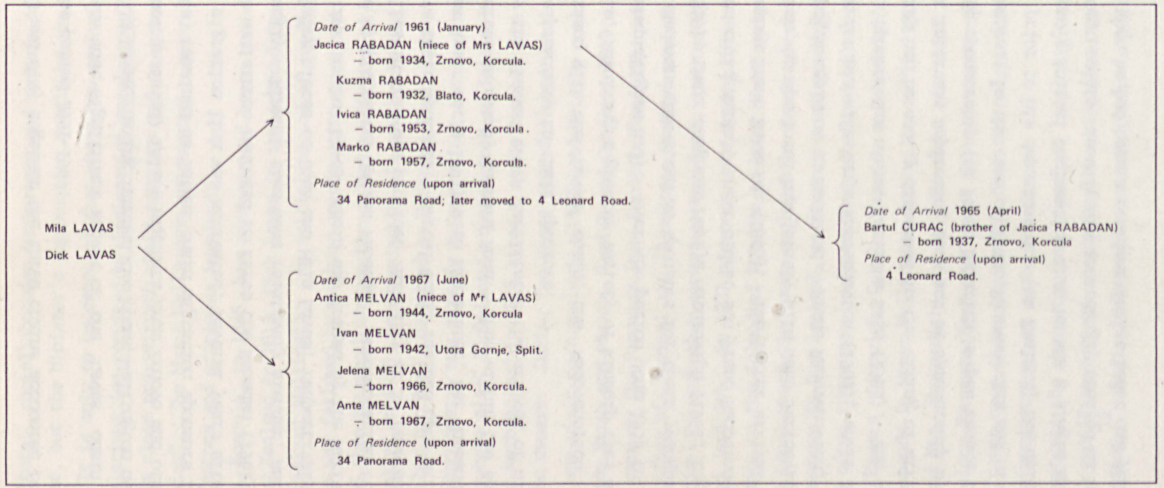


FIGURE 6.2 The 'LAVAS' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland

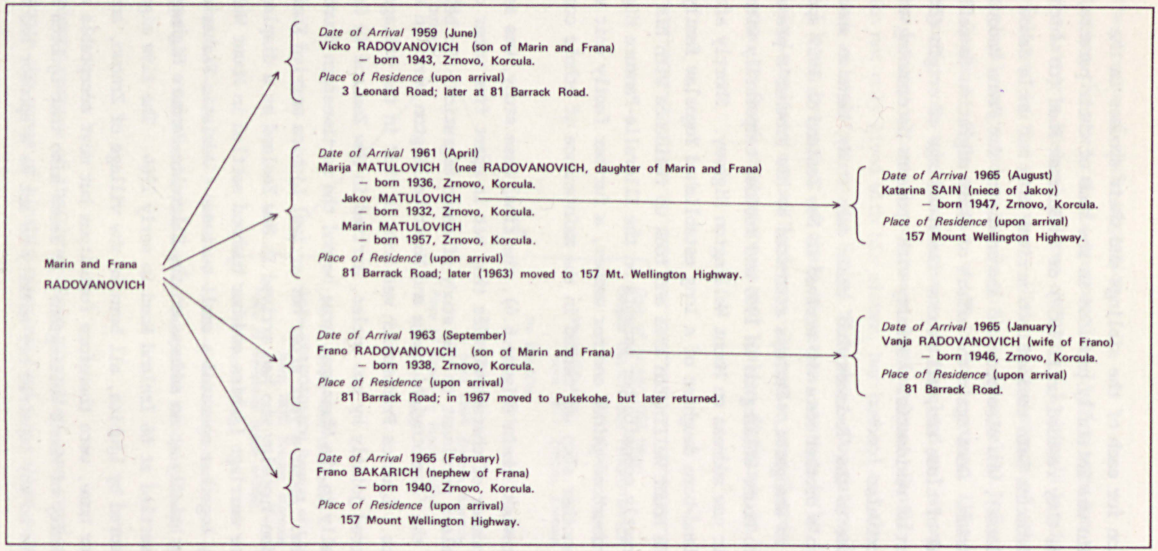


FIGURE 6.3 The 'RADOVANOVICH' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland

Accommodation for each of the siblings and their spouses in the 'Radovanovich' chain was initially provided in the home of their parents, either in Leonard Road (where they resided until 1959) or in Barrack Road (to which they moved in 1960). Katarina Sain resided upon arrival with her uncle Jakov Matulovich (at his second address), who also provided accommodation for Frana Radovanovich's nephew, Frano Bakarich. Once again the effect of chain migration is reflected not only in the arrival of close kin, all from a common village of origin (Zrnovo), but also in the pattern of residential proximity with sponsors determining the initial location of new arrivals.

As a footnote to the 'Radovanovich' chain case study, mention should be made of Jakov Matulovich's brother Ante who arrived in New Zealand in 1959 sponsored by an uncle resident in Whangarei. Perhaps attracted by his brother's presence, Ante Matulovich moved to Mount Wellington in 1965 and resided temporarily with Jakov and his family at their new address on Mount Wellington Highway. Shortly afterwards he married a New Zealand-born daughter of a long established Yugoslav family (Skokandich) in the Mount Wellington area and took up residence with his wife at an address almost directly opposite her parents on the Ellerslie-Panmure Highway. In this way the neighbourhood gained another member, a further family unit was established, and another step was marked in the maintenance of ethnic community cohesiveness.

The 'Franotovich' chain (Figure 6.4), the final case study, was selected because it had a number of characteristics that set it apart from other chains, but which were nonetheless pertinent to the study of chain migration. To begin with, the links between the 'Franotovich' chain and Mount Wellington were, in a sense, somewhat fortuitous. Ljubica Franotovich was born in 1937 in the village of Zrnovo, was sponsored jointly by two uncles, arrived in New Zealand in October 1962 and resided initially in the Whenuapai area beyond the northwestern boundary of the Auckland Urban Area. About a year after her arrival Ljubica married Kamil Fehmi Hasani, a Macedonian-Yugoslav who had arrived in New Zealand as a displaced person in 1951. After her marriage Ljubica and her husband settled in Mount Wellington Borough where they together operated a small business ('Adriatic Fisheries') in Panmure. Residing briefly at an address on the Ellerslie-Panmure Highway, the Hasanis finally settled at 68 Ireland Road in early 1964. The five migrants subsequently sponsored by Ljubica, all born in the village of Zrnovo, and initially accommodated in her home, were therefore fortuitous but most acceptable additions to the Yugoslav community of Mount Wellington. It seems also that Ljubica's marriage to an 'outsider' in no way impaired her ability to act as a sponsor and thereby

perpetuate the process of chain migration.

First among the new arrivals sponsored by Ljubica were her sister Dragica Belich and the latter's husband and two children. Ljubica's brother Dinko Franotovich followed in the same year. With the assistance of other relatives Dinko had originally migrated to New South Wales (Australia) before joining his sister in New Zealand. This example, which is not uncommon, illustrates neatly that chain migration can take place between the homeland and an overseas destination and also between alternative overseas destinations. Finally, once in New Zealand, Dinko not only lived with his sister, her husband and the Belich family, but also became an assistant in the Hasani fish shop. Occupational specialisation is also a well known by-product of chain migration, whether it be in the form of Dalmatian viticulturalists around Henderson, Dalmatian stonemasons and quarrymen in Mount Wellington, or Greek restaurateurs and Italian fishermen in Wellington.

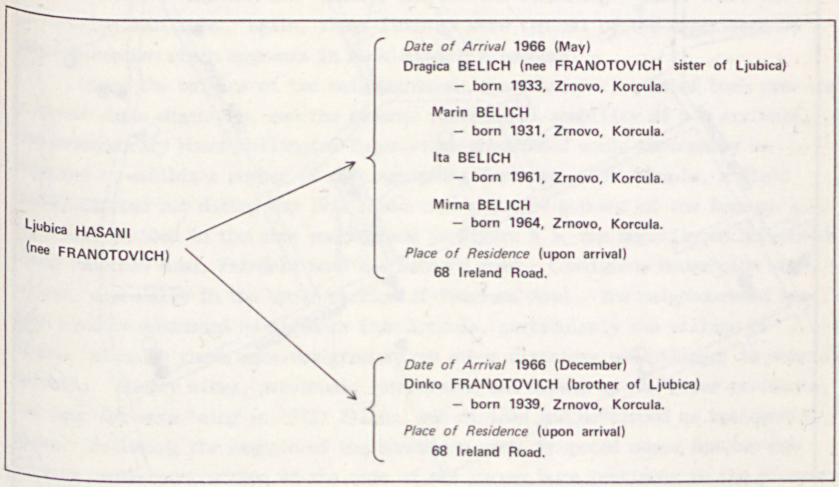


FIGURE 6.4 The 'FRANOTOVICH' Migration Chain, Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland

The primary purpose of the three chain migration case studies presented above was to illustrate the range of kinship ties involved (or rather permitted by immi-

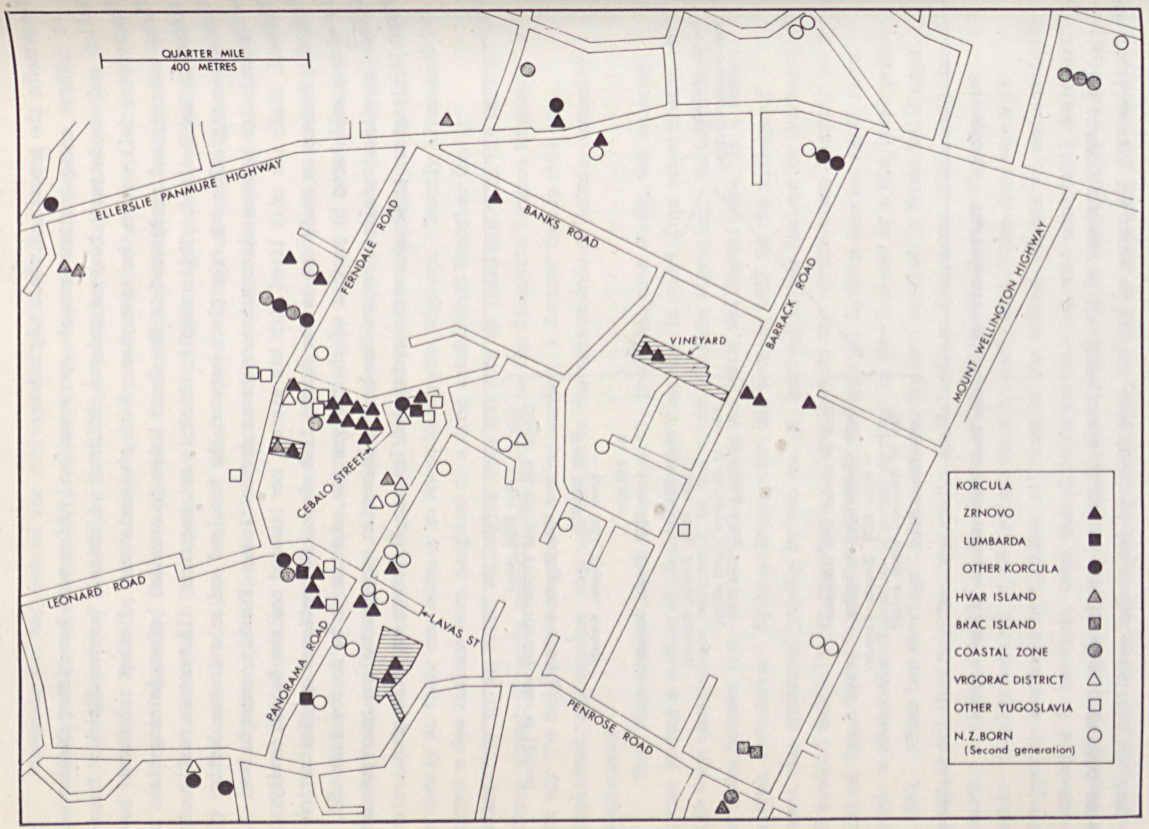


FIGURE 6.5 Residential Distribution and Birthplaces of 'Yugoslavs' in Mount Wellington Borough (part), Auckland, 1971

gration policy) and the effect upon the residential location of new arrivals. A deeper appreciation of the general characteristics of chain migration might also be gained from the basic 'human interest' of such case studies. Looking at the total of 49 arrivals in Mount Wellington over the period 1951-1967, the basic features can be summarised as follows. Excluding cases where no data were available (6), and minors accompanying adults (11), a significant proportion of new arrivals were sponsored by nuclear family members (14 out of 32), with relations beyond the nuclear family following closely in second place (12 out of 32). With the exception of family groups where kinship ties were predominantly with the wife, rather than the husband, the sponsorship pattern for arrivals in Mount Wellington was much the same as the pattern for all Dalmatian chain migrant arrivals, 1951-1967 (see Table 2.7). As for the initial accommodation of the 49 arrivals, it was found that 36 resided with their sponsor(s), 9 had separate accommodation, either in close proximity to the sponsor ('Lavas' chain) or with other Yugoslavs related to the sponsor ('Radovanovich' chain), and for the remaining 4 cases there was no information available. Again, these findings were typical of the experience of other Dalmatian chain migrants in Auckland and elsewhere.

Given the origins of the neighbourhood, the characteristics of both pre- and post-war chain migration, and the general residential stability of new arrivals, the contemporary Mount Wellington Yugoslav neighbourhood could reasonably be expected to exhibit a number of distinguishing features. For example, a field survey carried out during May 1971 found that about 50 percent of the Borough's Yugoslavs resided in the area encompassed in Figure 6.5, the majority in households along Panorama Road, Ferndale Road and Leonard Road. Contiguous households were common, especially in the upper section of Panorama Road. The neighbourhood was also clearly dominated by migrants from Korcula, particularly the village of Zrnovo, although there were immigrants from other districts and villages in central Dalmatia. Quarry sites, previously established and worked by the older residents, had been (or were being in 1971) filled, sub-divided and developed as residential sites. Following the example of the Henderson area, proposed names for two new streets under construction at the time of the survey bore testimony to the pioneers and settlers of the past (Lavas Street, Cebalo Street). The only culturally distinctive land use features remaining in the neighbourhood were three small vineyards. And finally, though by no means least among the distinguishing features, there was the apparent characteristic of ethnic social cohesiveness. The nature and extent of this cohesiveness is examined in relation to the issue of assimilation in a later chapter of this study.

Footnotes

1. Comparable data from the 1971 Census of Population and Dwellings were not published for the birthplace category 'Yugoslavia'.

2. Unpublished data from the 1961 Census were provided in the form of special tabulations requested by the author in order to complete an M.A. thesis (Trlin, 1967a).

3. Obviously the discussion here and the information presented in Table 6.3 does not completely account for either (a) those migrants who were engaged in such activities for short periods before naturalisation, or (b) those who were so engaged after naturalisation, or (c) those who were never naturalised.

4. For discussion on the development and function of these clubs, see chapter 7.

5. The Mount Wellington Yugoslav neighbourhood is examined in some detail at the end of this chapter and again in chapter 8.

6. Advertisements for these three boarding-houses appeared in the first issue of Bratska Sloga (Vol. 1 No. 1, 1899, page 4).

7. All of the details for 1916 were obtained from the Aliens Register 1917, which was based on returns for the 1916 Census of Population and Dwellings.

8. The areas 'Auckland City' and 'inner city' are not the same. For the purposes of this study the 'inner city', 'inner suburbs' and 'outer suburbs' (see Table 6.6) are defined as follows:
Inner City: Auckland Central, Freemans Bay, Ponsonby, Grey Lynn, Arch Hill, Kingsland, Mt. Eden North, Eden Terrace, Newton, Grafton, Parnell, and Newmarket.
Inner Suburbs: Herne Bay, Westmere, Point Chevalier, Waterview, Mt. Albert (excluding Kingsland), Mt. Eden Central, Mt. Eden South, Three Kings, Royal Oak, Epsom South, One Tree Hill, Ellerslie, Onehunga, Remuera North, Meadowbank, Remuera South, Orakei, Mission Bay, St. Heliers, Kohimarama.
Outer Suburbs: all remaining subdivisions of the Auckland Urban Area as specified in the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1966.

9. For a useful discussion of this measure, see Taeuber and Taeuber (1965).

10. 'New Zealand and Immigration' The Dominion (Wellington) 1 June, 1968.

11. See entries for Panorama Road and Titoki Street in Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory 1944.

12. The basic details reported for each of these three chains were obtained from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, 1951-1967; and from 'Applications for Entry to New Zealand, 1951-1967' held in the Department of Labour and Immigration, Wellington. Details were checked, and additional information was collected, during the survey conducted in 1971.

7

NEWSPAPERS AND CLUBS

Immigrant newspapers and voluntary associations are typically viewed with suspicion. With few exceptions they are often seen by members of the host society as obstacles to acculturation and as restraints upon the processes of amalgamation (intermarriage), economic absorption and social integration. During periods of strained international relations and war they may even be perceived as threats to national security that warrant close surveillance (if not declared illegal and closed down). In actual fact, however, ethnic newspapers and clubs are (under normal conditions) important methods of adjustment to life in a new society and reflect the changing social, economic and demographic characteristics of an immigrant community. Taking this more positive viewpoint the aim here is to examine the ideals, functions and contributions of Yugoslav newspapers and clubs with respect to group adjustment to life in New Zealand.

The Immigrant Press, 1899 – 1944

Four major newspapers were published in Auckland between 1899 and 1944 - Bratska Sloga (Brotherhood Union), Napredak (Progress), Zora (The Dawn) and The United Front (Bulletin of the Slavonic Council). There were also a number of minor publications such as Danica (Morning Star), Sloga (Unity), Novi Svijet (New World), Glas Istine (Voice of Truth) and Slavenski Glasnik (Slav Herald).

Of the major publications only Bratska Sloga, Napredak and Zora sought to span the void between immigrant and host society, although Zora and The United Front were in essence propaganda organs. Each reflects immigrant responses to criticism in the host society and is therefore intimately related to adjustment problems faced by immigrants and their hosts.[1]

The Kauri Gum Industry Act 1898, provoked a reaction led by Antun Bulat and Mathew Ferri with the nominal support of the Austrian Consul, E. Langguth who made quite plain the reasons behind the appearance of Bratska Sloga in May 1899.

> Six months ago the idea of an Austrian newspaper was not thought of, in fact this was not considered possible, but when early in January the New Zealand Government thought fit to legislate or rather issue decrees directed straight against our nationality it became absolutely necessary that we should write and resist as much as possible the attacks made against us, and the appearance of a newspaper in the Croatian language is an important step towards the union of our as yet scattered forces (Bratska Sloga, 29 May, 1899).

Ferri (Bulat's assistant editor, but apparently the main editor and contributor in practise) had other objectives as well. In one of his first editorials for Bratska Sloga he presented a statement of policy which stands as a vivid example of the function of a foreign language newspaper.

> There are very few who can make themselves understood in English; and even the few who have some knowledge of that language can express themselves very indifferently in it, and have no means of knowing the current news of the day, or to become acquainted with the views and actions of our public men. It seemed to us necessary that some means should be provided to these people expressed in a language understood by them (Bratska Sloga, 15 May 1899).

And while a knowledge of the English language was being acquired, Ferri hoped to stimulate economic absorption by making known "to our British friends when a supply of labour of a particular class can be obtained amongst our countrymen" (Bratska Sloga, 15 May 1899). The presentation of news and especially of current prices for kauri gum, introduced to appease 'British' diggers who felt the 'Austrians' were being cheated by buyers and their product glutting the market, not only assisted Dalmatians in their contacts with the host society but also established a pattern for future publications to follow. Advertisements for Yugoslav boarding-houses, restaurants, stores and gumbrokers, together with lists of arrivals, notices from the Austrian Consul, obituaries and other items likely to be of interest to Dalmatian readers were included in Bratska Sloga and especially in Napredak, Ferri's second paper.

Underlying Ferri's efforts was a desire (probably sincere) to achieve a state of harmony between his countrymen and New Zealanders. Unfortunately his efforts were doomed to failure for two main reasons. First, he expressed aspirations not shared by the majority of his contemporaries. For example, to counter criticisms of the migrants as 'birds of passage' or unscrupulous exploiters, coming here to make a few hundred pounds before returning to Europe, Ferri advocated (and expressed his sincere belief in and reasons for) permanent settlement in New Zealand.

> The great majority of them are very unlikely ever to leave New Zealand whatever may be said to the contrary. There are several substantial reasons which will have their influence in such a decision... there is a freedom in colonial life which is not experienced in countries in Europe... there are also better prospects for the industrious workers than are possessed by a similar class of workers in all parts of Europe (Bratska Sloga 15 May, 1899).

His idealism was against the tenor of the times. He was apparently unable to comprehend or unwilling to accept that temporary migration to New Zealand was rooted in old country aspirations of self-sufficiency and individual landholding. As noted in an earlier chapter approximately 71 percent of arrivals between 1896 and 1920 had left New Zealand by 1921. Not surprisingly his visions of brotherhood union and permanent settlement (the latter reiterated in Napredak[2] where he pleaded with his readers to wake up, to grasp the available opportunities and to take their place on an equal footing with others in New Zealand) were rejected by most Dalmatian migrants. Indeed, only one month after Bratska Sloga first appeared it was suggested that the paper had failed to gain a large circulation because of its lack of opposition to Government actions against migrants from Dalmatia, and Ferri also admitted that some of his countrymen found him wanting in patriotism (Bratska Sloga, 12 June 1899).

The second reason for Ferri's failure lay in his character and actions which were unlikely to win friends and influence people in a positive manner. A marked degree of intellectual superiority, for example, was exhibited in a scathing review of Danica (Morning Star).

> We are in receipt of the second number of Danica and we find that from beginning to end there is no interesting literary matter whatever... the peasant gumdigging class are not fitted for literary purposes (Bratska Sloga, 12 June 1899).

Danica, of course, represented a serious financial rival, a problem of considerable importance in view of the limited circulation to perhaps no more than 1,500 Serbo-Croatian readers. As another example, Ferri was overtly critical of Rev.

Josip Zanna, the Austrian-born priest assigned by the Mill-Hill Fathers to minister to the needs of gumfield Dalmatians. Zanna's monetary 'support' and his warning to avoid certain boarding-houses in Auckland were both attacked by Ferri with the result that, in Zanna's own words, "many turned against me".[3] No doubt Ferri lost some support as well for many of his readers probably felt a need for spiritual assistance akin to that expressed by gumfield poet Ante Kosovich in his collection of poems Dalmatinac iz Tudjine.

Zora (The Dawn) edited by G. L. Scansie (and for a brief period in 1915 by Barthul Mihaljevich) enjoyed wider support than either of Ferri's earlier publications. Printing commenced in 1913, following the formation of the Croatian Publishing Company of Auckland, with the boldly declared aim of "upholding the rights and promoting the unity of the Slavonian People". From the outset, and particularly after the outbreak of war in 1914, Zora was essentially an organ of pro-Slav propaganda. In a letter to Col. C. M. Gibbon (Chief of General Staff) in April 1917, Scansie stated that:[4]

> ...'Zora' (The Dawn) was published in the Slav language in accordance with the Jugoslav programme set out about fifteen years ago, viz to liberate Jugoslav people under Austria and unite them with their self governed brothers - the Serbs. To do this was a very difficult task in Austria, hence many papers were published in America and from there circulate to Austria. My share of the work was in the publication of 'Zora', through which medium I pointed out the despotism of Austria and the golden liberty with Serbia...

After affiliation with the London Jugoslav Committee in 1916 the paper became Zora, The Dawn, The Southern Slav Bulletin and its aims were also impressively expanded.

> Our programme consists of the deliverance of all Jugoslavs from the Austrian yoke and union with their free brothers in Serbia and Montenegro in one united state. One of the best and surest means of attaining the realisation of this programme is to inform the public of the allied nations of the true state of things, through the medium of the press and by the publication of a newspaper (Zora, 13 May, 1916).

The case for implementing such a programme can only be appreciated against the background of hostility toward the Dalmatian immigrant. Intense feelings of patriotism aroused by the war resulted in increased verbal attacks upon the "aliens in the north", who not only appeared unwilling to undertake military service but rather unscrupulously took advantage of military call-up to buy land or properties vacated by departing New Zealanders, demanding also higher rates of pay once the labour shortage became evident. Charges were made in local news-

papers (and at public meetings) of sexual offences by aliens, debauchery among Maori women intoxicated by Dalmatian produced wine, and of the alleged existence of a fifth column training on the gumfields. In addition there was a continuing undercurrent of ill-feeling against the activities and success of Dalmatian gumdiggers.

Under these circumstances Scansie's task was quite clear: he was to secure sympathy for and toleration of his countrymen in the host society. The sustained propaganda of Zora gave the Dalmatians a national identity. Until then they were rather indifferently classed and discriminated against as "alien Austrians", despite incidents such as the public destruction of an Austrian flag outside the Consul's office in Auckland. Military conscription in Dalmatia was now presented as the main motive for emigration, rather than the pressures of poverty and a growing population in a country with limited natural resources. An image of persecuted, exploited peoples was created to win support from New Zealanders who knew little (if anything) of that remote Slav backwater somewhere in the Balkans. The content and quality of Scansie's arguments are clearly illustrated by an editorial titled 'Croatians or Austrians?' - published seven months before the outbreak of World War I.

> After 1868, when the Austrian Government seriously started Pan-German politics against the Pan-Slavs, the political situation of the Southern Slavs of both Monarchies, Austria and Hungary, became absolutely cruel and unbearable... culture, agriculture, industry and various other branches of national life were hardly existent in the Slav States... It is almost impossible to explain the misery suffered by the Southern Slavs (Croatians) under this despotic regime of Austria... These stringent conditions have compelled thousands of Croatians to leave their native soil to seek release in countries across the sea... During recent years over one million Croatians have left their country for the over-seas Dominions of the Empire of Great Britain, United States of America etc, not on account of poverty, but to escape the tyrannism and depression of the Austrian Government.
>
> On the arrival of Croats in New Zealand, the colonists mistook them for Austrians and unfortunately the name has stuck to them ever since... the very name of Austrians is distasteful to them...
>
> We would take this opportunity to respectfully ask the New Zealand authorities, the newspapers, and the general public of New Zealand, when referring to members of our nationality to call them 'Croatians' not Austrians... This paper will do its best to introduce the name of 'Croatian' amongst English speaking people of this colony and would call upon all Croats residing here to assist (Zora, 3 January 1914).

It is perhaps a measure of Zora's influence that the notion of military conscription as a prime motive for emigration persisted in public thinking until the early 1960s. Nor can there be any doubt regarding Scansie's success in winning for his countrymen their gradual acceptance as "friendly aliens". As for the target of Zora's attacks a solid testimony of its success is provided by E. Langguth's letter to Prime Minister W. F. Massey, dated 30 July 1914, seeking prosecution of the Croatian Publishing Company and cessation of publication for Zora. Among other points Langguth (Austro-Hungarian Consul) referred (with considerable indignation) to the publication of "vituperations and vile calumnies against the country I have the honour to represent", to the preaching of "sedition and revolution", to disgraceful attacks against the Imperial Austrian family, to contacts "with nihilistic and anarchical papers both in Europe and America" and finally he dismissed Zora's supporters as "agitators of the Social-Democratic stamp".[5] Massey (who only a few days earlier had made his attack on 'Austrian wine') passed the letter to the Attorney-General ... and publication of Zora continued. Had Scansie known of Langguth's letter he would surely have rejoiced. One wonders how he would have responded had he also known that at about the same time Ferri sent a telegram to Massey suggesting suppression of Zora in order to secure peace and avoid conflict and bloodshed throughout the gumfields.[6] During the next five years, however, Ferri had a change of heart - probably because of his first hand experience of internment as an alien, because of destructive factionalism among his countrymen and because of widespread ill-feeling toward the Yugoslavs. In defence of both Zora and Scansie, he wrote to the Hon. G. W. Russell, Minister of Internal Affairs, as follows:

> The articles from 'Zora' which Mr. Scansie wrote in English and Jugoslav languages were deep and strong. They were the 'opening eye' of the situation and the war which he said was to come. Numerous articles of his have been republished in local British newspapers and throughout America... Mr. Scansie is well known in European circles as the 'Mater hand' writer of European and especially Jugoslav political situations.[7]

It should not be imagined that a foreign-language newspaper could be established free of suspicion, inspection or restraint from the host society. Even as Ferri was defending Scansie, his own third venture Novi Svijet (New World) was being subjected to official scrutiny. An open letter in Croatian in the issue of 17 May 1919 was translated and found to be unfavourable toward the National Service Regulations. A prohibition notice was consequently gazetted under the regulations of 11 October 1915 ("injurous to the public interest in respect to the present war").[8] Prosecution was also considered as the newspaper contained

Editor of

'Zora (The Dawn)'

George Leno SCANSIE (SKANSI) born c. 1877 in the village of St. Martin, Brazza (Sumartin, Brac), arrived in New Zealand around 1899/1900, naturalised in 1903, married in June 1914 (to Miss L. Lowe, an 'Enlgish lady'), and died in Auckland in 1926.



Photograph

G. L. Scansie, as Editor of 'Zora (The Dawn)', in March 1914.

Because all of his personal papers have been either lost or destroyed, very little is known about Scansie's life and activities prior to 1914. When naturalised in 1903 both George and his brother John were gumdiggers at Waiuku, and they later managed a general store in Awanui, near Kaitaia. He was the key figure behind the establishment of the Croatian Publishing Company Ltd. (1913), which produced Zora and a book edited by Scansie titled The Fight for Freedom of the Jugoslavs (1919). At various times during the First World War he was President of the Croatian-Slavonian League of Independence (1914), Honorary Secretary of the Mayor of Auckland's Serbian War Relief Fund, and (in 1916) President of the New Zealand Branch of the Yugoslav Committee (Dr. A. Trumbic was President of the London based parent organisation). Scansie was vocal on many issues concerning his countrymen and obviously very patriotic. His effectiveness, however, was severely limited (perhaps because of a tendency to be flamboyant) by factional opponents such as T. A. Petrie and particularly by Commissioner J. Cullen who (in 1918) described him as "a thorough schemer and utterly untrustworthy". In business, despite his talents, Scansie was never completely successful. The Croatian Publishing Company ended with a meeting of creditors and his last major venture, International Merchantile Ltd. was bankrupted in the 1920s.

material likely to excite discontent and disobedience among Yugoslavs in New Zealand. Though available information is not complete, it appears that Ferri was commenting on the drafting of Yugoslavs onto public works. The only item printed in English was an article "inciting treason and disloyalty in Ireland" (Anderson, 1952, 243-244).

Ferri eventually obtained permission to publish in English (to facilitate close inspection) under the title New World, but the paper was of little value in this form to non-English speaking Dalmatians and sales were poor. An application to publish in both English and Serbo-Croatian (like Zora) was refused. Government was averse to any New Zealand newspaper appearing in a foreign language and considered that "one of the most effective means of Anglicising foreigners was to discourage as completely as possible the use by them of their own foreign language" (Anderson, 1952, 244). This hard-line view has been modified over the years; even Lochore (1951, 49), one of New Zealand's foremost critics of non-British minorities, felt that it would do us no harm if someday Croatian were spoken as commonly as Maori in Northland, provided the immigrant also learned English and his native cultural aspirations remained unpolitical. As for the case of Novi Svijet/New World, one suspects that Ferri's reputation and record as a suspected agitator, possibly disloyal and involved in suspect dealings, were determining factors behind the action taken and hence the paper's demise.

During World War II, The United Front, though not truly a Yugoslav newspaper, followed the tradition of Zora. It was the official organ of the United Front Slavonic Council, which consisted of delegates appointed from the Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society (Auckland), the Yugoslav Club (Inc.) Auckland, The Wellington Yugoslav Club and the Czechoslovak Association, together with Russian and Polish representatives. Following the withdrawal of Polish and Russian representatives (who were at loggerheads over political matters) and later the Czechoslovak Association, the United Front Slavonic Council became The All Slav Union - in essence a Yugoslav body dominated by the Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society. Activities and interests of this new organisation were recorded in Slavenski Glasnik: Bulletin of the All Slav Union.

The statement of aims in The United Front emphasised development of the "Slav national identity". In a 1942 editorial, B. Pospisal (spokesman for the Czechoslovak Association prior to withdrawal) presented the aims as follows (United Front, 23 January 1942):

To promote understanding and co-operation between the Slavonic nationals in New Zealand.
Co-operation with Slavonic organisations overseas... in order to create a United Front against the enemies of Slavs.
Support for each Slavonic nation in its struggle for freedom and for its government so long as the respective government remains loyal to its people and does not betray its nation.
Support of the allied cause and loyalty to New Zealand.

Unlike Zora, which asserted the cultural identity of Yugoslavs to win sympathy and tolerance, The United Front reflected the spirit of immigrants who, though integrated into the host society, retained a pride in and loyalty to their place of origin.

Slavenski Glasnik (Slav Herald) was published intermittently over the period 1943 to 1946, some issues entirely in Serbo-Croatian while others included substantial sections printed in English. In terms of content the paper was above all else a patriotic record of fund raising activities and achievements - for example, £2,200 for a hospital in Kiev and (within six months in 1944) £12,000 for the Yugoslav Peoples Army of Liberation. The All Slav Union's political orientations and sympathies were also reflected by reports and articles extolling developments in Yugoslavia, Poland and the Soviet Union. Though a number of these reports were published in English (see Slavenski Glasnik, 25 April 1945) there can be little doubt that the paper was primarily intended for Yugoslav readers.

On the basis of publications discussed above it appears that Yugoslav newspapers in New Zealand made only a marginal contribution to immigrant adjustment. To be fully effective an immigrant press must have a popular following and a wide circulation, the latter limited in New Zealand to perhaps no more than 1,500 immigrants at any one time and dispersed over the whole of the Auckland province. This problem of a small, scattered audience raised important financial problems so that even the relatively influential Zora expired with a general meeting of creditors of the Croatian Publishing Company in 1917. Zora was probably the only paper which could claim a popular following. Finally, it must be stressed that each of the more successful publications, however short-lived, owed much to the efforts of an energetic individual and was the product of (or response to) a period of stress or strained relationships between immigrants and the host society. This is of particular importance, for most Yugoslavs were generally too busy earning a living and too impecunious to support a newspaper of their own under normal conditions.

Zora's stand was more influential because it directed the wrath of both immigrants and New Zealanders toward a common enemy, while winning sympathy for migrants who had 'suffered' in Europe. Moreover, Scansie sought to reach the general New Zealand reader (like Ferri in early issues of Bratska Sloga) by including many articles and editorials in English. This could hardly be said of Napredak, Sloga and other minor publications which were purely foreign language newspapers. The United Front made the concession of using English (probably necessitated by the Slavonic Council's diverse national composition and the requirements of New Zealand authorities) but was biased toward war news of particular interest to Slavs. Where Bratska Sloga and Zora recognised two communities living alongside one another and tried to establish a line of communication between them, The United Front (and perhaps also Slavenski Glasnik) recognised their tacit separateness and more practically tried to satisfy the assumed needs of Slavs.

Voluntary Associations

Prior to 1920 Yugoslav associations were (with one or two exceptions) typically informal, with a meeting place for recreational activities but having no administrative officers, defined membership criteria or specific functions. Homogeneous Yugoslav 'camps' on the gumfields consisting of young males, had little need of a fixed meeting place, unless there happened to be a Dalmatian storekeeper or farmer in the vicinity whose premises acted as a convenient meeting place where gossip and news of work could be exchanged. Boarding-houses in Dargaville and particularly in Auckland also served as meeting places for rural labourers in town for relaxation. Notable examples were Totich's Restaurant and Boarding-house in Dargaville, and (advertised in Bratska Sloga in 1899) Franich's boarding-house in Princes Street, Auckland.

The transition from rural to urban settlement initially enhanced the importance of the familiar and well-established urban boarding-house. Settlement was now more dispersed in contrast to gumfield camps and the migrants, especially in a city such as Auckland, felt the need for a recognised centre catering for their leisure hours and cultural activities. This felt need was accentuated by a rapid increase in the number of Yugoslavs in Auckland and by a general rise in occupational status and prosperity among successful settlers whose demands could not be adequately met by boarding-house or other similar private facilities.

The first move to establish a club was probably made by E. Langguth (Austrian Consul) in 1902 when he publicly proposed the creation of an Austro-Hungarian Society.[9] It seems that his proposal received very little support and the venture was apparently abandoned. Five years later, in 1907, a second attempt was made by a group of gumdiggers in Dargaville who formed a Croatian Benefit Society.[10] Beyond the fact of its formation, however, there is no reliable evidence concerning the Society's functions, membership or history. During the period 1914 - 1918 a Slavonian Football Club was also formed in Dargaville (with J. M. Totich as Secretary). Its main function was recreational; apparently rugby was popular among young Dalmatians but for obvious reasons they found it difficult to join local clubs and therefore set up their own "thinking that this step would bring better friendship and closer co-operation between British and Croatians". The last, and best documented of these early attempts, was Sokol: The Jugoslav Physical and Mental Culture Club which emerged in 1919.

As proposed by its supporters (T. A. Petrie and 36 others) the aims of Sokol were directed toward[11]...

1. The physical culture of its members, that is training for attainment of the highest form of physical development, perfect health and the teaching of proper and scientific treatment of our body...
2. The mental improvement of its members by creation of the highest form of intellect, christian inspirations, the feeling of sympathy and brotherhood towards our fellow man, teaching of the nobleness of honesty and truth and the beauty of leading a good and christian life.

Together with the rules for membership and election of officers, these aims were submitted by Petrie to the Hon. Sir James Allen (Minister of Defence) for official approval on 23 June 1919. Within a matter of days Allen (with Commissioner Cullen's blessing) informed Petrie that there was no objection to the Club's formation.

Almost half of the named Sokol supporters were naturalised and about one third were merchants, shop owners and farmers. With this settled, prosperous, core the Club's future seemed secure, despite the absence of specific references to Yugoslav culture in its aims and the absence of some prominent community members (Ferri, Scansie, Totich) among its supporters. In this respect Cullen's opinion was at once both typically cynical and astutely perceptive: "The Club, if formed, may effect some good among the Jugoslavs, but I am doubtful whether it will exist for any length of time owing to the number of small factions existing among them".[12] Cullen was correct. Less than a month after Allen's approval the

Club was denounced by Ferri as a nest of gamblers and as "a secret school of Bolshevism".[13]

A concern with political events in Yugoslavia, and hence political factionalism, characterised further moves to establish a Club during the latter half of the 1920s. The Yugoslav Progressive Association was founded in December 1925 by a small group of newly arrived migrants who saw the political structure of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as a device to facilitate Serbian domination and exploitation of Croatia. Given the terms of the Vidovdan constitution, which was in all major respects the same as that of pre-war Serbia and which gave great powers to King Alexander and his own appointed executive, the concerns of The Yugoslav Progressive Association were perfectly understandable.[14] Unfortunately not all Yugoslavs in the Auckland region saw these things in the same way. This fact, coupled with the Association's lack of attention to adjustment and welfare needs of migrants and the lack of suitable premises in which to meet, led to its termination in 1926. Undaunted by this failure another move was made in December 1927 with the establishment of the Yugoslav Reading Room. In a rented room in Customs Street, newspapers and other literature were provided with the prime objective of keeping members informed of political developments in Yugoslavia. Inevitably factionalism was sustained by the organising committee's left-wing political outlook and more particularly by an apparent anti-clerical bias; a motion was passed against a proposal to officially welcome Father Pavlinovich, who was due to take up his position as 'Jugoslav Missioner' in 1928.

A more conservative committee eventually emerged from the internal strife and new premises were rented, first in Federal Street and later in Hobson Street. The Yugoslav Club and Library (Jugoslav Dom) was thus created and legally constituted under the provisions of the Friendly Societies Act in 1930 as the Yugoslav Club (Inc.) These developments were clearly associated with Father Pavlinovich and had the full backing of the Catholic Church. In the years that followed, Father Pavlinovich helped to organise the Club's first Tamburica Band, performances of national dances and other cultural activities.

The aims of the Yugoslav Club (Inc.) were: "to extend and foster brotherly love and good fellowship among the members and Yugoslav people in New Zealand"; to promote entertainments; to uphold the old tradition of Yugoslav national customs and "impart the same into the hearts of the younger generation"; and finally to help the poor and needy, morally and materially.[15] A sense of pride in the place of origin was a strong element in these aims, a pride retained by people who had decided to settle and felt it their...

> ...bounden duty... to give this young nation the good things we possess and to enrich this new land so that when, in times to come, the New Zealand national culture becomes crystallized into definite shape then there should be a clear trace of the Yugoslav in it.[16]

As a measure of the Club's appeal, success and composition, by 1936 membership stood at 200 of whom 90 percent were recorded as being "permanent residents in New Zealand... farmers, tradesmen, businessmen and industrialists".[17] Relative economic security and prosperity among its members must be emphasised, especially as the Club was established and flourished during the depression years.

By emphasising "the promotion of entertainments" and "the upholding of the old traditions" for young and old alike, the Club can be interpreted as an attempt to prevent the 'settler' and his children being drawn into close social relationships outside the community; relationships that would weaken not only family ties but the community as a whole. The Club did, of course, have other functions such as caring for the needy and sustaining families in times of sickness and death, functions normally undertaken in Dalmatia by the village community. A Charity Committee (with a prescribed annual sum of money) was elected to help those in need and committee members visited patients in hospitals and mental institutions.

Meanwhile, events in Yugoslavia were, to say the least, disquieting. In June 1928 Stephen Radich and two other members of the Croat Peasant Party were shot down during one of many quarrels in the Yugoslav parliament. The Croat Peasant Party then seceded from parliament and in January 1929 King Alexander suspended the constitution, beginning a period of dictatorship which lasted till his death at the hands of a terrorist in 1934. Against this background, perhaps goaded also by the obvious success of the Yugoslav Club (Inc.), radicals in Auckland founded the Yugoslav Workers Educational Club in December 1930. Premises were found in Albert Street and the Club had an initial membership of about 140. As one would expect it aroused some opposition, notably from J. M. Totich (Yugoslav Consul) who objected to the communist sympathies of leading officials (such as M. Ivicevich, S. Alach, I. Tomasevich and N. Skokandich), to their use of Marxist rhetoric in attacks on supporters of the Yugoslav Club (Inc.), and to their efforts to recruit members and set up branches of their Club in areas such as Dargaville. On at least two occasions Totich wrote letters of complaint to the police, drawing attention to the Club's already known communist sympathies.[18] According to an active member the Yugoslav Workers Educational Club was continually harassed by the police,[19] and for this reason (above all others) eventually

died out in 1932. But Ivicevich and his colleagues were not the only ones concerned about events in Yugoslavia. A small group in Taumarunui set up a branch of the Croat Peasant Party, and they also were attacked by Totich for organising "unpatriotic and disloyal agitation against H. M. King Alexander and the present regime in Yugoslavia".[20]

While catering successfully for older, more prosperous settlers the Yugoslav Club (Inc.) failed to make adequate provision for unskilled labourers and 'new' arrivals (1925-1930) who experienced some difficulty in securing employment and who had little opportunity to accumulate funds prior to the depression. Available resources permitted assistance for only the most desperate cases. Predictably, the urgent need for an additional organisation was recognised by Father Pavlinovich, and in 1932 he took the lead in calling a meeting of all Yugoslavs in the Auckland area to form a society with specific welfare objectives. Pavlinovich estimated that about 200 men were in financial need and under the auspices of the new organisation, the Yugoslav Benevolent Society, an attempt was made (unsuccessfully) to secure government assistance for large scale repatriation. Though formed with the best intentions the Society was nevertheless financially handicapped. We know, from information supplied by E. Mandich (Secretary) to the Director-General of Health, that by December 1932 the Society had spent only £15..15..9d (approx. $31.60) and had only a further £30..5..6d (approx $60.55) in cash available.[21] At about the same time the Auckland Hospital Board was providing assistance to 14 "Dalmatian families" (comprising 55 individuals) amounting to a total of £11..18..8d (approx. $23.86) per week![22]

Control of the Yugoslav Benevolent Society, initially promoted and directed by Father Pavlinovich and other supporters of the Yugoslav Club (Inc.), was soon gained by committee members with a more radical outlook - some of them former members of the Yugoslav Workers Educational Club. In 1933 the Society was transformed into the Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society (C.C.B.S.) and thereafter developed as an increasingly influential and powerful rival to the Yugoslav Club (Inc.). Both economic and political factors were stressed as the Society sought to establish its identity; it actively encouraged its image of "the poor man's club" as opposed to the prosperous "capitalist" membership of its older rival, and the 'Croatian' identity was advanced in opposition to the 'Yugoslav' unity proclaimed by its rival. Obviously the political aspect was a direct response to events at Home, a response superbly calculated to win support from Dalmatians (ethnically Croats) dismayed and angered by Serbian hegemony.

Politics aside, the C.C.B.S. represented an important adjustment on the part of immigrants to life in New Zealand. A sense of ethnic solidarity in an alien environment was evident in the Society, replacing the old unreflective community spirit wherein each individual had rightful claims on the assistance of his fellows by virtue of kinship. The ties of kinship, weakened by the development of new individualistic personalities, were of little use to labourers facing the common problem of unemployment and economic insecurity - a situation vastly different to that in Dalmatia, where the family holding could spread its produce over a number of unproductive (or under-productive) family members. Immigrants who arrived in New Zealand between 1924 and 1929 quickly learned (by observation if not by experience) that if they became sick or unemployed there were no households with a definite responsibility or obligation to care for them. Similar situations promoted the earlier development of Benevolent and Fraternal Associations in the United States and Australia.

Although the C.C.B.S. set up branches as far afield as Kaitaia, and inspired imitations such as the Yugoslav Cultural Benevolent Society 'Dawn' (established in Dargaville in 1936),[23] the clubs were not all formed for benevolent functions. Take, for example, Dargaville's Yugoslav Social Club, mooted late in 1931 by J. M. Totich and finally set up two years later.[24]

> ... the need was felt for some kind of social and humanitarian organisation amongst the people and for that reason the Club was established in 1933 by a number of settlers for the purpose of fostering closer co-operation and social contact among the Yugoslavs. One of the Club's chief aims is to hold gatherings where young and old and their friends meet in social intercourse.

Other examples are the Wellington Yugoslav Club (Inc.) and the Whangarei Yugoslav Society, which were incorporated in 1938 and 1951, respectively.

The stated purpose of the Wellington Yugoslav Club (Inc.), like its counterparts elsewhere, was that of a social and cultural body, a place where Yugoslavs could meet. At the time of its establishment few Yugoslavs in Wellington had their own homes (many shared rooms of poor quality) and many were acutely conscious of the language barrier in their contacts with outsiders. Though accepted as guests or visitors at the Greek and Italian clubs in the city, the idea of having their own meeting place had been discussed for some years and the final push for an independent Yugoslav club came after a fight involving a Yugoslav at the Greek club.[25] Situated for many years in upstairs rooms on the corner of Vivian and Cuba Streets, the Wellington Yugoslav Club (Inc.) is now located in more modern premises near the Basin Reserve.

In Whangarei the club began as a branch of the All Slav Union in 1943, primarily for patriotic purposes such as raising funds for the war effort. Between 1945 and 1948 membership dropped sharply because of 'political problems' concerning Tito's relationship with Stalin's Russia. In Auckland, the Yugoslav Club 'Marshal Tito' (formerly the C.C.B.S.), which dominated the All Slav Union, had adopted a critical, pro-Russian stance that was not to the liking of all concerned. Thus in 1948, Paul Yovich led a breakaway movement in Whangarei that resulted in the formation of the Whangarei Yugoslav Society (Inc.). Formally registered as an incorporated society in January 1951, the Society had about 40 members by the mid 1960s. Primarily concerned with recreational activities the Society has also assisted various local charities and other organisations.[26]

To the outsider the local Yugoslav association may appear to be much the same now as it was some two, three or even four decades ago. Nothing could be further from the truth. When first established in the 1930s the clubs satisfied a very real need for social contact, assistance and cultural activities. Today the situation is very different. Prosperity and natural ageing have transformed the first generation and a New Zealand education has drawn the second and third generations closer to friends and associations in the host society. The Wellington Yugoslav Club (Inc.) has, therefore, evolved from a family meeting place in the 1940s and 1950s to become more of a recreational centre for males, offering indoor bowls, billiards, table tennis and card-playing facilities as well as catering for other social events. In North Auckland, the Kaitaia Yugoslav Club almost defunct in the late 1950s was dramatically rejuvenated by second- and third-generation 'Yugoslavs' in the 1960s, providing sporting, social and cultural facilities. And in Auckland the former C.C.B.S., now known as the Yugoslav Benevolent Society, has gone from strength to strength. There is little left in the Society to remind one of economic hardships, benevolent functions and pro-Croatian politics of the 1930s. Nor is there much evidence of the political upheavals of the 1940s and 1950s, when the Society was transformed from the Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society to the Yugoslav Club 'Marshal Tito' and then (as though the decades before had never been) finally emerged as the Yugoslav Benevolent Society. Today the emphasis is on providing entertainment for young and old every weekend. Sunday night is 'dance night' at the Adriatic Ballroom, on Karangahape Road only a few steps from Grafton Bridge. This headquarters of the Society, incredibly spacious when compared with the old, cramped upstairs premises in Hobson Street, reflects the social advancement of members as well as indicating a recognised need to cater for the younger generations.

With few exceptions, integration of post-war displaced persons and refugees into the established Yugoslav associations was unsuccessful. As the new arrivals had little in common, economically, socially or politically with the Dalmatian founders of Yugoslav settlement, this was hardly surprising. In the early 1950s a spokesman (S. M. Lazerevich) for the displaced persons suggested that they be admitted to the Wellington Yugoslav Club (Inc.) as members with full rights. Despite initial goodwill many Club members were cautious and pointed to the possibility of a takeover by relatively unknown persons. The Wellington Yugoslav Club was subsequently denounced as a "communist controlled" organisation, and a Wellington Yugoslav Association (Jugoslovenko Udruzenja) was established by the displaced persons. Naturally the Association had much the same functions as its 'Dalmatian' counterpart and extended some financial assistance to newcomers. Refugee Croatians, arriving after 1958, were also opposed (at least until the late 1960s) to the old Wellington Yugoslav Club (Inc.), either on the grounds that it was communist or that it recognised a government they refused to acknowledge. Political motivations were also evident in the short-lived Macedonian 'Goca Delcev' group, seeking Macedonian unity under Bulgaria, and in the Brotherhood Association of Draga Mihaljevica established by Serbian war veterans.

In general the local Yugoslav club or society, whether in Wellington, Whangarei, Dargaville, Kaitaia, Hamilton or Auckland, reflects the informal social relationships existing between migrants from a small area on the Dalmatian coast. Each one is autonomous, catering for and directed by local residents, rather than being part of a New Zealand-wide organisation. A club's membership, political attitudes, cultural and social functions, are indices of adjustment to life in the host society. The continued existence of such clubs indicates beyond any doubt that a common language and background are durable attractions between members of an ethnic group. Basic social contacts are best satisfied among the immigrant's fellow countrymen, supplemented and reinforced by the formal organisation of the club, which provides facilities necessary for recreational and social functions. Thus while some outsiders may dismiss such clubs as venues for drinking and gambling (and yes, these have been dominant features) it is as well to recall that for older members in particular the club is a place in which to meet and continue relationships forged twenty, thirty or even forty years ago. Today, the major problems facing these clubs and societies are the ageing and death of older members, a reduction in the number of new young immigrants to take their place and the increasing difficulty of attracting second- and third-generation 'Yugoslavs' into their wider social activities.

Footnotes

1. Salient details for each of the newspapers referred to are as follows:

Bratska Sloga (Brotherhood Union), Auckland, New Zealand, commenced publication 15 May 1899. Holdings (15 May 1899 to 26 June 1899), Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Napredak (Progress), Auckland, New Zealand, commenced publication 1 December 1906. Holdings (1 December 1906 to 8 July 1908), Auckland Public Library.

Zora (The Dawn), Auckland, New Zealand, commenced publication 1913. Only known copies in New Zealand (28 issues over the period 6 December 1913 to 9 December 1916) are held by Mrs M. Clapham (nee Totich) of Auckland.

The United Front, Auckland, New Zealand. Only known copies in New Zealand (scattered issues) are held by Mrs. M. Clapham (nee Totich) of Auckland.

Danica (Morning Star), apparently published by a partnership of four Dalmatians, two of whom were J. Segetin and I. Pavlinovich. No known holdings.

Novi Svijet (New World), Auckland, New Zealand. Holdings (one issue as New World, dated 8 November 1919), Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Sloga (Unity), Auckland, New Zealand (Editor T. L. Suvaljko). Held (one issue, dated 18 October 1912) by Mrs. M. Clapham (nee Totich) of Auckland.

Glas Istine (Voice of Truth), appeared in Dargaville 1908-1909, edited by T. L. Suvaljko. No known holdings.

Slavenski Glasnik: Bulletin of the All Slav Union, Auckland, New Zealand, published intermittently 1943-1946. Holdings (four issues dated June 1943, September 1944, 25 April 1945, 17 August 1946), Mr. S. Jelicich, Auckland. Microfilm at Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

2. Napredak, 1 December 1906, page 1, article titled 'Probudimo se Napredujmo, oli sada, oli vise nikada'.

3. For further details on Zanna, see 'Appendix 18: Statement of Rev. J. Zanna (1948)' in Trlin (1967a).

4. Letter from G. L. Scansie to Col. C. M. Gibbon, dated 16 April 1917, Department of Defence file D 10/527 (Correspondence re G. L. Scansie), National Archives, Wellington.

5. Letter from E. Langguth to the Right Hon. W. F. Massey, dated 30 July 1914, in the file on Matthew Andrew Ferri, Prisoner of War No. 519, National Archives, Wellington.

6. Telegram from M. A. Ferri to Massey, dated 1 August 1914, in the file on Matthew Andrew Ferri, Prisoner of War No. 519, National Archives, Wellington.

7. Letter from M. A. Ferri to Hon. G. W. Russell (Minister of Internal Affairs), dated 23 July 1919, Department of Defence file D 10/527 (Correspondence re G. L. Scansie), National Archives, Wellington. (Note: at the time Scansie was suspected of trying to obtain Serbian passports for Dalmatian Yugoslavs in New Zealand).

8. New Zealand Gazette, 6 June 1919, page 1779.

9. New Zealand Herald, 24 December 1902, page 5.

10. Weekly News, 26 December 1907, page 37

11. The aims and rules of the Sokol Club, signed by T. A. Petrie, are included in Department of Defence file D 9/86/1, National Archives, Wellington.

12. Letter from Commissioner J. Cullen to Sir James Allen (Minister of Defence), dated 26 June 1919, Department of Defence file D 9/86/1, National Archives, Wellington.

13. Letter from M. A. Ferri to Hon. G. W. Russell (Minister of Internal Affairs), dated 23 July 1919, Department of Defence file D 10/527, National Archives, Wellington.

14. King Alexander's beliefs and character had an important bearing on developments during this time. Auty (1965, 73), for example, states:

> The King was by character and training unfitted to deal with a situation that required tact, diplomacy, and a genuine desire for compromise. Educated at the Czarist officers' school in St. Petersburg and in the Serbian army he was both autocratic and intensely Serbian. He had neither experience of nor belief in parliamentary government.

15. Cited in Souvenir Booklet commemorating the 7th Yugoslav Picnic, 1936, page 7.

16. Cited in Souvenir Booklet of the 18th Annual Picnic of the Yugoslav Club (Inc.), 1948, page 7.

17. Souvenir Booklet commemorating the 7th Yugoslav Picnic, 1936, page 7.

18. The two letters were:
(a) to the Sergeant of Police, Dargaville, dated 15 December 1931; and
(b) to the Commissioner of Police, dated 12 January 1932. Department of Internal Affairs file 116/12 (Parts 1 and 2), National Archives, Wellington.

19. In this respect an important event was the trial, on charges of disloyalty and disaffection, of Ivan Tomasevich. Born at Kosarni-Dol, Dalmatia, in 1897, Tomasevich had arrived in New Zealand in 1923 and was naturalised in November 1926. He was a key figure in the Yugoslav Workers Educational Club. In September 1931 the Commissioner of Police reported that Tomasevich and certain other Yugoslavs had been active in the interests of a section of the Third International, the object of which was to overthrow by force the existing system of government and to establish in its place a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Commissioner of Police suggested that naturalisation be revoked on the grounds that Tomasevich was disaffected and disloyal to His Majesty. Following advice from the Crown Law Office the case was eventually heard before the Supreme Court at Auckland in September 1933. Tomasevich attended the inquiry but did not cross examine witnesses or go into the Witness Box to give evidence on oath. In his report to the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Judge (Hon. Sir Alexander Herdman) stated: "Although there was an absence of definite proof of disloyal utterances made by Tomasevich there was complete proof that he was associated with an organisation [the Communist Party] which disseminates literature the publication of which tends to promote disaffection and disloyalty" - thus justifying the inference that Tomasevich himself was disaffected and disloyal. An Order of Revocation was then made and gazetted on 21 December 1933. Within three years, however, Tomasevich was once again granted naturalisation (1 July 1936). For further details on this case see 'Ivan Tomasevich' Naturalisation File No. 115/83(1933/157/4), National Archives, Wellington.

20. Letter from J. M. Totich to Sergeant of Police, Dargaville, dated 15 December 1931, Department of Internal Affairs file 116/12, National Archives, Wellington.

21. Letter from E. Mandich to M. H. Watt (Director-General of Health), dated 8 December 1932, Department of Health file H 54/49/25 (Hospital Boards, Charitable Aid, Repatriation of Dalmatians), National Archives, Wellington.

22. Letter from Secretary of The Auckland Hospital Board to M. H. Watt (Director-General of Health), dated 23 November 1932, Department of Health file H 54/49/25, National Archives, Wellington. With the exception of one widow, the remainder of the 14 families included 7 cases of assistance for reasons of "sickness" and 6 cases for reasons of "desertion by husband". In 5 of these 14 cases, assistance had been provided for at least four years.

23. Yugoslav Cultural Benevolent Society 'Dawn'. Pamphlet published on the occasion of the 1st Annual Picnic 1937.

24. Yugoslav Social Club Dargaville. Pamphlet published on the occasion of the 3rd Annual Picnic 14 February 1937.

25. Information from personal interviews with B. Sutich and L. Jakich, former Secretary and former President of the Wellington Yugoslav Club, respectively.

26. Information from personal interview with Paul Yovich (now deceased), January 1965, in Whangarei. For further details see Trlin (1967a, 287-292).

8

ASSIMILATION

The desirability of immigrants from various points of origin is often based upon some assessment of their progress or potential with respect to assimilation in the host society. Only two or three decades ago assimilation was narrowly defined as a process whereby immigrants became virtually indistinguishable members of the receiving community. This necessitated their acceptance of all rights and duties, the severance of legal, political and social ties with the country of origin, and a demonstrable preference for the customs, values and language of the new society. It was from this perspective that Lochore (1951) presented his evaluation of continental Europeans in New Zealand. To Lochore, Scandinavians were "the least alien of aliens", a group that melted away "into the British population like snow on Wellington hills". Southern Europeans, on the other hand, partly as a result of chain migration, appeared to be resistant to assimilation. He therefore concluded that "common sense requires us to give preference to North Europeans who have more in common with ourselves and find their place more quickly in our community" (Lochore 1951, 34). This view, widely shared at the time, helped to sustain established immigration policies during the 1950s and early 1960s. The effects of such policies have been discussed, in relation to chain migration, in earlier chapters.

Though still retaining a significant measure of both popular and official support the conformist view of assimilation has now been largely displaced by a more liberal, complex perspective (attuned to contemporary pressures favouring multi-culturalism) that recognises at least five major interrelated processes.

(a) Accommodation - a process of toleration by the host society of the immigrant (and vice versa) which facilitates peaceful coexistance. To achieve this state the immigrant may have to make concessions such as naturalisation (legal citizenship) without any other changes.

(b) Acculturation - a process denoting the acceptance (possibly mutual) of language, dress, diet and other cultural features.

(c) Integration - the process whereby the two groups live together, having adjusted themselves so that they respect and value the contribution of each other to their common life. The immigrants' acceptance of basic customs, standards and institutions of the host society does not preclude his adjusting them and retaining a pride in his own culture.

(d) Absorption - whereby the immigrant is incorporated into the economic life of the new society. This process includes both acceptance of the established occupational pattern and the addition of new (but acceptable) occupations and economic activities.

(e) Amalgamation - or intermarriage and the consequent blending of racial and ethnic characteristics.

Two points, arising from recognition and acceptance of the above processes, must now be emphasised. First, the burden of adjustment and change no longer rests on immigrants alone; like responsibility for success or failure in inter-group relations, the burden is shared with members of the host society. Second, 'assimilation' is perceived as a multi-dimensional process with prospects and opportunities for adjustment being more favourable in some avenues than in others. Positive adjustments in any one area will, of course, have positive repercussions elsewhere. For example, the host society's willingness to 'accommodate' immigrant groups could encourage immigrant 'acculturation', 'absorption' and 'amalgamation'. Naturally, the reverse also applies; resistance to 'acculturation' on the part of immigrants would undoubtedly obstruct 'absorption' and 'amalgamation' for example.

With the above points in mind, the issue of assimilation is approached in the following pages at two levels, loosely defined as macro and micro. Limited by the availability of appropriate data, attention at the macro level is focussed

upon three of the five processes identified above - namely, 'accommodation, 'absorption' and 'amalgamation'. At the micro level attention is once more directed toward the Mount Wellington Yugoslav neighbourhood, this time to illustrate some aspects of assimilation or social adjustment via results obtained from a survey conducted in 1971.

Accommodation (Toleration)

An insight into public toleration or acceptance of Yugoslavs and other immigrants is provided by the results of a survey on 'Assimilation Orientation, Social Distance and Attitudes towards Immigrants'. Carried out during March - April 1970, the survey was based on a random sample drawn from the November 1969 electoral rolls of eleven electoral districts within the boundaries of the Auckland Urban Area. Together, the eleven electorates made up a sampling universe of 207,012 persons aged twenty years and over and registered as voters. Each electorate was proportionately represented (registered voters as a percentage of the universe) in the total sample drawn and interviews completed. Three hundred and seventeen questionnaires were completed in full for the survey, via personal interviews, consisting of 231 New Zealand-born and 86 foreign-born (mainly British) respondents.[1]

In order to assess public attitudes a modified form of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, with six steps more suited to New Zealand conditions, was applied to measure responses to, acceptance or rejection of, 14 birthplace groups listed in alphabetical order. The birthplaces selected represented a range of groups regarded in official immigration policy as "most favoured" through to the "least favoured" for permanent settlement in New Zealand. Before applying the scale all interviewing assistants were instructed to read the following statement to respondents so as to establish the context within which replies were to be given.

> If New Zealand cannot get the number of immigrants required each year from Britain, it may be necessary to seek immigrants from other countries. However, the New Zealand Government feels that these new immigrants should be persons that New Zealanders are willing to accept. According to your first feeling or reaction, therefore, please indicate to which step (the highest) on the following scale you would willingly admit persons (as a class) from each of the following countries.

The response distribution of the New Zealand-born for each of the 14 birthplaces is presented in Table 8.1, the birthplaces being ranked from left to right by the percentage of respondents declaring their willingness to accept members of

Table 8.1

Social Distance Expressed by New Zealand-born Respondents (Auckland Urban Area, 1970) towards 14 Birthplace Groups (percentage distributions, N = 231)[1]

I would be willing to admit persons from this country.....	United Kingdom	United States of America	Sweden	Denmark	Germany	Netherlands	Yugoslavia	Hungary	Italy	China	Japan	Western Samoa	India	Niue
To close kinship by marriage	77.05	68.83	49.78	49.35	42.42	41.55	33.33	29.00	27.70	14.71	14.28	12.55	11.68	9.09
To my home as friends or guests	9.95	16.01	21.21	25.10	20.77	28.13	22.94	24.67	22.07	30.73	26.40	24.67	25.10	25.97
To my occupation as a workmate/colleague	4.76	4.76	12.12	9.52	12.98	10.82	15.58	14.28	15.58	11.68	13.85	16.01	11.25	16.01
To residence in New Zealand	6.49	4.76	10.38	8.65	10.82	11.68	15.15	9.95	13.85	12.55	6.06	16.88	14.28	15.58
To New Zealand as visitors only	0.86	5.60	4.76	6.49	9.09	6.06	8.65	15.15	13.42	18.18	25.54	17.74	22.94	19.04
I would not be willing to admit to New Zealand.	0.86	-	1.73	0.86	3.89	1.73	4.32	6.92	7.35	12.12	13.85	12.12	14.71	14.28

1. Respondents were asked to indicate the highest step on the scale to which they would be willing to admit persons (as a class) from each of the specified countries. A respondent's nomination of 'to close kinship by marriage' may be taken to denote acceptance also of 'to my home' 'to occupation' and 'residence' in N.Z.

Source: Trlin (1971)

a group to close kinship by marriage. It will be observed that 'Yugoslavia' occupies a central position. One third of the respondents were prepared to accept Yugoslavs to close kinship by marriage and only 4.32 percent declared they would not be willing to admit them to New Zealand. Let it also be noted that for Niuean migrants (Polynesians and New Zealand citizens) the respective percentages were 9.09 and 14.28!

As it stands, Table 8.1 allows comparisons to be made between birthplaces in terms of the percentage distribution of respondents on the six-step scale. However, a single score to establish the overall position of a given birthplace vis-a-vis the remaining birthplaces is still required. Accordingly the steps on the scale were assigned values ranging from 1, the least favourable ("I would not be willing to admit to New Zealand"), to 6 the most favourable ("To close kinship by marriage") and the mean score for each of the birthplaces was calculated Following the example of McCreary (1952, 47) this calculated position of a given birthplace was interpreted "as indicative of the mean tolerance expressed towards the members of the national group involved". Furthermore, the ranking of the mean scores for the 14 birthplaces listed was interpreted as indicative of immigrant preferences.

Table 8.2

Mean Tolerance Expressed toward each Birthplace Group and Rank Order of Birthplaces (Auckland Urban Area, 1970)

Birthplaces	Total Sample (N = 317)	N.Z.-born (N = 231)
United Kingdom	5.54	5.53
United States of America	5.30	5.37
Denmark	5.00	4.99
Sweden	4.91	4.95
Netherlands	4.84	4.82
Germany	4.65	4.64
Yugoslavia	4.48	4.44
Hungary	4.30	4.21
Italy	4.15	4.14
China	3.70	3.74
Western Samoa	3.64	3.61
Japan	3.58	3.56
Niue	3.47	3.47
India	3.44	3.44

Source: Trlin (1971)

Table 8.2 confirms Yugoslavia's central position. Using the Kendall rank correlation coefficient (tau) it was also verified that the rank order of birthplaces is one found with a very high degree of consistency in the results of sample sub-populations classified according to sex, age and occupational groups. In essence, respondents distinguished in descending order of preference between four major birthplace categories: (a) British and Americans, (b) northern and western continental Europeans, (c) southern and eastern continental Europeans, and (d) Asians and Pacific Islanders. Though clearly considered representative of a less favoured group of countries, migrants from Yugoslavia would apparently (see Table 8.1) encounter no serious obstacle (with respect to public opinion) in the process of 'economic absorption' and by comparison with other less favoured groups have a marked advantage for 'amalgamation'.

Bearing in mind that skilled migrants from Yugoslavia had been recruited by non-government organisations for construction work in New Zealand in the late 1960s, a further measure of public attitudes was sought via the following statement. "Skilled migrants from Yugoslavia would be better for New Zealand than unskilled British immigrants". No less than 73.6 percent of the New Zealand-born respondents declared complete agreement with the statement and a further 11.25 percent indicated probable agreement. There were no significant differences in responses between males and females, young and old or between any of the tested occupational groupings. This result does not, however, negate the concept of social distance and the rank order of preferences. Skilled Yugoslavs may simply be viewed as desirable for national development (a view which would greatly facilitate their 'absorption'), while the degree of social distance expressed towards them is maintained. The attribute of skills may on the other hand lead to a reduction of social distance, but testing of this argument requires a more specialised collection of data than that attempted in the 1970 survey.

Naturalisation

Naturalisation is often cited as an index of assimilation or as a form of accommodation by immigrants to secure the tolerance of their hosts. Such views are particularly common in American studies and are closely associated with official drives for 'Americanisation'. Thus Kunz (1968, 369) argued that "the immigrant expends effort in this process which brings him closer to the Americanised person", but admitted that many of those naturalised still have loyalties elsewhere. In a similar vein Govorchin (1961, 212) felt that naturalisation was

"one of the clearest signs of the Americanisation of the Yugoslavs".

The use of naturalisation or a willingness to become naturalised as an index of assimilation or identification with the host society has also been subject to considerable criticism. In his study of Italians and Germans in Australia, Borrie (1954, 50-51) denied that naturalisation had this symbolic significance, and Martin (1965, 74), in a study of displaced persons in Australia, found that her subjects looked upon naturalisation "principally as a matter of expediency and convenience". This criticism is by no means recent; as early as 1922 Gavit (1922) exposed some common fallacies and identified a variety of factors working for and against the attainment of citizenship. Among the influential factors commonly acknowledged today are length of residence, changes in citizenship laws, age, employment opportunities or limitations, voting rights and passport requirements for international travel. Naturalisation may also be employed as a tool to enforce assimilation. Consider, for example, the following extract from a letter written in 1947 by the Assistant Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, New Zealand.[2]

> I would suggest that the crux of the whole question lies in the problem of assimilation. The Yugoslav, Italian and Greek groups have set up communities of their own in this country and are offering a more or less conscious resistance to the powerful forces of assimilation to the British ways of life.... These groups have economic participation in our national life, but in matters of social and cultural life, politics, or sport, they prefer to set up and operate their own group institutions based on ideals which are un-British and at times even anti-British. It was certainly never the intention of Government that settlers from continental Europe should introduce European minority problems into this country, assimilation indeed being tacitly implied as a condition of their admittance; and if the refusal of naturalisation to members of these recalcitrant groups will do anything towards breaking them up, I have no doubt that such a policy, although not directly envisaged in the Imperial legislation governing naturalisation, is demanded by our peculiar conditions and by the national interest.

Official attitudes toward naturalisation in New Zealand have, to date, been stated publicly once only , in a short article produced by the Naturalisation Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs. Emphasis was placed upon citizenship as a privilege not to be granted lightly, requiring careful investigation of the loyalty and personal character of every applicant by means of interviews, Departmental and police enquiries. "A satisfactory measure of social assimilation" was also deemed to be essential before citizenship was granted (Naturalisation

Table 8.3

Citizenship and Length of Residence: Yugoslav and Dutch Immigrants in New Zealand, 1971

	Yugoslavia			Netherlands		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Registered Aliens, 1 April 1971	1,037	572	1,609	7,451	5,501	12,952
Total Population ('Birthplace') 1971 Census	2,359	1,420	3,779	12,070	8,401	20,471
No. 16 yrs and over ('Birthplace') 1971 Census	2,294	1,367	3,661	11,298	7,696	18,994
Aliens as % of those 16 years and over	45.20	41.84	43.95	65.95	71.48	68.19
% ('Birthplace') resident in New Zealand (at time of 1971 Census) for:						
0 - 4 years	11.91	11.76	11.85	9.51	12.32	10.66
0 - 9 years	26.40	25.14	25.93	21.57	28.27	24.32
25 years and over	49.38	39.64	45.72	0.38	0:34	0.36

Source: New Zealand Official Yearbook 1972 (registered aliens); New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1971 (birthplace data).

Branch 1953, 19-21). These sentiments were particularly meaningful in the case of Yugoslavs; at the time (late 1940s and early 1950s) they were suspect on account of their association with communist and pan-Slavic ideals and the fear that naturalisation might be desired as a cover for disloyal political activities.[3]

Current conditions governing naturalisation, still regarded as assimilatory in conception, are as follows. To be eligible, an applicant must: (a) have resided in New Zealand for the prescribed period of five years; (b) be of full age and capacity; (c) be of good character; (d) have sufficient knowledge of the English language, and of the responsibilities and privileges of New Zealand citizenship; and (e) intend to reside in New Zealand, or to enter or continue Crown service under the New Zealand Government. In the case of alien minors (under 16 years of age) and wives of New Zealand citizens, 'Registration' as a New Zealand citizen is permitted after three years residence but can be reduced to one year. The reasons behind these regulations are in the main self evident. The five-year residential clause was designed "to allow the alien immigrant to find his way in the new society", while the English language requirement was regarded as "the foundation stone of assimilation" (Naturalisation Branch, 1953).

Since naturalisation is so highly regarded (in government circles) as an index of assimilation it is disturbing to find that official statistics are hopelessly inadequate for use in assimilation studies. First, alien immigrants are classified by sex and nationality, not by 'birthplace' as in census reports, so that it is difficult to determine the exact proportion of resident immigrants who have acquired citizenship. Second, length of residence of registered aliens and those gaining citizenship is not recorded. Statistics on length of residence by birthplace are given in census reports, but no distinction is made between 'aliens' and 'citizens', and minors (under 16 years of age) are also included.

Given these shortcomings comparative data for Yugoslav and Dutch migrants presented in Table 8.3 must be approached with caution. The first impression gained is one favourable to Yugoslavs; of those eligible in terms of age, only 44 percent had not obtained New Zealand citizenship as compared with 68 percent of the Dutch. This impression is enhanced by the roughly comparable proportions of both groups resident in New Zealand for less than five years and ten years, respectively. On the other hand, 45.7 percent of the Yugoslavs and only 0.36 percent of the Dutch had resided in the country for more than 24 years. It could well be argued, in terms of length of residence, that the citizenship status of Yugoslavs (vis-a-vis the Dutch) is not as good as it could be.

Table 8.4

Citizenship Status of Yugoslav Arrivals 1949-1967, as at September 1967

	Dalmatian Chain Migrants			Displaced Persons			Refugees			Remainder			Total Arrivals		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Minors (under 16 yrs. of age)	43	35	78	-	-	-	21	26	47	8	10	18	72	71	143
Failed to register as 'alien'[1]	16	20	36	2	-	2	10	7	17	-	-	-	28	27	55
Registered Alien	384	298	682	70	17	87	96	77	173	71	46	117	621	438	1059
Alien departed from N.Z.	16	16	32	5	1	6	6	2	8	7	7	14	34	26	60
Alien deceased	1	7	8	3	3	6	1	-	1	2	1	3	7	11	18
Naturalised	34	12	46	105	13	118	8	4	12	18	6	24	165	35	200
Registered as N.Z. citizen	5	34	39	16	61	77	1	7	8	3	12	15	25	114	139
Total	499	422	921	201	95	296	143	123	266	109	82	191	952	722	1674
Aliens as % of all adults alive and residing in N.Z. as at September 1967	91.1	87.4	89.4	37.3	18.7	31.3	92.2	88.4	90.5	77.2	71.9	75.0	77.4	75.7	76.7

1. Arrived in New Zealand as minors, but failed to register upon reaching 16 years of age. A few of these may also have departed from New Zealand (with parents or individually as mature adults).

Sources: Aliens and Naturalisation Registers, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.

The importance of length of residence is further illustrated in Table 8.4. Of the four groups specified, only the displaced persons had a high proportion of their number naturalised or registered as citizens (195 out of 284, with 12 departures and deaths deducted). It must therefore be noted that 43 percent of the Dalmatians, 36.8 percent of the refugees and 60.7 percent of the 'remainder' had resided in New Zealand for less than the five-year qualifying period. The displaced persons, who arrived between 1949 and 1952, had (by 1967) all been resident for at least 15 years - and only 36 of the 921 Dalmatians could lay claim to a similar period of residence. Not one of the refugees or those in the 'remainder' category could claim more than 10 years residence.

Is naturalisation really an index of assimilation? To answer this question three examples have been drawn from the experiences of New Zealand's Yugoslavs and are presented below.

The Kauri Gum Industry Act 1898 differentiated between aliens and British subjects seeking employment by creating kauri gum 'reserves' exclusively for British subjects. Outside the 'reserves' the digger required a license, which was available after three months residence in New Zealand. A further Kauri Gum Act in 1908 and an Amendment Act of 1910 reinforced the earlier restriction by limiting gumdigging licenses to British subjects only. Under these circumstances naturalisation became a matter of expediency (the easiest means of accommodation to the demands of the host society) if not one of economic necessity for temporary migrants. Consequently the number of naturalisation papers granted to the Dalmatians rose sharply. This response did not pass unnoticed; charges were made against the supposed laxity of certain Justices of the Peace who, for a small fee, would go through the formality of naturalisation with aliens resident in New Zealand for only a few days and unable to speak English.[4]

During the period 1914-1918 it was frequently alleged that 'alien' Dalmatians, ineligible for military service, were purchasing dairy farms and gumlands or taking up leases at favourable prices from small farmers forced to sell-out when called-up for overseas service. In 1917 a War Legislation Bill was introduced containing provisions regarding the acquisition of lands by aliens. These provisions were maintained until 1921. Though naturalisation procedures were suspended during the war, applications for papers to avoid these and future restrictions were quite common.

Employment difficulties during the depression years of the 1930s also produced the necessary incentive for naturalisation. In 1935, for example, the Whangarei County Council resolved to consider tenders for county work from British

subjects only and insisted that successful contractors employ British subjects. Replying to an inquiry from J. M. Totich (Acting Yugoslav Consul), the County Clerk said:[5]

> If your countrymen desire to enjoy the rights and privileges of this country, then I suggest the desirability of their seeking papers of naturalisation. We have a large number of Britishers who served in the Great War, besides other countrymen urgently in want of work, and they are the Council's first concern.

Confronted with this and similar priorities set by other local bodies, Yugoslavs who had arrived during the 1920s were quick to perceive the wisdom of early naturalisation.

The above examples indicate clearly the dubious value of naturalisation as either an index of symbolic acceptance of the host society's values or as an index of assimilation in the complete sense of the process. If anything, naturalisation prior to 1939 was often (perhaps usually) a form of necessary accommodation to demands exerted by the host society in the spheres of employment and land purchase. Fortunately for the Dalmatian, it was a form of accommodation easily achieved. Until 1952, on the other hand, New Zealand's Chinese settlers had been denied by law the attainment of citizenship by naturalisation for 44 years!

Absorption (Economic, Occupational)

The transition from temporary to permanent migration, and the associated change in individual immigrant aspirations, was largely responsible for the changing pattern of settlement in New Zealand. Before deciding on permanent settlement the Yugoslavs were, characteristically, concerned only with earning and saving money as quickly as possible. Hence settlement until the early 1920s was transient, dominated by young, highly mobile males. Once the decision to settle permanently was made, however, and the responsibility of establishing a secure stable family life accepted, a marked change occurred in the attitude to work and money earned. A small independent business, be it a restaurant, fish shop, vineyard, dairy farm or orchard, represented a combination of old and new ideas. It satisfied a traditional craving for independent self-sufficiency and the establishment of an inheritance for offspring, a feature superbly evoked by Amelia Batistich (1963, 103-108) in her short story 'A Dalmatian Woman'. It symbolised also the unconscious striving for greater economic security to replace the social and economic security provided by the village community in Yugoslavia

and relinquished by the settlers in New Zealand. The family now became an even more important social and economic unit for the immigrant in a new environment. As Moran (1958) has reported, only family labour was employed on all but a few Yugoslav farms in the Henderson area during the mid 1950s.

With the above in mind an elementary assessment can be made of progress toward 'economic absorption', whereby the immigrants either accept the existing occupational pattern of the host society or add to it new (but acceptable) occupations and economic activities. Tables 8.5 and 8.6 indicate the achievements of Yugoslavs in this area of assimilation. Statistics cited (Total and Urban Areas) are for males only as 72 percent of Yugoslav females and 81 percent of all females were 'not actively engaged'. It should be noted that the data presented are from the 1961 Census, and that they were obtained upon special request for thesis research from the Census Division, Department of Statistics. Such data are not normally produced for publication in official census reports and are not available for more recent years (i.e. 1966 and 1971). Basic patterns revealed by the 1961 figures would, however, probably be applicable for the period up to 1971.

Language and education were probably the determining factors which accounted for under-representation in 'Professional' and 'Clerical' occupations (Table 8.5). With a few rare exceptions only the youngest arrivals, eligible for secondary and tertiary education in New Zealand, have managed to gain entry to the 'white collar' occupations. Education and language, however, have had considerably less effect upon the bulk of Yugoslav males in their choice of semi-skilled occupations (craftsmen, production and process workers).

The over-representation of males in the 'Administrative, Executive, Managerial' category and their under-representation in the 'Sales' category poses a problem of definition. For census purposes the former category specifically excludes proprietors working 'on own account in wholesale and retail' who are assigned to the 'Sales' category. Both personal experience and formal interviews clearly show that the Yugoslav is typically a working proprietor (especially in a small independent business) and definitely not a 'white collar' worker. It would seem, therefore, that a good many males in this sphere of employment gave inaccurate answers in their schedules or (and this appears unlikely) that the schedules have been incorrectly analysed.

Males were also over-represented in the 'Services' category, wherein the major occupations were cooks, waiters, cleaners, caretakers, and related

Table 8.5

Occupations, 1961: Percentage Distribution of Total Population and Yugoslavs (Males Only) by Major Occupational Groups

Occupational Group	New Zealand Total		N.Z. Urban Areas	
	Total Pop.	Yugoslavs	Total Pop	Yugoslavs
Professional Technical	7.07	1.40	8.80	1.88
Administrative, Executive and Managerial	7.03	13.77	8.40	14.25
Clerical	7.57	1.20	10.53	1.34
Sales	6.60	4.10	8.10	4.93
Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters	17.96	20.85	3.00	9.49
Miners, Quarrymen	0.77	1.01	0.15	0.98
Transport and Communications	7.57	3.40	7.55	3.85
Craftsmen, Production, Process Workers	40.40	47.63	47.93	56.10
Service, Sport and Recreation	3.40	5.94	4.10	6.36
Others	1.66	0.70	1.44	0.81
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Unpublished census returns, New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1961.

Table 8.6

Occupational Status, 1961: Percentage Distribution of Total Population and Yugoslavs (Males Only) by Major Occupational Status Groups

Occupational Status	New Zealand Total		N.Z. Urban Areas	
	Total Pop.	Yugoslavs	Total Pop.	Yugoslavs
Employer	7.73	14.74	5.23	12.17
Employed on Own Account	7.68	11.86	4.67	9.87
Wages or Salary	67.11	48.13	71.60	55.14
Unemployed	0.58	0.62	0.57	0.63
Relative Assisting	0.10	0.14	0.02	-
Not Specified	0.08	0.24	0.10	0.28
Not Actively Engaged[1]	16.72	24.26	17.80	21.90
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

1. Excluding dependents under fifteen years of age.

Source: Unpublished census returns, New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1961.

Note: The Census of 1945 included data on occupational status by birthplace, and the percentage distribution of Yugoslav-born and New Zealand-born males (excluding those under 15 years of age) was as follows: 'Employer' 15.6% Yugoslavs (8.3% of New Zealand males), 'Own Account' 25.0(9.6), 'Wages or Salary' 43.9 (57.2), 'Unemployed' 0.8 (1.1), 'Relative Assisting' 0.7 (0.8), 'Not Actively Engaged' 13.4 (15.0) and 'Armed Forces' 0.6 (7.9).

occupations, with cooks in the predominant position. The association with restaurants, which provided employment for many new arrivals in the 1950s, is quite clear especially in the Urban Areas.

Entry into agriculture and other primary industries ('Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters') was facilitated by the Yugoslav's familiarity with this type of activity (especially intensive farming rather than extensive stock raising), whereas entry into 'Transport and Communications' was impeded by a non-technical education that left them ill-equipped for modern mechanics. Since 1961, however, there has been a marked improvement in technical qualifications among young arrivals, indicating the rising standard of education and the process of industrialisation in post-war Yugoslavia. Over-representation in the 'Farmers, Fishermen' category for Urban Areas reflects the presence of Auckland's 'urban farmers' in Henderson and Oratia. While these farmers (viticulturalists and orchardists) represented a deviation from the norm of the host society they were also an acceptable and welcome addition to the host society's economic and cultural life in the 1960s.

The craving for independence and maximum economic security is highlighted by the over-representation of males in the status categories of 'Employer' and 'Employed on Own Account' (Table 8.6), particularly evident in the Urban Areas. Approximately 26.6 percent of Yugoslav males could be classed as 'independent' compared with 15.4 percent of males in the total population in 1961. The bulk of both groups, however, was made up of wage and salary earners - Yugoslavs 48 per cent and total population 67 percent. Yugoslav over-representation in the category 'Not Actively Engaged' indicates the lower proportion of working age males compared with the total population. Old age and retirement made a significant contribution here, and in view of the continued ageing of the Yugoslav community further substantial increases could reasonably be expected during the 1960s and early 1970s.

In general the economic absorption of Yugoslavs is being successfully accomplished. Their distribution throughout the major sectors of the economy indicates a reasonable degree of occupational diversification. Occupational mobility, particularly among earlier arrivals, has probably been limited to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations where a rudimentary knowledge of the English language and a limited background education were sufficient. To compensate for this lack of professional skill and status with their attendent security, many Yugoslavs have entered independent businesses using either traditional or quickly acquired skills to establish themselves as prosperous members of the host society. Thus absorption has been partly a process of

accepting and conforming to established economic patterns and partly one of developing certain neglected sectors of the economy. In the case of the latter they have, by their very success, become visible as viticulturalists, fruit growers, fishermen and restaurant and fish shop proprietors. With these exceptions the majority are virtually indistinguishable from other members of New Zealand's labour force.

Amalgamation (Intermarriage)

Studies in the United States by Adams (1937), Barron (1946), Bossard (1932), Carpenter (1927), De Porte (1931), Drachsler (1921) and Kennedy (1944) are among the best known on the subject of intermarriage. Each of these writers has presented intermarriage as a phenomenon indicative of assimilation or as an indication of intergroup relations. For example Drachsler saw intermarriage as "perhaps the severest test of group cohesion", while Bossard felt that the facts of intermarriage could tell "much about the attitudes of population elements towards each other." Factors influencing intermarriage have also been examined and include the following: nativity, nationality, religion, race, occupation, residential propinquity and the character of a population's age-sex structure. As a social process, therefore, intermarriage is not entirely free but subject to a variety and combination of factors. This point must be stressed and borne in mind when considering New Zealand's official statistics which are presented as a cross-tabulation of bride and bridegroom by birthplace alone.

Statistics on immigrant marriages in New Zealand have been published annually since 1954 and the experience of Yugoslavs is summarised in Table 8.7. From the viewpoint of this study the official statistics have two major weaknesses. First, there is no practical way of comparing marriage patterns since 1954 with those for any previous period when the character of both immigration and settlement were somewhat different. Second, the arrival of 'displaced persons' and 'refugees' since 1945 prevents an analysis of intermarriage by members of what was formerly an almost pure Dalmatian community. Despite these weaknesses, however, some use can still be made of the data available.[6]

First, there is a marked difference between the two sexes in terms of mate selection. About 68 percent of Yugoslav bridegrooms have chosen partners outside their birthplace group as compared with 38.6 percent of Yugoslav brides. Similarly, intermarriage with New Zealand-born partners accounted for 53.9 and 20.5 percent of grooms and brides, respectively. These differences can be attributed

Table 8.7

Marriages of Yugoslav Immigrants in New Zealand, 1954-1972

Birthplaces of Brides and Bridegrooms.	Yugoslav Grooms No.	%	Yugoslav Brides No.	%
In-group	242	31.75	242	61.42
Out-group				
Australia	16	2.10	5	1.27
Austria	1	0.13	1	0.25
Czechoslovakia	2	0.26	4	1.00
Germany	4	0.52	3	0.76
Hungary	4	0.52	8	2.03
Ireland	4	0.52	4	1.00
Italy	2	0.26	4	1.00
Latvia	1	0.13	-	-
Netherlands	2	0.26	4	1.00
New Zealand	411	53.94	81	20.56
Poland	4	0.52	3	0.76
Rumania	2	0.26	5	1.27
United Kingdom	38	4.98	19	4.82
Other	29	3.80	11	2.79
Total Out-group	520	68.24	152	38.58
Grand Total	762	100.00	394	100.00

Source: Vital Statistics of New Zealand, 1954-1972.

in part to an excess of males (62 to 38 females per 100 of the population in 1971) which favours in-group selection by females and out-group selection by males. To put these features into some additional perspective it is worth noting that in Australia (1947-1960) out-group marriages accounted for 56 and 36 percent of Yugoslav grooms and brides, respectively, and that selection of Australian-born partners was also considerably lower at 26 and 7 percent, respectively (Price and Zubrzycki, 1962). It is tempting to assume, therefore, that New Zealand's Yugoslavs are being rapidly assimilated. But are they?

One reason for the element of doubt (hence the need for caution) concerns the New Zealand-born partners, some of whom may well be the offspring or descendents of Yugoslav settlers. It must be stressed that inter-generation marriages can and do take place as illustrated by studies in both Australia and the United States. Price (1963b), for example, found that 49.8 percent of Australian-born brides taken by Greek-born males during the years 1947-1956 were daughters of Greek-born parents. Likewise, for marriages in New York State during the 1920s,

De Porte (1931, 387) found that approximately half the native-born brides taken by foreign-born grooms were daughters of foreign-born parents. Such marriages, observed on a small scale among Yugoslavs in the Auckland Urban Area during four selected years (Trlin, 1974, 438-440), serve to reduce out-group and increase in-group mate selection rates. It need hardly be said that in-group selection also occurs among the descendents of migrants.

Table 8.8

Incidence of In-group and Out-group Marriages for Males and Females within Three Generations of 7 selected Yugoslav families, Mangonui County, New Zealand

Generations	In-Group		Out-Group		Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Migrating Generation[1]	24	12	9	-	33	12
First Generation[2]	25	23	31	45	56	68
Second Generation[3]	6	4	29	12	35	16
Totals	55	39	69	57	124	96
	94		126		220	
			Percentages			
Migrating Generation[1]	73	100	27	-	100	100
First Generation[2]	45	34	55	66	100	100
Second Generation[3]	17	25	83	75	100	100
Totals	44	41	56	59	100	100
	43		57		100	

1. Migrating Generation - foreign-born adults and foreign-born children who had passed school leaving age at time of arrival in New Zealand.
2. First Generation - New Zealand born of migrant parents together with foreign-born children under school leaving age at time of arrival.
3. Second Generation - the offspring of the New Zealand-born.

Source: Yelavich (1973, 44-46).

With the above in mind the results of a research exercise undertaken by Yelavich (1973), summarised in Table 8.8, are particularly relevant. The population chosen for study by Yelavich comprised all married descendents (resident in New Zealand) of seven single Yugoslav males who settled in Mangonui County, North Auckland, between 1915 and 1925. Working with a total of 220 cases, divided into what he defined as 'Migrating', 'First' and 'Second' generations,

Yelavich identified the classic pattern of declining in-group mate selection over successive generations. This result, admittedly in need of verification via comparable studies in other rural and urban localities, suggests that amalgamation is well under way. Equally important, however, is the persistence of in-group mate selection at a significant level by both 'First' and 'Second' generation females.

Another reason for caution in the interpretation of Table 8.7 concerns the basic assumption behind the use of intermarriage statistics as indices of assimilation. As stated by Price and Zubrzycki (1962, 64) the assumption is that:

> ... the [intermarriage] ratios measure the extent to which ethnic values, environments and institutions maintain their hold on those having some opportunity of breaking away and becoming assimilated; ... in other words on those brides and grooms who have been exposed to the risk of intermarriage.

The point here is that New Zealand's official statistics (like those of other nations) do not state accurately the proportion or number of resident foreign-born grooms exposed to the possibility of intermarriage because of (a) those men who return temporarily to their country of origin to find a bride, and (b) those who marry by proxy. For example, in 1954/55 there were 45 Yugoslav bridegrooms married in New Zealand, 66 percent of whom married non-Yugoslav (by birthplace) brides. But, what if over the same period a number of single males departed temporarily for Yugoslavia and returned with their brides? The real proportion of out-group marriages would obviously be lower and the in-group proportion higher. Along similar lines, the number of females exposed to intermarriage is falsely inflated in official statistics by the inclusion of women sponsored by fiances in New Zealand and married soon after arrival. Data from the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers (1951-1967) indicate that 50 out of 142 female Dalmatian chain migrants married in New Zealand fall into this category.

Given the above problems, the need for an alternative method of measuring intermarriage as an index of assimilation is essential. One possibility is a ratio of intermarrieds to all marrieds in an immigrant community at a given time, or a ratio of all persons intermarrying to all persons marrying or arriving married in a given place of settlement. Until the data appropriate to such a measure are available an answer to the question of Yugoslav amalgamation in New Zealand will remain a matter of speculation or, at best, one of educated guesswork that is inevitably open to question and debate.

The Mount Wellington Neighbourhood

Aspects of ethnic social cohesion at the micro level were investigated via a questionnaire survey of first-generation adult migrants residing in the Ferndale Road - Panorama Road area of Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland. The survey was carried out during May 1971 and involved personal interviews with a total of 69 out of 76 Yugoslav adults; in the remaining 7 cases interviews were unable to be completed or initiated because of ill-health, senility or the continual absence of potential respondents. There were no refusals to co-operate, primarily because rapport was quickly established via use of the respondent's own language.

To facilitate both presentation and interpretation of survey results, responses to fifteen questions have been listed in an extended Table (Table 8.9). The responses of 'Old' (pre 1940) and 'New' (post 1945) arrivals have been kept separate since responses will frequently depend upon factors such as age, length of residence and personal adjustments made during the period of residence. As can be seen in Table 8.9, the 'Old'/'New' classification adds considerably to an understanding of the results obtained. Finally, it should be noted that an effort has been made to list subject areas in some order of (assumed) importance with regard to the theme of 'social cohesion', defined by Theodorson and Theodorson (1969, 57) as:

> The integration of group behaviour as a result of social bonds, attractions, or 'forces' that hold members of a group in interaction over a period of time...

Thus, 'sponsorship of immigrants' and 'marriage' head the list of subject areas in Table 8.9, followed by questions concerning 'best friends', 'neighbours', 'membership of clubs', 'employment' and finally 'language'.

Since chain migration has often been cited as an obstacle to assimilation, a useful starting point for the presentation of survey results is the response to a question concerning sponsorship of immigrants. It was found that only 40.6 per cent of respondents had acted as a sponsor or co-sponsor in the process of chain migration, and that the 'Old' arrivals had been considerably more diligent in this respect than the 'New' arrivals (52.6 and 25.8 percent, respectively). Length of residence and personal resources are, of course, the key variables underlying the 'Old'/'New' difference, but the result does suggest also that the 'New' arrivals

Table 8.9

Social Characteristics and Attitudes of Yugoslavs, Mount Wellington, 1971 (Percentages)

	'Old' (pre 1940)	'New' (post 1945)	Total
1. "Have you acted as a sponsor or co-sponsor for one or more Yugoslav immigrants?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Yes	52.63	25.80	40.58
No	47.37	74.20	59.42
2. "If married, birthplace of husband or wife"	(N = 30)	(N = 26)	(N = 56)
Yugoslavia	83.33	80.76	82.14
N.Z. (Yugoslav parentage)	6.66	3.84	5.35
N.Z. (non-Yugoslav)	6.66	11.53	8.92
Other	3.33	3.84	3.57
3. "Do you think that intermarriage between Yugoslavs and non-Yugoslavs (especially New Zealanders) should be encouraged or discouraged?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Encouraged	21.05	6.45	14.50
Discouraged	10.52	32.26	20.30
Depends on the person	7.90	12.90	10.14
Choice up to person	50.00	45.16	47.82
Don't know	10.52	3.22	7.24
4. "If you have a child or children not yet married, would you prefer your child(ren) to marry a person who was..."	(N = 16)	(N = 24)	(N = 40)
a) a Yugoslav or of Yugoslav descent	62.50	58.33	60.00
b) a New Zealander	-	-	-
c) choice up to child	37.50	41.66	40.00
5. "How many of your three best friends (excluding immediate family) are Yugoslavs?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
0	-	6.45	2.90
1	10.52	12.90	11.60
2	28.94	29.03	29.00
3	60.52	51.61	56.52

Table 8.9 (contd.,)

	'Old' (pre 1940)	'New' (post 1945)	Total
6. "If your three best friends are all Yugoslavs, how many live in the Mount Wellington Borough?"	(N = 23)	(N = 16)	(N = 39)
0	21.74	25.00	23.07
1	13.04	25.00	17.95
2	17.39	37.50	25.64
3	47.82	12.50	33.33
7. "Do you prefer to have Yugoslav neighbours?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Yes	57.89	35.48	47.82
No	10.52	22.58	15.94
Other reply	31.57	41.93	36.23
8. "Do you think it is better for Yugoslav immigrants to live alongside New Zealanders?" "If yes, why?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Yes (for language learning)	50.00	54.83	52.17
Yes (other reasons)	15.78	22.58	18.84
No	13.15	19.35	15.94
Other replies	21.05	3.22	13.04
9. "Are you a member or do you attend functions of the Yugoslav Club in Auckland?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Yes - Member	15.79	12.90	14.50
Yes - Attend	23.68	58.06	39.13
No	60.52	29.03	46.37
10. "Are you a member or do you attend functions of non-Yugoslav clubs, societies or associations?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Yes - Member	13.16	9.68	11.60
Yes - Attend	-	-	-
No	86.84	90.32	88.40
11. "Do you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants and their families to join New Zealand clubs rather than Yugoslav clubs?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Yes	5.26	6.45	5.80
No	42.10	67.74	53.62
Other reply	52.63	25.80	40.57

Table 8.9 (contd.,)

	'Old' (pre 1940)	'New' (post 1945)	Total
12. "If you are gainfully employed, do you work with persons of Yugoslav birth or descent?"	(N = 14)	(N = 24)	(N = 38)
Yes	28.57	45.83	39.47
No	71.43	54.16	60.53
13. "Do you think it is better for Yugoslav immigrants to work with New Zealanders?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Yes	92.10	83.87	88.40
No	7.89	12.90	10.14
Other reply	-	3.22	1.44
14. "Use of Yugoslav language at home for daily conversation (Household Heads only)".	(N = 24)	(N = 16)	(N = 40)
Only Yugoslav	33.33	50.00	40.00
Mainly Yugoslav	29.16	12.50	22.50
Yugoslav/English	20.83	-	12.50
Mainly English	4.16	18.75	10.00
Only English	12.50	18.75	15.00
15. "Do you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants and their families to stop using their own language and to learn English as quickly as possible?"	(N = 38)	(N = 31)	(N = 69)
Yes	7.90	9.68	8.70
No	2.63	-	1.45
No ('to stop using...' but 'learn English as quickly as possible')	86.84	90.32	88.40
Don't know	2.63	-	1.45

Source: Field Survey, Yugoslavs in Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland, May 1971.

have a considerable latent potential for sponsorship that could serve to sustain the Mount Wellington neighbourhood for some years to come. This potential will, however, be realised only if the respondents abide by the appropriate norms of behaviour.

Including also marriage partners born in New Zealand of Yugoslav parents, 87.5 percent of married respondents had an 'in-group' spouse (Table 8.9, question 2), with 'New' arrivals (84.6 percent) lagging slightly behind 'Old' arrivals (90 percent). The question of intermarriage elicited a predominantly cautious and guarded response ("depends on the person", "choice up to person") from both 'Old' and 'New' arrivals, and only 14.5 percent of all respondents felt intermarriage should be encouraged while 20.3 percent felt it should be discouraged. Once again there was a marked intra-group difference, with 'New' arrivals being much more openly against intermarriage (Table 8.9, question 3). Finally, when the subject of intermarriage was brought to the personal level of the respondent's own children, the predominantly guarded and hypothetically neutral response given to the earlier question was replaced by a clear in-group preference: 60 percent indicated they would prefer their children or child to marry a person of Yugoslav birth or descent (Table 8.9, question 4), while the remainder upheld (some vehemently) that the choice was up to the child. In summary then, both the fact of in-group marriage and the preference for in-group spouses for children indicate an area of behaviour marked by a high level of social cohesion.

No less than 56.6 and 29.0 percent respectively, declared that three out of three and two out of three of their 'best friends' were of Yugoslav birth or descent (Table 8.9, question 5). In other words 85.5 percent counted at least two in-group members among their three best friends. Out-group friends were more common among the 'New' arrivals as a result of contacts at work or through intermarraige. Given the nucleation of settlement in Mount Wellington it was deemed desirable to obtain information on the residential location of 'best friends'. In those cases where all three 'best friends' were Yugoslavs, it was found that 59 percent of respondents had at least two out of three 'best friends' residing in the local area (especially in Panorama, Ferndale and Leonard Roads). 'New' arrivals tended to have more of their friends outside the local area than the 'Old' arrivals whose friendships were frequently established during the 1930s (Table 8.9, question 6).

When asked if they preferred to have Yugoslav neighbours, 47.8 percent replied that they would, but 36.2 percent replied that it made no real difference who the neighbour was (Table 8.9, question 7). Indeed, 71 percent thought it

better for Yugoslavs to live alongside New Zealanders in order "to learn the language" or for other reasons such as "learning the ways and customs of New Zealanders" (Table 8.9, question 8). 'New' arrivals in particular had a lower preference for Yugoslav neighbours and a higher estimation of the desirability of residential integration with New Zealanders. 'Old' arrivals, on the other hand, appeared to favour having in-group neighbours, in some instances because of a lack of confidence in language abilities but more often because of the effects of old age which affected personal health and mobility, both of which made sympathetic neighbours "of one's own kind" desirable. Overall, putting aside personal needs and doubts as to personal abilities, there was a noticeable disposition toward some interaction with New Zealanders (via the neighbour situation) in order to make adjustments necessary for life in a new society.

Only 14.5 percent of all respondents were members of Auckland's main Yugoslav Club, while a further 39.1 percent (not members) attended functions at least two or perhaps three times a year. A crucial factor underlying this result was the age of 'Old' arrivals who emphasised that they had belonged to the Club and participated in its activities in their youth but felt that they were now too old, a point borne out by some of the newer arrivals who enjoyed the dancing, music and chance to meet friends on Sunday nights (Table 8.9, question 9). Apart from a small number who belonged to a local Bowling Club or similar recreational club, 88.4 percent of all respondents were neither members of nor attended the functions of non-Yugoslav clubs, societies or associations (Table 8.9, question 10). Moreover, the disposition to some interaction with New Zealanders as residential neighbours did not appear to extend into the sphere of social activities such as club membership. In reply to the question "Do you think it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants and their families to join New Zealand clubs rather than Yugoslav clubs?" only 5.8 percent answered "Yes", 53.6 percent said "No" and 40.5 percent (largely 'Old' arrivals) favoured membership of both types of club if at all possible.

In the sphere of employment, less than 40 percent of gainfully employed respondents worked with persons of Yugoslav birth or descent (Table 8.9, question 12). If such work place contacts were limited, perhaps by local employment opportunities, they were not lamented as 88.4 percent of respondents thought it was better for Yugoslavs to work with New Zealanders (Table 8.9, question 13). Like the residential neighbour situation, the work place contact with out-group individuals was regarded as an easy and useful way to learn and improve one's knowledge of the new language, customs and values. Some 'Old' arrivals complained

that their early years of gumdigging and/or quarrying in the day-to-day company of fellow countrymen severely impeded their language learning and thereby other adjustments to New Zealand life. Similarly, many women remarked upon the wonderful opportunities for men to learn English at the place of work, while their own learning was stifled by confinement to domestic duties at home. Clearly underlying this willingness to interact with New Zealanders at work, however, was the knowledge that such interaction did not need to be carried over into other spheres of life - "you just work with them".

'Only' or 'mainly' Yugoslav (i.e. Serbo-Croatian) was used at home for daily conversation in 62.5 percent of households (Table 8.9, question 14). A combination of Yugoslav and English was used in one fifth of the households of 'Old' arrivals (but not among 'New' arrivals) primarily because of the influence of New Zealand-born children. 'Only' or 'mainly' English was used in a higher proportion of 'New' households principally for reasons of intermarriage, but also because of young children. While respondents openly admitted the language learning advantages accruing from non-Yugoslav neighbours and workmates, they rejected the suggestion that it would be better for Yugoslav immigrants to stop using their own language, but accepted the need to learn English as quickly as possible (Table 8.9, question 15). Preservation of the mother tongue was widely and loudly urged, for practical reasons of effective adult communication if nothing else. Overall, questions 14 and 15 (concerning language use) tended to bring out the feeling among respondents that they were living in two worlds requiring two languages for day-to-day needs. In essence the neighbourhood was <u>not</u> self-sufficient.[7]

A final index of social cohesion was provided via questions concerning the children of 'Old' arrivals. Information was collected from parents on a total of 39 children 16 years of age and over who had left home permanently, of whom 34 were New Zealand-born and 33 married (Table 8.10). Of those married, 51.5 percent had chosen in-group spouses (Yugoslav birth or descent), 33.33 percent had married New Zealand-born (non-Yugoslav) spouses and the remaining 15.15 percent other foreign-born spouses. The marriage patterns of males and females were very similar, except in one respect. Although 50 and 52.6 percent of the males and females, respectively, married in-group spouses, the males overwhelmingly favoured New Zealand-born brides of Yugoslav descent, whereas females favoured Yugoslav-born spouses. As noted earlier, in the section on amalgamation, such differences in the origins of in-group spouses are related in part to the heavy surplus of males among the immigrants and keen competition for the daughters of older settlers. Needless to say the parents commented on the sense of loss and personal difficul-

Table 8.10

Marriages and Residential Location of Children of Pre-1940 Yugoslav Arrivals Residing in Mount Wellington, 1971

Questions put to parent(s) in study area	Sex of the children Male	Female	Total
Number of children over 16 years of age who have left home permanently.	14	25	39
Number of these children born in New Zealand.	10	24	34
Number of children now married.	14	19	33
If child(ren) married, is the spouse:	(N = 14)%	(N = 19)%	(N = 33)%
Yugoslav-born	1 (7.14)	6 (31.58)	7 (21.21)
N.Z.-born of Yugoslav parents	6 (42.86)	4 (21.05)	10 (30.30)
N.Z.-born (other)	5 (35.71)	6 (31.58)	11 (33.33)
Other foreign-born	2 (14.29)	3 (15.79)	5 (15.15)
Present address of child(ren):	(N = 14)%	(N = 25)%	(N = 39)%
Mount Wellington	5 (35.71)	7 (28.00)	12 (30.77)
Other Auckland	7 (50.00)	10 (40.00)	17 (43.59)
Elsewhere	2 (14.29)	8 (32.00)	10 (25.64)

Note: (a) Among the post-war arrivals, there was only one child who could have been included; this child was born in Germany, married a New Zealand-born girl of non-Yugoslav parents, and resided in Greenlane, Auckland.

(b) Children now deceased (2) are not included in the above table.

(c) Children born in Yugoslavia (5) were all very young upon arrival in New Zealand and have been treated as if they were like New Zealand-born children for the above table.

Source: Field Survey, Yugoslavs in Mount Wellington Borough, Auckland, May 1971.

ties resulting from out-group marriages: a son-in-law or daughter-in-law with whom easy and intimate conversation was difficult, if not impossible ; grand-children seemingly beyond the reach of their love and affection; even their own children becoming somewhat estranged.

While over half the children chose in-group spouses, only 30.8 percent remained in the local area of Mount Wellington Borough and a further 43.6 percent resided elsewhere in Auckland. Males tended to favour both the local area and residence elsewhere in Auckland more than females. Interviews with those children remaining in the local area revealed some desire to be near their families or parents but a much more basic reason in four cases was the provision of land for house building. Thus an outstanding feature of Panorama Road in 1971 was the close proximity to their parents of three households headed by children of Dick and Mila Lavas (together with two other households where the families had been sponsored by Dick and Mila Lavas).

Does a neighbourhood based on chain migration exhibit a high degree of social cohesion? Results obtained from the Mount Wellington survey support an affirmative answer to the question in this particular case. There are, however, a number of qualifying points that must be made. First, some areas or forms of behaviour were considered to be more important than others by members of the ethnic group. For example, in-group marriage and language retention are apparently regarded more highly or seen as being more desirable than maintaining in-group contacts in the work place or having in-group neighbours. Second, the value attached to specific forms of behaviour varies according to intra-group differences in terms of length of residence, individual adjustments, age of respondents, etc. Though the observation may not be applicable to each and every case, in general 'New' arrivals are more 'Yugoslav' oriented than 'Old' arrivals. Finally, the value attached to specific forms of behaviour reflects the realities of living in a residential neighbourhood that is <u>not</u> self-sufficient and which requires at least partial integration with the wider society in order to survive. It is from this viewpoint that one can appreciate and understand the frequency with which respondents referred to language problems and to the need to learn English as quickly as possible, either by way of workplace contacts or non-Yugoslav neighbours.

Footnotes

1. Readers interested in the full results of this survey should consult the following references: Trlin (1971), Trlin and Johnston (1973) and Trlin (1974).

2. Letter from Assistant Under-Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs to the Commissioner of Police, dated 8th May, 1947, in Department of Internal Affairs file IA 116/12 Part 1, National Archives, Wellington.

3. See footnote 2 above.

4. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1918, C.12, page 12.

5. 'British Subjects Only - others debarred from work' The Northern Advocate, 12 April 1935, page 3.

6. It should also be noted that from 1973 onwards the birthplace category 'Yugoslavia' has not been included among those for which official marriage statistics are published.

7. Readers should note that research on the language use of Yugoslavs in New Zealand has been reported by both Jakich (1976) and Stoffel (1976). In the latter case work is still continuing, the aim being "to investigate the spoken language of immigrants from Yugoslavia and of New Zealand born descendents of these immigrants, to collect written sources of their language in New Zealand, and to study general problems of a bilingual community" (Stoffel, 1976, 240). It is significant that both Jakich and Stoffel have detected considerable interference from English, especially in vocabulary and (among New Zealand-born descendents) pronunciation.

9

NOW RESPECTED

The story of the Yugoslavs in New Zealand has been one of lifelong efforts to gain economic security in a new environment, of slow adjustment to the language, values and expectations of a new culture, and of gradual acceptance in the face of distrust, discrimination and opposition. During the initial phase of temporary migration their status as 'birds of passage' and their diligent exploitation of the gumfields aroused vehement opposition, based as much upon the colonist's economic fears as it was upon deep-seated ethnic prejudices. The winemakers were likewise confronted with formidable obstacles; for years their product was distrusted and abused, first as a so-called 'Austrian wine' and later as 'Dally plonk'. At times of crisis, notably 1914-1918, their identity and loyalty were suspect. As a group they were perceived to be resistant to assimilation, to keep pretty much to themselves and to have little to do with outsiders. It is hardly surprising therefore that the Yugoslavs were for some decades counted among the least desirable immigrants, and that efforts were made to restrict their entry to New Zealand.

This story is far from being unique. It is in fact typical of the experience of numerous immigrant groups that were culturally different (in terms of language, religion, etc.,) to the dominant group among members of the host society. Without too much difficulty one can readily trace parallels between the experiences of New Zealand's Yugoslavs and those of Italians, Greeks and Chinese in the United States and Australia. In comparison with such groups elsewhere, however, it might well be argued that the Yugoslav in New Zealand has fared rather well.

Once distrusted and despised the Yugoslav is now respected. Gradually earned (and sometimes grudgingly given), this respect reflects the achievements of immigrants and their descendents in the processes of settlement and assimilation over several decades. Within the limits imposed by available information it appears that amalgamation (intermarriage) is well under way. Similarly, it seems that economic absorption has been particularly successful despite the immigrant's limited technical skills and educational qualifications. As farmers, restaurateurs and viticulturalists the Yugoslavs are recognised as having made a valuable contribution, sometimes thanks to a determined individual such as George Mazuran. Beyond these 'traditional' areas of activity the pinnacle of success is represented by men such as: Stephen Jelicich (born Sucuraj, island of Hvar), a senior member of the Jasmad Group Ltd., Auckland; James Belich (born in Awanui, North Auckland), managing director and group chief executive of J. Inglis Wright Ltd., Wellington; Cecil Segedin (born in Auckland), Professor of Theoretical and Applied Mechanics, Auckland University; and Paul Vella (born in Dannevirke, Hawkes Bay), Associate Professor of Geology, Victoria University of Wellington. Needless to say the number of professionally qualified New Zealand-born Yugoslavs has increased rapidly over the last three decades and they are now taking their place in society as accountants, executives, engineers, doctors, school teachers, university lecturers, and civil servants. Many more have found their niche as successful businessmen and skilled tradesmen.

Because of the special skills and personal qualities required, the small number who have 'made it' in the fields of entertainment and the arts are also worthy of mention. In the notoriously ephemeral world of popular music three names come to mind - guitarist Peter Posa and singers Maria Dallas and Diana Sisarich. Rather more durable is the work and reputation of writer Amelia Batistich and especially artist Milan Mrkusich, both of whom were born in Dargaville, North Auckland. Specialising in short stories, and best known for her collection An Olive Tree in Dalmatia (1963), Amelia Batistich has for some years worked on a full length novel which is due for publication in the near future. Milan Mrkusich, a self-taught artist, has been described as "a cerebral painter, deeply attracted by the emblematic and abstract possibilities of painting" (Docking 1971, 174). Influences on his work, indicative of the cerebral aspect, have included Russian Constructivism, the schematic structures of the Cubists and the theories of physicist Werner Heinsenberg and psychoanalyst Carl Jung. Since his first exhibition in 1949 at the School of Architecture, University of Auckland, Mrkusich's work has been exhibited in Australia, Japan, India, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States.

High honours have been gained in the world of sport, in rugby, tennis, boxing,

golf and bowls. Given the status of rugby as New Zealand's leading national sport, the achievement and contribution of Ivan Vodanovich (born in Wanganui) is particularly significant. An All Black in 1955, Vodanovich has continued to take an active part in coaching, management and administration at the national level. In tennis the name of Onny Parun is widely known, having represented New Zealand in Davis Cup eastern zone matches against India, Japan and Australia. A tough and durable opponent, affectionately regarded as the 'old man' in New Zealand tennis, Parun is regularly engaged in professional tournaments around the world. George Stankovich, and more recently his brother Andrew, have firmly established themselves in heavyweight and middleweight boxing, respectively. Aside from his impressive, gutsy performance (bronze medal winner) at the Edmonton Commonwealth Games, George Stankovich was also the heavyweight gold medal winner at the 1979 Oceania boxing championships. In golf, during 1978, Frank Nobilo of Auckland was the national amateur champion, captain of the New Zealand under-21 team and Eisenhower Trophy representative at the world teams championship in Fiji. To cap the already impressive list of Vodanovich, Parun, Stankovich and Nobilo, there is one other sportsman whose skill is widely respected - master bowler Nick Unkovich.

Born in Yugoslavia, Nick Unkovich came to New Zealand about forty-six years ago, accompanying his father who worked here as a gumdigger and from time-to-time returned to Dalmatia. In 1979, at 55 years of age, he was a member of the winning fours championship team and at the same national tournament won his fourth New Zealand singles title in eight years. According to T. P. McLean, New Zealand Herald sportswriter, it is only a matter of time before Nick Unkovich joins the handful of great players to win five or more New Zealand championships.

For such a small ethnic group, for one that has trod such a long road toward the goal of acceptance by fellow New Zealanders, the achievements of individuals such as those named above are a fitting climax to one hundred years of settlement. Like the industrious farmer, viticulturalist and restaurateur, each has helped to modify the old stereotypes and to shape a new image of the Yugoslav-New Zealander. And yet there is still a discernible note of criticism among New Zealanders, a mild reproach with regard to the tendency of Yugoslav immigrants to keep pretty much to themselves. Quite simply, ethnic group settlements continue to exist.

An ethnic group settlement must be understood not as a mere physical concentration but more importantly as a working social system. Dalmatian group settlements in New Zealand are rooted in and sustained by the continuing process of chain migration. As working social systems their prime characteristic is the complex network of informal social relationships between members, based upon their ties of

kinship, comradeship, common place of origin and experiences in New Zealand. These relationships (graphically revealed in multiple death notices in the New Zealand Herald) have been developed to their full stature because of the immigrant's realisation that there exist differences between him and the host society which impede or prevent full social intercourse.

Adults with mature personalities cannot rid themselves of their old culture and adopt that of the new society upon arrival at the wharf or airport. The immigrant clings to his culture, especially his language, until he can express himself intelligently in the terms and values of his new environment. While adjustments are being made (during the remainder of the adult's life) there is still the deep need for companionship, for emotional or psychological gratification, for understanding and help in times of crisis. These needs are best met among the immigrants own countrymen and it is from this perspective that one can more easily appreciate the attitudes of Yugoslavs in groups settlements such as the Mount Wellington neighbourhood.

A reproachful stance with respect to ethnic group settlement, especially if manifested in a policy of discouragement, is fraught with potential hazards that far outweigh the real or imagined disadvantages for assimilation. If the newly arrived immigrant can find no group to which he can relate himself, he is very likely, under stress, to develop disorders of thought and behaviour. He is likely to be obsessive in his thinking, compulsive rather than controlled in his behaviour, to be morose and anxious, and ultimately to be destructive to himself if not to others.

Frank Sargeson's (1940) short story 'The Making of a New Zealander' provides a pertinent example of such personality disorganisation. Obviously based on a personal encounter, but presented as fiction, Sargeson portrays Nick as a man between two worlds.

> Nick and I were sitting on the hillside and Nick was saying he was a New Zealander, but he knew he wasn't a New Zealander. And he knew he wasn't a Dalmatian any more. He knew he wasn't anything any more.

For Nick, confused and obsessive in his thinking, there was peace to be found with alcohol: "We will drink a lot of wine, I have plenty and we will get very, very drunk. Oh heaps drunk."

The lack of effective membership in small intimate groups is at the crux of literature on personality disorganisation and underlies much of the literature on delinquency, crime, alcohol and drug abuse. If nothing else this should underline and reinforce the true nature of cultural integration as one dimension of assimilation. It must be a mutual process of adjustment wherein the immigrant's acceptance of the host society's basic customs, values and institutions does not

preclude his adjusting them and retaining a pride in his own culture, a culture which facilitates close personal interaction with fellow countrymen. Above all else the object should be to avoid personality disorganisation which (from the viewpoint of both groups) represents a serious danger in their common life.

As a group the Yugoslavs are reputed to be hard workers, honest, charitable and friendly. Irrespective of the now discredited views and criticisms of commentators such as Lochore (1951), this reputation is in no small part the product of the particular structure and character of their local communities. With ties of kinship and friendship the Yugoslav is not (as a rule) an isolated individual but a member of a larger community with responsibilities and unwritten rules that he is committed to observe. Scores of New Zealand-born Yugoslavs will tell you that they found this situation irksome in their teenage years. Now, as adults, conscious of their own and their parents needs, they will more often than not explain and uphold its virtues.

Finally, it is fitting that respect for the Dalmatian-Yugoslav should be mirrored in and enhanced by the fiction of writers like Sargeson, Audley and Batistich. A New Gate for Mattie Dulivich by E. H. Audley (1965) was the first and thus far the only full length novel with a Dalmatian family as its central characters. Free of the academic's tedious burden of documentation, and licensed to use imagination, the novelist can explore themes of human hardship, courage, fears and ambitions with universal appeal. Mattie Dulivich and his wife Vinka emerge, even in the face of adversity, as strong, reliable, honest and cheerful figures that one would welcome as neighbours and friends. And who could possibly fail to respond to Amelia Batistich's portrait of 'A Dalmatian Woman' included in her collection An Olive Tree in Dalmatia. Drawing on childhood memories, and experiences in and around Dargaville, she sketches in little more than five pages the first years in New Zealand of a proxy bride. Here is the first meeting with a husband never before seen (except in a photograph), the rude shock of a rough, unpainted home with sacks for curtains and bed, and boxes for chairs. And work, always hard work. For some readers the last few lines of 'A Dalmatian Woman' will have a special meaning...

> ...She began to feel herself part of something in the making. The acres of land became an obsession with her as with him, and when their first child was born and she brought it home from the hospital, she held it up to the land and said -
>
> 'See what we are making for you!'

Appendix 1

YUGOSLAV FAMILY NAMES

This appendix is divided into two parts: Part A 'Family Names of Pioneers and Dalmatian Settlers' and Part B 'Family Names of Post-World War Two Arrivals - Displaced Persons, Refugees and Others'. To avoid misunderstandings, readers and users should observe carefully the points made in the following explanatory notes.

Part A: 'Family Names of Pioneers and Dalmatian Settlers'

Above all else it must be clearly understood that this section is based primarily on information extracted from the Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948 (prepared by the Aliens Registration and Naturalisation/ Citizenship Division, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington). Additional names have been added via an exhaustive examination of Dalmatian arrivals 1951-1967 as recorded in the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers for that period.

1. Family Names

Family names of married and single migrants (but not maiden names of married females) naturalised in New Zealand prior to 1948, or listed as a permanent arrival between 1951 and 1967, are presented in alphabetical order. Spelling variations are indicated in parentheses; for example, BAJTO (BAITO) to record the alternate use of 'I' for 'J', and CEZARI(J)A to indicate the optional use of 'J'. Where appropriate an 'H' has been added to complete phonetically

names ending with 'ICH' although it is not uncommon to find migrants using 'H' as an optional extra - e.g. FARAC(H) and FRANICEVIC(H). One special difficulty concerns the use of 'Y' in place of 'J' as in YELAVICH and YOVICH. To avoid needless repetition all names beginning with 'Y' (as presented in official records) are listed under 'J' (as in JELAVICH, JELICICH and JOVICH) which is the correct form since there is no 'Y' in the Latin form of the Serbo-Croatian alphabet.

2. Village/Town of Origin

The village or town of origin is listed for each family name. Derived from information supplied at the time of naturalisation (or arrival) the village or town named is simply the birthplace with which a particular family name is commonly associated. Inevitably, given marriage and mobility, many family names are often linked with two or more birthplaces. In such cases the rank order of birthplaces was determined by the frequency of their citation among those of a given name. Where two or more villages had equal citation frequencies, the order was decided by the earliest recorded date of naturalisation and, failing that, by alphabetical order. Birthplaces that could not be identified or located are followed by a parenthetic question mark - e.g. ANICICH Pogliane (?) - and where appropriate old Italian placenames are followed by the modern name - e.g. Portore (Kraljevica, nr. Rijeka). Finally, to aid location in central Dalmatia, all villages or towns on the islands of Brac, Hvar and Korcula, the Peljesac Peninsula, and in the district of the Neretva estuary are so identified in parentheses - e.g. Sucuraj (Hvar).

3. Date of Naturalisation and Date of Arrival

Unless specified otherwise the date given for each name and birthplace is the earliest date of naturalisation recorded for a migrant with a given name and birthplace. Though indicative of the early arrival and settlement of Yugoslavs in New Zealand, the date of earliest naturalisation must not be confused with the date of arrival, especially if comparisons are made between family names. In some cases early pioneers delayed naturalisation by as much as thirty years. For example, while the first members of both the ARNERICH and LUPIS families arrived in 1866, the first naturalisations for these family names were in 1884 and 1896, respectively. Where the date of arrival is given - e.g. ANDREIS(H)...(arrived 1966) - it must be clearly understood as a case of a post-war Dalmatian chain migrant(s) whose family name has not previously appeared in naturalisation records.

Part B: 'Family Names of Post-World War Two Arrivals - Displaced Persons, Refugees and Others'

Names and other information presented in this section were obtained from an examination of all Yugoslav arrivals 1949-1967 as recorded in the Aliens and Naturalisation Registers for that period. Most of these arrivals were displaced persons (1949-1952) and refugees, but also included here are those who gained entry as the partners (husbands) of British or New Zealand citizens (but not part of the traditional Dalmatian chain migration process) and those who were sponsored by government or private agencies for employment purposes.

1. Family Names

While the same general rules specified with respect to family names in Part A apply here also, it must be noted that in some cases names consistently appear in official records in an Anglicised form. To avoid confusion the 'official' version of a name has been accepted and listed. Some names have been excluded - those of females born in Yugoslavia but married to non-Yugoslavs either before arrival or immediately after arrival in New Zealand, those of migrants who departed from New Zealand not long after arrival and those of migrants whose birthplace in Yugoslavia was a matter of 'accident' (e.g. Italians, Greeks, Rumanians, Austrians, etc.,).

2. Origin

For a variety of reasons it was found necessary to simplify the place of origin or birth and the solution found was to specify location/origin by republic within the modern federation of Yugoslavia - i.e. Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Montenegro, with the additions of Dalmatia and Vojvodina where appropriate. In the case of married couples the place of origin that is specified is without exception that of the husband.

3. Date of Arrival

The key point here is that the date cited is the earliest recorded date of arrival for each surname. This is of some importance given the establishment of migration chains by former displaced persons and refugees during the 1950s and 1960s.

Part A

Family Names of Pioneers and Dalmatian Settlers

Family Name	Village/Town of Origin	Date of Naturalisation or of Arrival
ALACH	Drasnice	1903
	Drvenik	1911
	Makarska	1904
	Zivogosce	1905
ALEKSICH	Brist	1912
ALESICH	Brist	1903
ALFIROVICH	Zaostrog	1904
ANCICH	Vrgorac	1911
ANDREIS(H)	Vela Luka (Korcula)	arrived 1966
ANDRIJASEVICH	Zaostrog	1906
	Makarska	1906
ANGJELINOVICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1938
ANICH	Jelsa (Hvar)	1905
ANICICH	Pogliane (?)	1899
ANTICEVICH	-	1894
ANTICICH	Igrane	1923
ANTONIEVICH	Novo Selo (Brac)	1912
ANTUNOVICH	Drvenik	1911
	Kozica	1912
	Zivogosce	1904
ANUSICH	Podgora	1922
ANZULOVICH	Pupnat (Korcula)	1904
APRILOVICH	Sibenik	1911
ARNERICH	Dol (Brac)	1884
BABICH	Imotski	1908
	Runovic (nr. Imotski)	1908
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1929
	Podgora	1908

(BABICH)	Kladanj, Bosnia	1905
	Zaostrog	1906
BACETICH	Korcula	1907
BACICA	Luka (Korcula?)	1937
BACICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1905
	Neum (Neretva)	1903
BACOVICH	Nerezy (?)	1890
BAJALO	Vrgorac	1908
BAJTO	Vrgorac	1912
(BAITO)	Zavojane	1908
BAKALICH	Igrane	1908
	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1910
BAKARICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1909
BAKULICH	Vis	1903
BALETICH	Zavojane	1912
BALICH	Split	1911
BALOERVICH	-	1890
BAN	Podgora	1906
BANICEVICH	Cara (Korcula)	1907
BANOVICH	Zaostrog	1912
BANTOVICH	Dubrovnik	1926
BARACH	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1906
BARAN	Novi	1924
BARBALICH	Baska Nova (Istria)	1909
BARBARICH	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	1905
	Zaostrog	1911
BARETICH	Nace Bazio (?)	1896
BARICEVICH	Novi	1939
BARTLOVICH	Gradac	1906
BARTULOVICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1908
	Gradac	1938
BATISTICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1904
BAZALO	Brijesta (Peljesac)	1948
BEBICH	Grab (Vrgorac)	1913
	Metkovich (Neretva)	1913
BEGOVICH	Kozica	1911
	Zivogosce	1923
BELAICH	Imotski	1913
BELICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1909
BERCICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1899
BERICH	Zaostrog	1906
	Korcula	1906
BERKUSICH	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1903
BERNECICH	Istria	1907
BEROS	Podgora	1908
BEROZ	Nezzi (?)	1882
BEZMALINOVICH	Novo Selo (Brac)	1914
BIAZEVICH	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1923
BILAS	Gradac	1903
BILCICH	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1924
BILICH	Vrgorac	1906
	Duba	1906
BILISH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1908
	Metkovich (Neretva)	1907
BISKUP	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1914

BJELICH	Prnjovor, Bosnia	arrived 1967
BLANOVITCH	Rijeka	1894
BLASKOVICH	Vrboska (Hvar)	1911
BLAZINA	Kreljin (?)	1905
BLITVICH	Pupnat (Korcula)	1908
BOBANAC	Vrgorac	1905
	Klijenka/Kljenak (?)	1903
BOBANOVICH	Kuna (Peljesac)	1906
BOGALO	Pupnat (Korcula)	1926
BOGDAN	Juliana (?)	1910
BOGUNOVICH	Bacana (?)	1903
BOJANICH	- (Hvar ?)	1903
BOJKOVICH	Kotor	1928
BOKSICH	Zavojane	1905
	Vrgorac	1907
BONASHICH	Dubrovnik	1899
BONISCH	-	1893
BONKOVICH	Gdinj (Hvar)	1913
BORICH	Podgora	1903
	Brist	1909
BORO	Korcula	1903
BOROEVICH	Sumartin (Brac)	1911
BOSNICH	Blato (Korcula)	1906
BOTICA	Racisce (Korcula)	1904
BOZANTI	Vis	1890
BOZICH	Vrgorac	1906
BOZIKOVICH	-	1903
BRADANOVICH	Vis	1903
BRAJKOVICH	Zivogosce	1907
BRASICH	Pijavicina (?)	1908
BRBICH	Tucepi	1906
BRCICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1928
BRKAN	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1938
BRLJEVICH	Vrgorac	1912
	Momic (Neretva)	1925
	Metkovich (Neretva)	1911
BUDIC	Sinj	arrived 1956
BULJAN	Orah (Vrgorac)	1908
	Imotski	1913
BULJUBASICH	Imotski	1908
	Zupa	1908
BULOG	Vrgorac	1914
	Kokorici (Vrgorac)	1926
	Ravca	1938
BUNCUGA	Jelsa (Hvar)	1905
BUNZILICH	Racisce (Korcula)	1905
BURAZIN	Cista (nr. Sinj)	1907
BURCHIS	Korcula	1903
BURICH	Drvenik	1904
	Komin (Neretva)	1938
BURMAZ	Podaca	1905
BUSEL(J)ICH	Kozica	1924
BUTOROVICH	Vis	1911
CARAMAN	Dubrovnik	1894
CAREVICH	Split	1911

CARINA	Portore [Kraljevica]	1868
CARO	Zadar	1898
CEBALO	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1902
	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1939
CETINIC(H)	Vela Luka (Korcula)	arrived 1965
CEZARI(J)A	Kuna (Peljesac)	1906
CIBILICH	Duba (Peljesac)	1928
CIKICH	Drasnice	1924
CIKOJA	Vrgorac	1907
CIPRI(J)AN	Pupnat (Korcula)	1912
CLARICH	Vis	1932
CORICH	Rijeka	1890
	Split	1908
COTICH	Dubrava (nr. Omis ?)	1939
COVACICH	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1908
COVANCEVICH	-	1869
COVICH	Tucepi	1903
CR(L)JENKOVICH	Nakovan (Peljesac)	1934
CUISS	Vis	1879
C(H)ULAV	Vrgorac	1912
	Prapatnica	1913
	Orah (Vrgorac)	1913
CULJAK	Vojnici, Croatia	1905
CURAC(H)	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1923
CURIN	Gdinj (Hvar)	1906
CVITANOVICH	Drasnice	1913
	Igrane	1903
	Podaca	1904
	Gradac	1908
	Trogir	arrived 1966
CZAR	Crikvenica	1901
DEAN	Podgora	1903
	Makarska	1909
DELEGAT	-	1913
DELICH	Drvenik	1908
DERANJA	Novi	1914
DERVISH	-	1913
DESPOT	Zaostrog	1903
	Makarska	1904
DEVCICH	Podgora	1906
DEVESCOVI	Istria	1887
DEVICH	Makarska	1905
	Stilja	1912
DIAMANTE	Buccari [Bakar]	1899
DIDOVICH	Korcula	1903
	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1929
	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1913
DIGOVICH	Pijavicino (?)	1909
DIKOVICH	Zivogosce	1908
DIRACCA	Rijeka	1906
DIVICH	Drvenik	1908
	Makarska	1903
	Stilja	arrived 1962
DJIKOVICH	Zaostrog	1912
DJUGUM	Prapatnica	1908
	Desne (Neretva)	arrived 1962

DOBRICH	Novi	1926
DODIG	Perlak [Prelog]	1912
DOMANZICH	Vrgorac	1908
DOMIN(I)KOVICH	Nakovan (Peljesac)	1925
	Momic (Neretva)	1914
	Metkovich (Neretva)	1926
DOROTIC(H)	Sumartin (Brac)	arrived 1961
	Vis	arrived 1964
DRACEVICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1904
DRAGANICH	Jelsa (Hvar)	1909
DRAGICEVICH	Dolnji Humac (Brac)	1907
	Kozica	1906
	Vrgorac	1906
	Orah (Vrgorac)	1908
	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	arrived 1956
DRAGOVICH	Metkovich (Neretva)	1907
DRNASIN	Prgomet (nr. Split)	arrived 1961
DROPICH	Gabela (Neretva)	1925
DROPULICH	Vrgorac	1908
DRUSKOVICH	Racisce (Korcula)	1904
DRUZIANICH	Rascane	1913
DUGANZICH	Komin (Neretva)	1923
DUHOVICH	Korcula	1925
DUIMOVICH	Trieste	1901
DUJMOVICH	Vrgorac	1907
	Kotezi	1938
DUZEVICH	Dol (Brac)	1907
	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1913
DZEVLAN	Komin (Neretva)	arrived 1963
ERCEG	Vrgorac	1905
	Rascane	1904
	Imotski	1906
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1923
	Podgora	arrived 1962
ERSTICH	Vrgorac	1904
	Drasnice	1922
EVICH	Drvenik	1905
FABIJANOVICH	-	1914
FABRIS	Korcula	1905
FALCONETTI	Dubrovnik	1899
FARAC(H)	Pupnat (Korcula)	1913
FELICE	Lussinpiccolo [Mali Losinj, Losinj]	1899
FERRI	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1899
FISTONICH	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	1908
FORETICH	Korcula	1904
FRANETOVICH	Starigrad (Hvar)	1905
	Korcula	1908
FRANICH	Racisce (Korcula)	1905
	Vrgorac	1902
FRANICEVIC(H)	Zivogosce	1903
	Makarska	1923
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	arrived 1957
FRANKOVICH	Zivogosce	1902
FRANOTOVICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1930

FRANULICH	Nerezisce (Brac)	1914
FREDATOVICH	Vrbanj (Hvar)	1928
GABELICH	Vrboska (Hvar)	1928
GABRICH	Drvenik	1913
GACINA	Mali (?)	1940
GAELICH	Brac	1913
GAGICH	Kucisce (? Kuciste, Peljesac)	1902
GALICH	Vrgorac	1907
GARBAGO	Makarska	1902
GAREA	Podgora	1907
GARELJA	Podgora	1908
GARELJICH	Podgora	arrived 1961
GARGLIECEVICH	Vrisnich [Vrisnik, Hvar]	1908
GARMAZ	Zupa	1910
GASPARICH	Parenzo [Porec, Istra]	1887
GERA	Cara (Korcula)	1925
GIBENS	Dubrovnik	1890
GILICH	Sumartin (Brac)	1904
GILJEVICH	-	1896
GIZDAVCICH	Vis	1922
GJUGUM	Papotrance (?)	1923
GLAMUZINA	Vrgorac	1903
	Prapatnica	1947
	Zivogosce	1948
GLAVAS	Slivno (nr. Imotski)	1906
	Kozica	1905
GLUCINA	Drasnice	1903
	Makarska	1905
GODINOVICH	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1925
GOJAK	Gradac	1906
	Velikobrdo [Brdo nr. Makarska]	1928
	Makarska	1923
GORDSCHICH	Beograd [Biograd ?]	1937
GOSPODNETICH	Dol (Brac)	1893
	Postire (Brac)	1909
GOVORKO	Orah (Vrgorac)	1908
	Vrgorac	1908
	Podgora	1946
	Racisce (Korcula)	1947
GRABNER	Makarska	arrived 1958
GRADISKA	Prvic Luka (nr. Sibenik)	1939
GRANICH	Stilja	1911
	Vrgorac	1907
GRBAVAC	Orah (Vrgorac)	1938
	Vrgorac	1938
	Ljubuski	1912
GRBICH	Zivogosce	1906
	Makarska	1931
GRBIN	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1913
	Postrana (Korcula)	1913
GREGO	Blato (Korcula)	1903
GRGICH	Makarska	1908
GRGICEVICH	Hvar	arrived 1961
GRGUNINOVICH	-	1911

GRLJUSICH	Vrgorac	1905
	Prapatnica	1923
	Stilja	1909
GROSSI	Perast (Boka Kotorska)	1899
GRUBIS(H)A	Drvenik	1903
GRUBISICH	Tucepi	1937
GRUBOR	- , Hercegovina	1906
GUGICH	Racisce (Korcula)	1909
	Vis	arrived 1962
GUGUM	Vrgorac	1906
GUSTICH	Korcula	1938
GVOZDIN	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	arrived 1959
HARACICH	Mali Losinj (Losinj)	1899
HARLEVITCH	-	1894
HERCEG	Podgora	arrived 1964
HILLICH	Kuna (Peljesac)	1909
HREPICH	Dol (Brac)	arrived 1959
HRSTICH	Drasnice	1911
	Makarska	1912
HULJICH	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1904
ILIJIC(H)	Dracevica (Brac)	arrived 1962
ILLICH	Vis	1906
IVANCEVIC(H)	Racisce (Korcula)	arrived 1962
IVANKOVICH	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1923
IVICEVICH	Drvenik	1904
JAGMICH	Drvenik	1948
JAKAS	Zmovo (Korcula)	1926
JAKICH	Podgora	1909
	Tucepi	1922
	Makarska	1906
JAKICEVIC	Orah (Vrgorac)	1911
JANKOVICH	Smederevo, Serbia	1912
JANOVICH	Sumartin (Brac)	1913
	Omis	1939
JELACA	Podgora	1930
	Split	1930
JELAS	Zivogosce	1907
	Drvenik	1904
	Dragljane	1913
JELAVICH	Ravca	1914
	Vrgorac	1911
	Kozica	1922
JELCICH	Komin (Neretva)	1929
	Zaostrog	1913
JELICICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1904
	Podaca	1904
JERICEVICH	Zmovo (Korcula)	1904
JERKOVICH	Drasnice	1908
	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1903
	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	1908
	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1931
	Makarska	1904
JERKUSICH	Vrgorac	1913
JEVANNOVICH	- , Montenegro	1905
JOKISH	- , Dalmatia	1904

JOVANOVICH	Kolasin, Montenegro	1909
	Novy Modrus, Montenegro	1912
JOVICH	Dragljane	1913
	Vrgorac	1928
	Vlaka	1908
JOZIPANOVICH	Baska Voda	1905
JUBICH	Vrbanj (Hvar)	1912
JUGOVICH	Pola [Pula]	1902
	Dol (Brac)	1911
	Podgora	1938
JUJNOVICH	Kozica	1923
	Vrgorac	1910
JUKICH	Zivogosce	1906
	Zavojane	arrived 1958
	Slivno (Imotski)	arrived 1963
JURAKOVICH	Zivogosce	1905
	Makarska	1903
JURAN	Zivogosce	1913
JURANOVICH	Drvenik	1928
JURASOVICH	Gding (Hvar)	1903
JURETICH	Podgora	1908
JURICEVICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1922
JURISICH	Baska Voda	1905
	Racisce (Korcula)	1908
JURJEVICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1903
	Makarska	1906
JURAKOVICH	Zivogosce	arrived 1958
JURKOVICH	Gabela (Neretva)	1923
JURLINA	Zivogosce	1907
JUROVICH	Kuna (Peljesac)	1909
KAPURALICH	Omis	1907
KASTELAN	Korcula	1928
KATAVICH	Orah (Vrgorac)	1905
	Vrgorac	1904
	Zavojane	1905
KATICH	Kozica	1923
	Vrgorac	1923
KAVALINOVICH	Drvenik	1902
KESARA	Makarska	1911
KESICH	Mali Prolog (Vrgorac)	1928
KINKELA	Istria [Istra]	1899
KLARICH	Zivogosce	1905
	Viganj (Peljesac)	1923
	Orebich (Peljesac)	1903
	Vrucica (Peljesac)	arrived 1961
KLARICICH	Zivogosce	1928
KLINAC	Kokorici (Vrgorac)	1910
	Ravca (Vrgorac)	1928
KNEZOVICH	Imotski	1912
	Rascane	1935
KOBOVICH	Oskorusno (Peljesac)	1938
KOGOJ	Vel. Jablje (?)	1925
KOKICH	Podgora	1903
KOLOMAR	Sumartin (Brac)	1912
KOLOVRAT	Viganj (Peljesac)	1936

KORLJAN	Gradac	1903
KORSMI	-	1913
KOSLJER	Gdinj (Hvar)	arrived 1957
KOSOVICH	Zaostrog	1902
KOSTANICH	Drvenik	1911
KOVACIC(H)	-	1913
KOVACEVICH	Rascane	1923
	Imotski	1922
KRAJANCICH	Cara (Korcula)	arrived 1966
KRALJEVICH	Komin (Neretva)	1903
	Grab (Vrgorac)	1911
	Ljubuski	1922
KRILETICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1905
KRISKOVICH	Novi	1902
KRISTOFF	Kruchevo, Macedonia	1922
KRIVICH	Poljica	1912
	Vrgorac	1912
KRSINICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1929
KRVAVAC	Gabela (Neretva)	1928
KRZANICH	Podgora	1908
KUCLJA	Vrnik (Korcula)	arrived 1961
KULJISH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1924
	Vis	1938
KULUZ	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1908
KUMARICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1907
KUMRICH	Igrane	1902
	Makarska	1902
KUNAC(H)	Podgora	1907
KUNICICH	Lessina [Hvar ?]	1902
KURTA	Podgora	1907
	Makarska	1904
KURTIC(H)	Podgora	1936
KURTOVICH	Poljica	1926
KUZMANICH	Vis	1908
KUZMICICH	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	1928
LALICH	Tucepi	1911
LAURIC(H)	Humac (Hvar)	1938
LAUS	D. Vrucica (Peljesac)	1938
	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1909
	Cara (Korcula)	1930
LAVAS	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1909
LAVUS	Pupnat (Korcula)	1928
	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1923
LENDICH	Rascane	1908
	Kozica	1911
	Smokvica (Korcula ?)	1923
LEPETICH	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1904
LETICA	Podgora	1905
LINCIR	Vis	1908
LIPANOVICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1903
	Korcula	1903
LISA	Dubrovnik	1901
LOJPUR	Gabela (Neretva)	1914
LONCAR	Zagvozd (nr. Imotski)	1928
LOUSICH	Tussich, Trieste	1900

LOVICH	Igrane	1905
LOVRICH	Podgora	1939
	Mali Losinj (Losinj)	1922
	Racisce (Korcula)	arrived 1956
LOZICA	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1938
LOZINA	Zivogosce	1913
LUBINA	Runovic (Imotski)	1907
	Imotski	1912
LUCICH	Podgora	1925
LUCIJETICH	Podgora	1906
LUIS	Smokvica (Korcula)	1907
LUKAN	Solta (island nr. Brac)	1910
LUKETINA	Tucepi	1922
LUKICH	Slepa (?)	1906
LUKIN	Selve (?)	1903
	Vrgorac	1909
LUKSICH	Vis	arrived 1965
LULICH	Igrane	1905
	Zivogosce	1914
LUNJEVICH	Podgora	1902
LUPIS	Nakovan (Peljesac)	1896
	Vrucica (Peljesac)	arrived 1958
LUS(S)ICH	Gdinj (Hvar)	1912
	St. Juan (?)	1893
MACALO	Sebenico [Sibenik]	1925
MA(J)ICH	Zavojane	1908
MAJOR	Neretvaostina (?)	1904
MAJSTROVICH	Dragljane	1924
MANDICH	Gradac	1908
MARAS	Kozica	1908
	Vrgorac	1925
	Makarska	1909
MARCICH	Podgora	arrived 1961
MARELICH	Cara (Korcula)	1907
MAREVICH	Podrunjica (?)	1925
MARICH	Mostar, Bosnia-Hercegovina	1905
MARICICH	Novi	1932
MARIJAN	Pitve (?)	1906
	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	arrived 1966
MARINICH	Slivno (nr. Split/nr. Imotski?)	1937
MARINKOVICH	Dol (Brac)	1903
	Donji Humac (Brac)	1922
MARINOVICH	Podgora	1903
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1913
	Blato	1908
MARKOVINA	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1906
MARKOTICH	Vrgorac	1903
	Makarska	1905
MARSICH	Stilja	1908
	Vrgorac	1911
	Podgora	1923
MARTICICH	Podaca	1913
MARTIN	Vis	1884
MARTINAC	Vrgorac	1911
MARTINOVICH	Donji Humac (Brac)	1907

(Martinovich)	Blato (Korcula)	1908
MARUSICH	Brist	1908
	Gradac	1904
MASICH	Stilja	1905
MASKOVICH	-	1922
MASTILICA	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1910
MASTROVICH	Makarska	1923
MATAGA	-	1913
MATAS	Lecevica (nr. Split)	1911
MATEJCICH	Novi	1930
MATELJAN	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	1908
MATESICH	Novi	1914
MATICH	Racisce (Korcula)	1905
	Vrgorac	1913
MATIJASEVICH	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1903
	Drasnice	1905
	Baska Voda	1928
	Loviste (Peljesac)	arrived 1965
MATIJEVICH	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1903
MATKOVICH	Korcula	1905
	Zavojane	1909
	Ravca	1928
	Vrbanj (Hvar)	1909
MATOSEVICH	-	1911
MATULICH	Dol (Brac)	1886
	Makarska	1912
MATULOVICH	Zmovo (Korcula)	1913
MATUSICH	Starigrad (Hvar)	1938
MATUTINOVICH	Zaostrog	1903
	Drvenik	1903
MATUTOVICH	Korcula	1908
MAZURAN	Nakovan (Peljesac)	1934
MEDAK	Komin (Neretva)	1906
MEKALOVICH	Igrane	1914
MELVAN	Utor (nr. Split)	arrived 1967
MENDAS	Makar (nr. Makarska)	1903
MERCEP	Podgora	1913
MIAJEVICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1907
MIHALJEVICH	Igrane	1905
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1926
	Tucepi	1912
	Vrgorac	1908
	Grab (Vrgorac)	1907
	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1911
	Orebich (Peljesac)	arrived 1966
MIHOTICH	Podgora	1924
MIJOCEVICH	Igrane	1903
MIKALOVICH	Igrane	1903
MIKOZ	Buccari [Bakar]	1899
MILAT-SAVLIJA	Blato	1928
MILETIC(H)	Crikvenica	arrived 1967
MILICH	Podgora	1907
MILICICH	Podgora	1904

MILINA	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1924
MILOS	Zupa	1913
MIOCEVICH	Vrgorac	1908
	Kozica	1923
MIOSICH	Brist	1913
MIRKO	Gradac	1907
	Viganj (Peljesac)	1906
	Korcula	1906
MISA	Podgora	1923
	Makarska	1923
MISICH	Podgora	arrived 1953
MISUR	Vrlika (nr. Sinj)	arrived 1953
MITROVICH	Krusevicama (?)	1925
MILIKOTA	Podgora	1939
MODRICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1906
MOHOVICH	Moschenza (?)	1884
MOLOSOVICH	Cutti (?)	1902
MOROVICH	(? Drasnica)	(?)
MOSCOVETI (MOSKOVITA)	Lissa [Vis]	1906
MRAVICICH	Tucepi	1923
MRKOSICH (MRKUSICH)	Podgora	1913
MRSICH	Podgora	1913
MRZLJAK	Novi	1924
MUCALO	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1903
MUDROVICH	Novi	1938
MURTAKOVICH	Zavojane	1907
MUSHAN	Gradina (vrh nr. Imotski ?)	1910
MUSIC	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1933
MUSIN	Pupnat (Korcula)	1928
MUSTAPICH	Grab (Vrgorac)	1903
	Gabela (Neretva)	arrived 1961
NESANOVICH	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1903
NIKOLICH	Metkovich (Neretva)	1907
	Runjica (?)	1908
	Momic (Neretva)	1922
NIKOLIN	Korcula	1940
NIZICH	Vrgorac	1914
	Dusina	arrived 1954
NOBILO	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1903
NOLA	Podgora	1904
	Racisce (Korcula)	1905
NOVAK/NOVAKOVICH	Sumartin (Brac)	1923
NUICH	Rascane	1924
	Imotski	1913
OBUGLIEN	Dubrovnik	1870
OREBICH	Kuna (Peljesac)	1923
ORLANDINI	Dracevica (Brac)	arrived 1967
OROVICH	Iz Mali (island of Iz, nr. Zadar)	arrived 1966
ORSULICH	Komin (Neretva)	1908
OSTOJA	Blato	1904
	Dol (Brac)	1928
OZICH	Rascane	1908
	Imotski	1908

PALADIN	Novi	1940
PAMICH	Nakovan (Peljesac)	arrived 1959
PANICH	Makarska	arrived 1961
PANTICH	Dubona, Serbia	1924
PANZICH	Rascane	1913
	Imotski	1925
PAPA (PAPIN)	Podgora	1923
PAPICH	Drasnice	1928
	Crikvenica	arrived 1958
PARETOVICH	Jelsa (Hvar)	1936
PARUN	Igrane	1947
PASALICH	Tucepi	1909
	Makarska	1927
PAUNOVICH	Makarska	arrived 1956
PAUSINA	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1901
PAVICH	Kozica	1911
	Zaostrog	1911
PAVICICH	Vrbanj (Hvar)	1904
PAVLAK	Vrgorac	1948
PAVLINOVICH	Podgora	1925
PAVLOVICH	Gabela (Neretva)	1913
	Veljica (?)	1905
	Vrgorac	1938
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1940
PEC(H)AR	Brist	1907
	Podaca	1909
	Podgora	1938
	Drvenik	arrived 1957
PECOR	Zaostrog	1907
PECOTICH	Smokvica (Korcula)	arrived 1966
PEKO	Komin (Neretva)	1921
PELAC(H)	Drasnice	1929
PERDIJA	Pupnat (Korcula)	1908
PERICH	Zivogosce	1928
	Zavojane	1905
PERICICH	Novi	1905
PERJANIK	Pupnat (Korcula)	1928
PERUCICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1948
PERVAN	Kokorici (Vrgorac)	1928
	Vrgorac	1911
	Drvenik	1948
	Makarska	1908
PESELY	Smokvica (Korcula)	1903
PETCOVICH	-	1906
PETRICEVICH	Zivogosce	1908
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1908
PETRICH	Starigrad (Hvar)	1903
PETRINOVICH	Novi	1923
PI(J)ACUN	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1903
PICULO	Pupnat (Korcula)	1908
PISKULICH	Novi	arrived 1952
PIVAC	Podgora	1904
	Vrgorac	1913
	Zavojane	1908

PLANJAR	Gdinj (Hvar)	1913
POBRICA	Igrane	1908
PODUJE	Vis	arrived 1960
POLICH	Vrgorac	1911
POLLYA (POLJA ?)	Dubrovnik	1887
POPOVICH	Gdinj (Hvar)	1899
POSA	Pupnat (Korcula)	1904
POSCICH	Volosca [Volosko nr. Rijeka]	1899
POSINKOVICH	Dol (Brac)	1903
PRGOMET	Tucepi	1912
PRIBICEVICH	Zaostrog	1906
PRIMI	- , Hvar	1935
PRIMORAC	Vrgorac	1912
PRLACH	Drasnice	1913
PRODAN	Veliko Brdo (nr. Makarska)	1905
PRUG	Igrane	1913
PUCAR	Kozica	1913
PUHALOVICH	Vis	1913
PUHARICH	Makar (nr. Makarska)	1905
PUPICH	- , Hercegovina	1896
RABADAN	Blato (Korcula)	arrived 1961
RACICH	Cacak, Serbia	1911
RADAIC(H)	Racisce (Korcula)	1932
RADALJ	Vlaka (nr. Vrgorac)	1903
	Vrgorac	1903
	Podgora	1906
RADATIECH) ?	Novi	1895
RADETICH)	Novi	1922
RADICH	Vrgorac	1912
	Kotezi (nr. Vrgorac)	1928
	Sumartin (Brac)	1923
	Makarska	1905
RADINOVICH	Radonic (nr. Drnis)	1907
RADISICH	Vis	1906
RADOJKOVICH	Podgora	1903
	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1923
	Gdinj (Hvar)	1948
	Korcula	1911
RADONICH	Podgora	1903
	Vrgorac	1912
RADOVAN	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1910
RADOVANCICH	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1923
RADOVANOVICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1925
	Pupnat (Korcula)	1928
RADOVINICH	Starigrad (Hvar)	1890
RAIC	Gradac	1903
RAINERI	Orebich (Peljesac)	1904
RAKICH	Vrgorac	1908
	Kotezi (nr. Vrgorac)	1937
RAKUSICH	Dusina, Bosnia	1907
RANCICH	Krupoca, Serbia	1925
RAOS	Vrgorac	1903
RASTOVICH	Vis	1939
RAVLICH	Kozice	1904

(Ravlich)	Poljica	1908
	Drasnice	1926
RESETAR	Vrgorac	1906
	Orah (Vrgorac)	1908
RIBAROVICH	Makarska	1906
ROCCHI	Vis	1924
ROGLICH	Zupa	1908
	Vrgorac	1904
ROICH	Dol (Brac)	1928
ROKELA	Donji Humac (Brac)	1910
ROSANDICH	Podgora	1908
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	arrived 1959
ROSCICH	Baska Voda	1928
RUBESA	Makarska	arrived 1959
RUBICH	Katuni (nr. Imotski)	1906
RUBIN	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	arrived 1966
RUDELJ	Igrane	arrived 1965
RUDEZ	Gradac	1904
	Kozica	arrived 1966
RUSKOVICH	-	1900
RUZICH	Novi	1905
SABICH	Drvenik	1913
SAIN	Pupnat (Korcula)	1913
SAL(L)E	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1903
SALE-KANCICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1927
SALINOVICH	Vrgorac	1907
	Dusina, Bosnia	1912
SAMICH	Opuzen (Neretva)	arrived 1964
SANKO	Podgora	1908
SAPICH	Pupnat (Korcula)	1913
SARCICH	Mali Losinj (Losinj)	1905
SARDELICH	Postrana (Korcula)	1940
SARICH	Tucepi	1912
	Orahovlje (?)	1908
	Racisce (Korcula)	1910
	Trieste	1899
SASUNICH	Verbosia (?)	1907
SCANSIE	Sumartin (Brac)	1903
SCIRKOVICH	Vis	1947
SCOPINICH	Lussin [Losinj]	1883
SEBALJA	Novi	1938
SEGEDIN	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1905(pos. 1898)
(SEGETIN)	Pupnat (Korcula)	1913(pos. 1898)
(SHEGEDIN)	Smokvica (Korcula)	1948
	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1904
SELAK	Rascane	1911
SELICH	Korcula	1902
SENTSCH	Rijeka	1902
SEPAROVICH	Blato (Korcula)	arrived 1963
SEPUT	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1910
	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1913
SEPUTICH	Gdinj (Hvar)	arrived 1957
SERJANOVICH	Jelsa (Hvar)	1905
SERKOVICH	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1936

SESTAN	Korcula	1909
SESTANOVICH	Lumbarda (Korcula)	1929
SESTO	Tucepi	1923
SETKA	Desne (Neretva)	1937
SEVELJ	Tucepi	arrived 1954
SHINE	Pupnat (Korcula)	1925
SILICH	Korcula	1904
	Racisce (Korcula)	1925
SIMICH	Tucepi	1912(pos. 1894)
(SIMMICH ?)	Igrane	1914
SIMOTICH	-	1882
SIMUNDICH	Loree [Lovrec, nr. Imotski]	1905
	Opanci (nr. Imotski)	1908
SIMUNOVICH	Zaostrog	1935
SINGER	Vukovar, Croatia	1874
SINKOVICH	Gradac	1903
SISARICH	Podgora	1923
SKARICA	Zivogosce	1938
SKARPA	Starigrad (Hvar)	1938
SKENDER	Zivogosce	1938
SKOKANDICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1908
SKORLICH	Iz Veli (Drvenik Veli nr. Split)	arrived 1965
SKORPUT	Orahovlje (?)	1907
SKULAN	Korcula	1903
SKURLA	Kuna (Peljesac)	1903
SLAKO	Drvenik	1922
SLAVICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1924
SMOLJAN	-	1939
SMUNDIN	Cherso [Cres]	1912
SOICH	- , Hercegovina	1924
SOKAL	Rascane	arrived 1967
SOKOLICH	Novi	1923
SOLJAK	Vrgorac	1909
SOLJAN	Starigrad (Hvar)	1904
SORICH	Vis	1913
SOSICH	Ljubuski	1913
	Igrane	1923
SPILONJA	Ston Dolni [Ston, Peljesac ?]	1913
SRHOJ	Bogomolje (Hvar)	1903
SRZENTIC	Gdinj (Hvar)	1903
STANCICH	Dol (Brac)	1903
STANICH	Trieste	1886
STANICICH	Baska Voda	1905
STANISICH	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1905
	Pupnat (Korcula)	1938
STANISH	Pupnat (Korcula)	1922
STANKOVICH	Vrgorac	1908
	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1923
STEPANCICH	Grizane (nr. Crikvenica)	1902
STIGLICH	Buccari [Bakar]	1904
STIPICH	-	1904
STIPICICH	-	1907
STORAN	- , Serbia	1938

(Ravlich)	STRETZ	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1890
	STUK	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1904
RESETAR	STULICH	Kozica	arrived 1960
	SUCICH	Zaostrog	1907
RIBAROVIC	SUHOR	Orebich (Peljesac)	1905
ROCCHI	SULENTA	Drasnice	1906
ROGLICH	SUMICH	Podgora	1905
		Rogotin (Neretva)	1906
ROICH	SUNDE	Podgora	1905
ROKELA	SUNKO	Split	arrived 1959
ROSANDICH	SUNJICH	Rogotin (Neretva)	1914
	SURJAN	Blato	1904
ROSCICH	SUSAK	Gabela (Neretva)	1928
RUBESA	SUTICH	Gradac	1906
RUBICH	SUVALJKO	Zavojane	1905
RUBIN		Stilja	1911
RUDELJ		Vrgorac	1913
RUDEZ	TABAROCHIA	Mali Losinj (Losinj)	1902
	TADICH	Vis	1881
RUSKOVICH	TAFRA	Split	arrived 1965
RUZICH	TAGLIAFERRO	Buccari [Bakar]	1912
SABICH	TALAIC(H)	Makarska	1938
SAIN	TAL(I)JANCICH	Igrane	1914
SAL(L)E	TASOVAC	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1913
SALE-KANC	TESVIC(H)	Trpovice (?)	1903
SALINOVIC		Trpanj/Vrucica (Peljesac)	arrived 1962
	THIAN	Buccari [Bakar]	1890
SAMICH	TOHOR (POSA-TOHOR)	Pupnat (Korcula)	1912
SANKO	TOLGIN	Vrgorac	1903
SAPICH	TOLICH	Vrgorac	1906
SARCICH		Radonic	1924
SARDELICH	TOLJ	Vrgorac	1905
SARICH		Stilja	1910
	TOMANOVICH	Cattaro [Kotor]	1909
	TOMAS	Tucepi	1907
	TOMASEVICH	Rosarnido (?)	1926
	TOMICH	Viganj (Peljesac)	1923
		Cara (Korcula)	1926
SASUNICH		Vis	1903
SCANSIE		Jelsa (Hvar)	1938
SCIRKOVIC		Gdinj (Hvar)	1932
SCOPINICH	TOMIN (URLICH-TOMIN)	Drasnice	1914
SEBALJA	TONICH	Ljubuski	1907
SEGEDIN	T(O/U)RKAR	Makarska	1903
(SEGETIN)	TOTICH	Kuna (Peljesac)	1903
(SHEGEDI	TRBUHOVICH	Gdinj (Hvar)	1911
	TRLIN	Ravca (Vrgorac)	1928
SELAK	TURICH	Vrgorac	1903
SELICH	TVRDEICH (TVRDICH)	Zrnovo (Korcula)	1924
SENTSCH		Cara (Korcula)	1939
SEPAROVIC		Pupnat (Korcula)	arrived 1960
SEPUT	TVRDELICH	-	1936
	TVRDEVICH	Korcula	1934
SEPUTICH	UJDUR (UJDAR)	Prapatnica	1912
SERJANOV		Gradac	1903
SERKOVIC			

UKICH	Prvic (Sibenik)	1948
UNKOVICH	Racisce (Korcula)	1903
URLICH	Drasnice	1902
	Makarska	1903
VEGAR	Ravca (Vrgorac)	1913
VEL(L)A	Podgora	1905
	Makarska	1896
VEZA	Zivogosce	1902
VEZICH	Brist	1908
VICCOVICH	Cetinje, Montenegro	1887
VICELICH	Nakovan (Peljesac)	1930
VIDAK	Makarska	1908
VIDOSEVICH	-	1903
VIDOVICH	Skulje (?)	1928
	Vis	1946
VIDULICH	Mali Losinj (Losinj)	1890
VILICICH	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1910
VINAC	Zaostrog	1922
VINETICH	Trieste	1870
VIOLICH	Dubrovnik	1877
VISCOVICH	Istria	1882
VISKOVICH	Drasnice	1911
	Tucepi	1903
	Gdinj (Hvar)	1923
	Trpanj/Vrucica (Peljesac)	1905
VISTICA	Zubuska (?)	1905
VITAGLICH	Comisa (?)	1887
VITALI	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1908
VITASOVICH	Drvenik	1935
VITLE	Tucepi	1925
VLAHOVICH	Baac [Brac ?]	1923
	Komin (Neretva)	1928
VLASICH	Pupnat (Korcula)	1909
VLATKOVICH	Komin (Neretva)	1906
VLAVICH	Komin (Neretva)	1906
VOCASOVITCH (VOCASSAVICH VUCASOVICH)	Kotor	1886
VODANOVICH	Podgora	1909
	Tucepi	1911
VOJKOVICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1908
VRAGNIZAN	Starigrad (Hvar)	1871
VRANJESH	Podgora	1911
	Makarska	1909
	Kozica	1948
VRANKOVICH	Dol (Brac)	1937
VRDOLJAK	Ostrvica (nr. Omis)	1913
VRSALJKO	Podgora	1911
	Makarska	1909
VUCICH	Vid (Neretva)	1923
VUCKO	Poljica	1908
VUINAC	Zaostrog	1938
	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1946
VUJCICH (VUICICH)	Vrgorac	1907
	Dragljane	1924

(Vujcich (Vuicich))	Orah (Vrgorac)	1910
	Makarska	1906
VUJEVICH	Komin (Neretva)	1948
VUJICICH	Vrgorac	1907
	Vlaka	1908
VUJNOVICH	Sucuraj (Hvar)	1906
VUKOSAV	Vrgorac	1907
VUKOTA	Dubrovnik	1882
VUKOTICH	- , Montenegro	1903
VUKOVICH	Vrgorac	1906
	Makarska	1905
VUKOSICH	? , Bosnia	1922
(WUKUSICH)	Orah (Vrgorac)	1908
VUKSICH	Kokorici (Vrgorac)	1928
	Vrgorac	1914
	Ravca	1912
VULETA	Vrgorac	1903
	Vlaka (Vrgorac)	1914
VULETICH	Kozica	1912
VULINOVICH	Podgora	1914
VULJAN	Sucuraj (Hvar)	arrived 1962
WHITE (BILICH)	Zajrud/Zagruda (?)	1902
ZANETICH	Korcula	1903
ZANICH	Novi	1938
ZANINOVICH	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	1908
ZARNICH	Makarska	1905
ZDERICH	Grucenik	1925
ZEATECH	Lagosta [Lastovo island]	1885
ZEGURA	Vrucica (Peljesac)	1910
ZENCICH	Zastrazisce (Hvar)	1908
ZENKOVICH	Volosca [Volosko, nr. Rijeka]	1946
ZIBILICH	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1903
ZIDICH	Zavojane	1908
	Gradac	1913
ZIMICH	Trpanj (Peljesac)	1913
ZIVKOVICH	Vrgorac	1905
ZIVJUZICH	Sela Sipovaca (?)	1909
ZLATAR	Supetar (Brac)	1906
ZUPPICICH	-	1898
ZURACH	Korcula	1913
ZURICH	Komin (Neretva)	1923
ZUVICH	Dracevica (Brac)	1923
ZVANOVICH	Novi	1926

Part B

Family Names of Post-World War Two Arrivals - Displaced Persons, Refugees and Others

Family Name	Origin	Date of Arrival
ADZICH	Serbia	1962
ANDJELICH	Serbia	1951
ANDRICH	Bosnia	1966
ANDRIJOLICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1965
ANGELKOVICH	Bosnia	1951
ANICH	Croatia	1960
ANTICH	-	1965
ANTONOF	Macedonia	1951
ARHANICH	Croatia	1961
ARLOV	Croatia	1951
BABNIK	Slovenia	1962
BACAK	Croatia	1966
BAJRAM	Montenegro	1951
BALDAS	Croatia	1960
BALICEVAC	Serbia	1965
BARAN	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1962
BARBALICH	Croatia	1951
BARBIR	-	1963
BARETA	-	1963
BAUER	Serbia	1951
BECICH	Croatia	1967
BEGOVICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
BELTSEF	Macedonia	1951
BENCICH	Croatia	1951
BERKOVICH	Croatia	1949
BEROS	Croatia	1961
BESTEL	Croatia	1967
BEZNEC	Slovenia	1951
BIJUKLICH	Croatia	1960
BINIOS	Serbia	1951

BLAGOJEV	Bosnia	1962
BLATNIK	Slovenia	1949
BOGIAT	Montenegro	1951
BOGOEVA	Macedonia	1965
BOGOGIEVITS	Macedonia	1951
BOLMANAC	Serbia	1960
BOSKOVICH	Serbia	1950
BOZHINOF	Macedonia	1951
BOZICH	Serbia	1949
BOZINOVICH	Serbia	1951
BOZOVICH	Montenegro	1951
BRACANOV	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
BRATINA	Slovenia	1966
BRCKOVICH	-	1961
BRDJANOVICH	Bosnia	1962
BRESAZ	Croatia	1951
BROCICH	Serbia	1961
BRUMMER	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1957
BUDIMIR	Croatia	1952
BULOVICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1965
BUZLETA	Croatia	1962
CANADZICH	Croatia	1951
CEH	Croatia	1949
CHRISTOFSKI	Macedonia	1951
COLARICH	Slovenia	1951
CUDICH	Croatia	1962
CUKOR	Croatia	1967
CULIAT	Croatia	1951
CULICH (TSOULITS)	Croatia (?)	1951
CURIN	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1954
CVETANOVSKI) ?	Macedonia	1951
CVETKOVSKI)	Macedonia	1966
CVIJANOVICH	Croatia	1965
DAVIDOVICH	-	1965
DEKICH	Serbia	1951
DELIJA	Croatia	1963
DEREANI	Croatia	1950
DIMITRIJEVICH	Serbia	1951
	-	1965
DIMITROF	Macedonia	1959
DJOKICH	-	1961
DJORDJEVICH	Macedonia	1951
DOBERSEK	Slovenia	1951
DOBOVOCNIK	Slovenia	1951
DRAGICEVICH	Croatia	1960
DRASKOVICH	Serbia	1951
DRONJAK	Bosnia	1951
DUMICICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
DUNATOV	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
ERAKOVICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1962
FAJGL	Croatia	1960
FARAC	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1958
FERHATBEGOVICH	Bosnia	1951

FETTICH(-FRANKHEIM)	Slovenia	1967
FILIPCICH	Croatia	1966
FILIPOVICH	Serbia	1950
FIRKATOVICH	Bosnia	1951
FRANZ	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1961
FRKA	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
FUCKALA	Croatia	1967
GABERSCEK	Croatia	1951
GACINA	Bosnia	1956
GANICH	Serbia	1951
GATARA	-	1960
GEORGEVICH	Montenegro	1951
GHEORGIEVIC	Serbia	1951
GIANNEF	Macedonia	1951
GIOURITITSH	Serbia	1951
GLAVAS	Croatia	1966
GLISICH	Slovenia	1951
GORJANC	Slovenia	1958
GREGO	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
GREGORICH	Croatia	1960
GRUBJESICH	Croatia	1962
GUINA	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1964
GUSJENAC	Bosnia	1964
GVOZDEMOVICH	Bosnia	1950
GYORI (GJORI ?)	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1962
HAJEK	Croatia	1951
HALAS	Croatia	1951
HALILOVICH	Bosnia	1951
HASANI	Macedonia	1951
HAVEL	Croatia	1962
HEGEDUS	Croatia	1951
HORACEK	Croatia	1962
HORVAT	Slovenia	1962
	Serbia	1967
HRESCAK	-	1951
HULLA	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
HUSA	Serbia	1966
ILICH	Serbia	1950
ILIEF	Macedonia	1951
IVANCICH	-	1951
JAGUSICH	-	1963
JAHRBACHER	Slovenia	1952
JAKOB	-	1963
JANCER	-	1949
JANDRICICH	Croatia	1960
JANKOVICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
JELIK	Croatia	1949
JELISEJ	Croatia	1961
JEVREMOVICH	Serbia	1950
JONCEFSKI	Macedonia	1962
JOVANOVICH	Serbia	1950
JUSOVICH	Macedonia	1951
KANGRGA	Croatia	1951
KAPETANOVICH	Slovenia	1960
KEFALI	Macedonia	1951

KELENC	Slovenia	1950
	Croatia	1951
KEREMESTEFSKI	Macedonia	1951
KERSIKLA	Croatia	1962
KESKIN	Macedonia	1951
KEZUNOVICH	Bosnia	1964
KIRBISCH	Slovenia	1951
KLANCICH	Slovenia	1951
KLAUS	Slovenia	1950
KLJAKOVIC-GASPICH	Croatia	1960
KNEZ	Croatia	1951
KOCAR	Slovenia	1950
KOCIS	Croatia	1962
KOLICH	Serbia	1952
KOPSE	Slovenia	1960
KOSKOVICH	Croatia	1960
KOSOVICH	Bosnia	1951
KOSTADINOVSKI	Macedonia	1964
KOSUTA	Slovenia	1966
KOVAC	Slovenia (?)	1964
KOVACEVIC	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1951
KRALJEVICH	Croatia	1951
KRASNICI	Serbia	1951
KRAVCENKO	Serbia	1951
KREMICH	Serbia	1950
KRISTOFIC	Bosnia	1961
KRIVEC	Croatia	1962
KROSELJ	Slovenia	1960
KRUSELJ	Bosnia	1961
KUCICH	Bosnia	1951
KULAS	Croatia	1960
KURIDZA	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1964
KUST	Croatia	1959
LAUS	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1950
	Slovenia	1951
LAGANIS	Croatia	1962
LAZAREVICH	Serbia	1951
LETFUS	Serbia (Vojvodina ?)	1949
LIBY	Croatia	1961
LILIAK	Croatia	1956
LOBNIK	Slovenia	1950
LOVRENSCAK	Croatia	1965
LUCKA	-	1962
LUKICH	Serbia	1950
MADJAR	Serbia	1965
MAHNE	Croatia	1962
MAJBOROBA	Serbia	1951
MAKSIMOVICH	Serbia	1950
MALENCICH	Bosnia	1963
MANDECICH	(Trieste)	1951
MANDRES	-	1960
MARACICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1950
MARKOVICH	Macedonia	1951
MATJAS	Serbia	1951

MATKER	Slovenia	1961
MATTIASICH	Croatia	1951
MEDVEDAROVICH	-	1949
MEHMETOVICH	Serbia	1951
MELING	Slovenia	1960
MERTZANOPOULOS	Serbia	1951
MESARICH	Croatia	1950
MIHAILOF	Macedonia	1951
MIHAJLOVICH	Serbia	1950
MILANOVICH	Serbia	1950
MILICH	Serbia	1960
MILICH-STRKALJ	Croatia (?)	1952
MILITS	Serbia	1951
MILJKOVICH	Serbia	1966
MILKOVITS	Serbia	1951
MILOSAVLJSVICH	Serbia	1950
MILOSEVICH	Serbia	1950
MILOVANOVICH	Serbia	1951
MISICA	Slovenia	1951
MITROVICH	Serbia	1964
MLADENOVICH	Serbia	1950
MOLKUC	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1957
MRAVLINCICH	Croatia	1965
MUHAREM	Serbia (Kosmet)	1963
MUSOVICH	Bosnia	1954
NAJDENICH	Croatia	1960
NEDELJKOV	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1950
NEIDHART	Croatia	1966
NEMET	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1966
NIKOLICH	Serbia	1950
NIKOLOF	Macedonia	1951
NIKOLOV(SKI)	Macedonia	1962
NOVAK	Slovenia	1951
NOVAKOVICH	Macedonia	1951
OCHKAS	Serbia	1951
OGRIN	Croatia	1960
OLOMANOVICH	Macedonia	1951
OMEROVICH	Bosnia	1951
OSTOJICH	Serbia	1950
PACEVSKI	Macedonia	1951
PALICH	Serbia	1965
PALKOVICH	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1962
PANDEL	Croatia	1962
PANTOVICH	Slovenia (? Serbia ?)	1951
PAPADINITRIOU	Macedonia	1951
PAPP	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1963
PASARICH	Croatia	1966
PAULETICH	Croatia	1962
PAVLICH	-	1952
PAVLICEVICH	-	1966
PAVLOV	Macedonia	1962
PAVLOVICH	Serbia	1950
PEPICH	Serbia	1965
PERGER	Slovenia	1951
PERINI	Croatia	1954

PERISICH	Serbia	1966
PERKOVICH	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1960
	Croatia	1963
PEROSEVICH	Macedonia	1951
PETRICEVICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1967
PETROVICH	Serbia	1949
PETROVSKI	Macedonia	1960
PFUNDSTEIN	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1954
PLAVSA	Serbia	1966
POCRNICH	Croatia	1965
POPHRISTOF	Macedonia	1951
POPOVICH	Serbia	1950
POTOCKI	Croatia	1950
PRAHOVICH	Croatia	1951
PREDIKAKA	Slovenia	1951
PRELJEVICH	Serbia	1951
PRIMOZICH	Slovenia	1952
PROCKOV	Macedonia	1951
PRODAN	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1950
PULJAN	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1960
PUPICH	Croatia	1960
PUSICH	Serbia	1950
RADAICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1965
RADEKA	Croatia	1964
RADOVANOVICH	Serbia	1964
	Montenegro	1965
RAKOVICH	Montenegro	1950
RATKAJEC	Croatia	1951
RAUSEVICH	Croatia	1963
RISTICH	Serbia	1950
	Bosnia	1951
RITOSSA	Croatia	1959
ROZMAN	Slovenia	1951
RUKOV	Macedonia	1967
RUKAVINA	Croatia	1950
RUPCICH	Croatia	1961
RUZICH	Croatia	1950
SAJN	Croatia	1966
SAMSA	Serbia	1951
SANDOR	Croatia	1963
SAVICH	Bosnia	1950
SCOPAS	Croatia	1955
SEDER	Croatia	1967
SESEK	Slovenia	1958
SETEK	Croatia	1963
SHOPOV	Macedonia	1951
SIC(SICH ?)	Croatia	1960
SIMUNOVICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1950
SIPOS	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1950
SKAPIN	Slovenia	1960
SKOBERNE	Bosnia	1951
SKRL	Slovenia	1950
SONNTAG	Bosnia	1950
SORAK	Croatia	1951
SPASICH	Serbia	1950

SRZICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1962
STANAREVICH	Bosnia	1951
STANKOVICH	Croatia	1952
STANOVICH	Serbia	1951
STERJEVICH	Macedonia	1951
STEVICH	Serbia	1950
STICOVICH	Croatia	1951
STILINOVICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1964
STIMAC	-	1963
STOIMENOF	Macedonia	1951
STOJANOV	Macedonia	1951
STOJANOVICH	Serbia	1950
	Slovenia	1956
STOJICH	Bosnia	1964
STOJKIVICH (STOJKOVICH ?)	Serbia	1950
STOSSI(T)CH	Macedonia	1951
STRISCHATSCHENKO	Slovenia	1949
STRMCNIK	Slovenia	1960
SULEJMANOVICH	Serbia	1950
SUSSICH	Croatia	1951
SUTLOVICH	Croatia	1960
TATALOVICH	Croatia	1951
TIMTSCHENKO	-	1952
TISOT	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1963
TODOROVICH	Serbia	1951
	Montenegro	1954
TOHOLJ	Croatia	1950
TOMANDL	Bosnia (Serbia ?)	1951
TOMASICH	Croatia	1964
TOMICH	Slovenia (?)	1949
	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1959
TOT	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1960
TRAJKOVSKI	Macedonia	1951
TRBOJEVICH	Croatia	1950
TRESSI	Macedonia	1951
TRUBARAC	Serbia	1962
TRUMICH	Serbia	1950
TUBICH	Bosnia	1954
TUKAC	Croatia	1963
TULICH	Bosnia	1961
TURK	-	1951
TUSEVLJAK	Bosnia	1966
TUTA	Slovenia	1951
UDILJAK	Bosnia	1962
UKROPINA	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1962
URLICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1959
VADNJAL	Slovenia	1951
VALENTICH	Croatia	1951
VASILJEVICH	Serbia	1959
VELICH	Bosnia	1960
VELIKICH	Serbia	1950
VELIMIROVICH	Serbia	1950
VELLENICH	Croatia	1951
VICENTICH	Bosnia	1949

VIDANOVICH	-	1960
VITKOVICH	Croatia	1960
VLASKALICH	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1960
VOJSKA	Slovenia	1951
VOJTEH	Serbia	1950
VRABEC	Serbia	1951
VRACAR	Serbia	1962
VRZINA	Bosnia	1961
VUJOVICH	Serbia	1950
VUKCEVICH	Montenegro	1950
VUKICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1951
VUKOJEVICH	Croatia	1966
ZABICH (ZAVITZ)	Serbia (Vojvodina)	1951
ZANETICH	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1951
ZARKOV	Serbia	1962
ZEC	Croatia	1967
ZENKOVSKI (ZENDJOVSKI: ZENGOVSKI)	Macedonia	1966
ZIMAKALO	Croatia (Dalmatia)	1951
ZIVADINOVICH	Serbia	1950
ZIVKOVICH	Serbia (?)	1951
ZOEF	Macedonia	1951
ZUPANCICH	Serbia (?)	1951

Appendix 2

THE ELINGAMITE AFFAIR

On Sunday 9 November 1902, while on a regular run from Sydney to Auckland, the Huddart Parker steamship Elingamite ran ashore (in thick fog) on West Island in the Three Kings Group. The ship sank in twenty minutes. A total of 45 lives were lost from drowning or exposure, the total comprising 28 of the 136 passengers and 17 of the 58 crew members. Also lost was a consignment of specie valued at £17,300 - a mixture of silver coin and gold half sovereigns despatched by the Bank of New South Wales to branches in New Zealand. Several attempts were made to recover the Elingamite's 'treasure' (with further loss of life) before a modest level of success was attained in 1968 (see Doak 1969).

Of particular interest here is the fact that eleven of the passengers were 'Austrians' (Dalmatians) and that all of them were among the survivors. Identified in a poem on the Elingamite by Ante Kosovich (1908, 19-27), five of these men were Mijo Borich and Luka Lunjevich (both of Podgora), Mijo Markotich (of Vrgorac), Jure Pribicevich (of Zaostrog) and Jure Prodan (from Veliko Brdo near Makarska). Some fellow passengers claimed that the 'Austrians' had tried to rush the No. 1 life boat, which was filled with women, that they were forced back and that once they had secured places in other boats a number of them were unco-operative and trouble-some. It was clearly implied that all eleven had survived because they acted without thought for the safety or welfare of others; in other words, they had not

conducted themselves in the manner of English gentlemen. One newspaper columnist, cited by Doak (1969, 74-76), wrote: "I really don't think that there is any of the races of mankind who are as heroic as ourselves in facing the perils of the sea. I have as little national or racial prejudice as any man but the verdict of guilty goes against those Austrians."

Ill-feeling toward the 'Austrians' already existed because of their presence on the gumfields and the Elingamite incident seemed set to exacerbate the situation. Against this background, Mr. Langguth, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, conducted an inquiry into the charges made against the eleven men concerned. He found that not one of the charges made could be substantiated. The strongest testimony came from the Elingamite's Master (Captain Attwood) who forwarded a statement indicating that the 'Austrians' had worked well and willingly, and that he was not aware of anything on their part to call for blame. Langguth, understandably, was quick to point out that "A certain section of the people ... [of New Zealand] take every opportunity of attacking Austrians because they are foreigners" and that "Some Englishmen think no one else but themselves possessed of manly qualities".

What did happen? Speaking (via an interpreter) for his ten countrymen, Jure (George) Pribicevich gave the following account (cited by Doak, 1969, 190-191).

> We were all on deck at 8 a.m., up forward keeping a lookout with the sailors. After the ship struck we assisted in getting the women and children into boats. At this point Captain Attwood ordered the men to man the boats. We tried to get into Boat 1 which was not full, containing ladies, but some of the sailors and firemen pushed us back. Captain Attwood then interfered, saying that the lives of the Austrians should be saved just as much as their own. He gave orders to allow us aboard. Seven of us got into Boat 3, with Captain Attwood, one in Boat 1, and three in Boat 6.... Had Captain Attwood not intervened we would all have had to remain and drown. Some of us jumped into boats already pulling off, others lept into the water and then climbed aboard.
>
> We all come from coastal districts, know how to handle boats and were pleased to handle an oar. There were six oars to a boat, four being used at a time. One of our men, injured in getting aboard, lay under the seats unable to help [Mijo Borich in Boat 1]. We took off our coats to row and bail. We were glad to let the thinly clad English sailors borrow these for a few hours but they refused to return them until the Zealandia rescued us from the Middle King.
>
> On the rocks there was a keg of whisky and some plugs of tobacco but none was allowed for us. The sailors even took our tobacco from us....

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