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Chapter Author: D. J. Cruickshank

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CHAPTER VII

NEW ZEALAND—EXTERNAL MIGRATION.[1]

By

D. J. CRUICKSHANK
Census and Statistics Office, New Zealand.

As a state the area of which is only 103,000 square miles, much of it mountainous and the population of which is not yet one and one-half million, New Zealand has not exercised a major influence on world migration. Its geographical isolation, however, and certain peculiarities in the development of its population lend to its migration statistics, despite their small numbers, an interest and perhaps an importance greater than their size alone would imply.

Discovered by Tasman in 1642, New Zealand remained *terra incognita* until the visit of Captain Cook in 1769. The islands thus brought into notice attracted a small and fluctuating white population of whalers, traders and drifting elements of the South Seas. By 1800 the permanent white population was a mere half-hundred. The aborigines, known as Maoris, were of an unusually fine type. Racially, they were Polynesians whose ancestors had migrated to New Zealand about the twelfth or thirteenth century. They were located principally on the North Island littoral, and numbered at this date perhaps 100,000, but since then a steady decline, followed in the last thirty years by a period of slighter growth, has reduced their numbers to less than 65,000.

By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, whaling, trading, and missionary settlements had prospered sufficiently to stimulate the formation of British colonization companies. One such company actually despatched in 1825 an unsuccessful expedition.

The white population had grown by 1839 to about one thousand and the New Zealand Company had been formed in England with the object of acquiring land and establishing settlements in the far-away islands. Its charter provided for future land grants in return for expenditure on immigration to New Zealand. It would be difficult to over-estimate the part played by this company in the founding of the colony. Its first immigrant vessels arrived at their

[1][See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pages 99-1014.—Ed.]

destination in 1840, the year which marked the proclamation of British sovereignity, and more followed at short intervals. In the next few years other organizations for colonizing purposes sprang into existence. Some, such as the Otago Association and the Canterbury Association, had a semi-racial, semi-religious purpose which was to exert considerable influence on future immigration.

From 1840 to 1853 the net inflow of population yearly was between 2,000 and 3,000. In 1853 a system of responsible government was granted the infant colony, and in 1856 it commenced functioning. A statistical bureau in fact, although not in name, was created. As a result, regular statistics of migration, however imperfect, are available from 1853.

The early statistics of arrivals do not distinguish between immigrants and non-immigrant arrivals. For a time this defect was of little importance, as undoubtedly the great bulk of arrivals were intending settlers, but in later years the distinction became of increasing and finally of vital significance. The source of all migration statistics before April 1, 1921, was the statements furnished to customs officials by the authorities of all vessels arriving in or departing from New Zealand ports, but after some years it became the practice to obtain supplementary returns from departing vessels. These were despatched from the first port of call after leaving New Zealand. The migration statistics thus collected (with exceptions noted later) seem to be accurate, in so far as they can be checked from returns of births and deaths and census returns of the total population.

From 1853 onwards the influence of the colonization associations was replaced by the immigration activities of the newly constituted provincial governments. Up to 1860 the inward stream flowed at a rate of about 6,000 a year, or a little more, as in this period the statistics occasionally omitted returns from one or two ports. Between the censuses of 1851 and 1858, the European population of the colony increased by 122 per cent, and the increase would probably have been greater had it not been for the counter attraction of the Australian gold discoveries.

In 1861 immigration underwent a radical change, due to the discovery in New Zealand of rich and easily worked gold placer deposits. The important fields were in the South Island and their development therefore was little affected by a Maori war (1860–66)

which retarded progress in the North Island. News of the gold fields travelled rapidly and brought immediately a huge influx from Australia. During the quinquennium 1860–64 arrivals (slightly understated) numbered 132,000, and the population of European stock leaped from 72,000 to 172,000; in succeeding quinquennia the ratio of arrivals to population never again reached this level, and until the beginning of the twentieth century their actual number did not surpass it. The excess of arrivals over departures, 87,000, marks the high record for any quinquennium. The 46,000 arrivals in 1863 are the highest number in the history of the country; the 35,000 net arrivals have been exceeded only once.

Although gold production kept up, yet by the end of the next period, 1865–69, the height of the boom had passed. Gross arrivals fell to 63,000 or less than one-half of the level in the preceding quinquennium; net arrivals fell to 29,000 or one-third. The mining reaction was not the sole cause. In the North Island Maori hostility, which had simmered intermittently since the '40's, had blazed out in the wars with the fanatical Hau-Haus. Wool-growing was the main industry, and even a large sheep station provided direct employment for comparatively few. The settlements were isolated by land from one another. In general the mountainous nature of the country, the dense forests and the number of large streams hindered the improvement of land communication. Railways in 1869 extended less than 50 miles. A great deal of land was occupied in large holdings, and to the ordinary settler it could not be regarded as cheap. Native game, to eke out the food supply of the pioneers, was very limited. The capacity for successful absorption of new settlers was at a low ebb.

A new era in immigration opened with the year 1870, which is specially noteworthy on two accounts. A permanent peace was established with the Maoris, and an "Immigration and Public Works Act" was passed which exercised immense influence, both direct and indirect, upon immigration. Its provisions laid the basis for the prosecution of a vigorous policy of immigration and public works, land purchase and settlement. For the "selection, introduction and settlement in New Zealand" of immigrants the sum of £1,000,000 was authorized, in addition to sums appropriated for public works. Provision was made also for the appointment of an Agent-General in London, whose duties included the supervision of immigration activities at that end. The central government took over from the provincial governments all immigration matters.

The policy inaugurated by this statute brought out large numbers of immigrants partly or wholly at Government expense; it provided in the constructional works a ready means of employment upon their arrival; and, by its improvement of transport and communication together with betterment of land settlement conditions, it greatly increased the capacity of the country to absorb immigrants.

The figures for 1870–73 showed increased immigration, but the 44,000 landing in 1874 (including 32,000 who were Governmentally assisted) equalled the sum of those for the four preceding years. The net arrivals (38,000) were not only the most numerous in the whole record, but have never since been approached. The European population in 1874 was 300,000.

Progress continued during the next 5-year period and at the end of 1879 the white population had reached 446,000. During these years the young colony may be said to have entered upon its adolescence. Only some 42 per cent of its European population were natives of New Zealand, but thenceforward the natural increase of population by excess of births over deaths invariably exceeded the migratory increase. Since 1875 migration has provided only one-fourth of the total increase of population.

After 1879 a long and steady decline in the birth rate commenced, which lasted till the close of the century and brought the rate of natural increase down from 30 to 16 per thousand of population. It does not appear that the amount or character of the immigration influenced this change, beyond what economic restraint may have been imposed by the pressure of population in the depression period of the late '80's and early '90's.

The inadequacy of the data concerning the age-constitution of migrants discourages speculation regarding the actual or probable effect of immigration upon the death rate. However, that rate which was never high, fell steadily from a peak of 16 per thousand in 1875 to under 10 per thousand in 1890 and has continued to the present date at that point or lower.

From about 1880 the difficulty of determining the immigrant element in arrivals increased. The colony was then firmly established. Means of inland or of overseas transport were vastly improved; there was an increasing movement, both inward and outward, of visiting tourists, commercial visitors and New Zealand residents. The only available data bearing on this aspect of the immigration statistics are certain tables introduced in the 1901 census,

giving the length of residence in New Zealand of all persons born overseas. Thus of 47,000 male arrivals and 28,000 female arrivals in 1880–84, one finds 14,000 and 12,000, respectively, recorded as living in New Zealand in 1901. For use as evidence of the number of genuine immigrants such figures are open to numerous objections, yet they serve to show that many of the persons arriving, especially among the males, were not intending settlers. The excess of arrivals over departures in 1880–84 was only 32,000.[1] The accompanying Table 64 compares the movement in and out by quinquennial periods up to 1919.

TABLE 64.

IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS, GROSS AND NET, COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF RESIDENTS NOT BORN IN NEW ZEALAND REPORTED AS ARRIVING IN SPECIFIED PERIOD, BY QUINQUENNIA, 1885–1919.

(In Thousands)

Period of Arrival	Arrivals			Excess over Departures			Living in New Zealand at next Census, having arrived in specified period. [a]		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1885–89	50	25	75	-1	-1	-2	9	6	15
1890–94	65	34	99	8	4	12	11	7	18
1895–99	62	33	95	7	3	10	15	8	23
1900–04	92	44	136	26	12	38	36	17	53
1905–09	124	68	192	30	17	47	39	24	63
1910–14	123	81	204	18	18	36	24	23	47
1915–19	53	43	96	3	4	7	20	18	38

[a] For the first three quinquennia, in 1901; for the remainder, in 1906, 1911, 1916 and 1921 respectively.

The figures exhibit curious discrepancies, but they certainly suggest that intending settlers were a minority of the arrivals. In the first two periods there was heavy emigration; the last period comes within war influences.

During the period 1885–89 there was an excess of departures over arrivals. The colony at this time was passing through probably the greatest economic depression of its history. The principal industry was wool-growing; manufactures were of little consequence. Gold production had fallen off. The frozen-meat trade

[1] [Volume I, pages 1000 f and 1005 f.—Ed.]

initiated in 1882 was assuming importance, but the employment to which it gave rise was largely seasonal. The dairy industry—later to grow with giant strides—was in its infancy. Export prices for the primary products of the colony were low, the public debt was a heavy burden, and a good deal of land was in large holdings.

Recovery from this depression began towards the end of the nineteenth century. Prices of pastoral products rose and the financial situation became easier. Governmentally-assisted immigration, dormant after 1890, revived in 1904 and the arrivals in 1900–1904 constituted a record to be eclipsed by a higher record in 1905. Arrivals in 1910–14 established a still higher level, but net arrivals were affected by the outbreak of the World War in 1914. In the war period immigration naturally fell off, and in 1915–19 the net arrivals were only 7,000. With the adoption of a new system of migration statistics in 1921, a fresh chapter commences and consideration of those data is postponed.

The term "assisted immigrant", as used in New Zealand statistics, applies to a person whose passage fare to New Zealand as a settler was wholly or partly paid by the New Zealand Government. A considerable number of persons have been "assisted" and are still being assisted in this manner by private or semi-public organizations, but no complete statistics of these are obtainable. The numbers so brought out are small in comparison with those brought by Government effort.

Since the total excess of arrivals over departures between 1870 and 1924 was 357,000 and the number of assisted immigrants introduced by the Government in the same period was 195,000—an annual average of over 4,500 in the 42 years during which assistance was given, and more than one-half of the net arrivals—the importance of Governmentally-assisted immigration is apparent. The first activity of this sort was undertaken by the British Government in the '40's, the cost being refunded by the Colonial Treasury. No data are available, beyond a monetary record which suggests that the number of emigrants was small.

Immigration and emigration statistics do not include the movement of military forces, whether Imperial troops before 1870 or New Zealand Forces in more recent years. In addition, immigrants known as "military settlers" are not included among the assisted immigrants. They comprised discharged soldiers who were granted land in New Zealand in exchange for certain obligations in the

nature of militia service. Some 1,400 of this class arrived from Australia in 1863.

From 1853 to 1870 the assistance of immigrants was a provincial government function and data are incomplete. The General Government undertook this obligation in 1870. From 1871 to 1884 free passsages to New Zealand were granted in the majority of cases, and in those 14 years no fewer than 112,000 were carried out, of whom nearly one-half arrived in 1874 and 1875.[1]

From 1885 to 1890, after which assistance was discontinued, the principal system in force was that of nomination by a friend resident in New Zealand who paid to the Government £10 for each adult nominated and £5 for each child. The Government provided the remainder of the passage money and made all necessary arrangements. In those 6 years only 4,000 immigrants were brought out, due probably to the financial depression. Beginning with 1900 assistance was granted to men with moderate means desirous of settling in the country,and in minor degree to separated families. In 1904 and 1905 over 3,000 were assisted to emigrate to New Zealand and in the next year the nomination system, in a modified form, was revived and is still in force. Under this system from 1906 to 1924 a total of 76,000 arrived; in the last 5 years the annual average was 7,500.

With the exception of the years 1874–78, when 4,000 came from the continent of Europe, all the assisted immigrants were stated to be residents of Great Britain or Ireland. In the '80's the arrival statistics noted the inclusion among assisted immigrants of small groups of foreign elements, principally from northern countries of Europe. Perhaps these were exceptions to the general rule, or they may have become domiciled in the United Kingdom prior to emigration.

As a general principle assisted passages were given only to persons less than 50 years of age who had passed a medical examination. At times certain occupational classes, principally farmers, farm laborers, and female domestic servants, were preferred.

Since the (Imperial) Empire Settlement Act of 1922 the Imperial and Dominion Governments have coöperated in assisting migration to New Zealand, as Table 65 (page 186) shows.

Under the present scheme the nominator must undertake to make provision for the maintenance and employment of the nominee

[1][Volume I, page 1004.—Ed.]

TABLE 65.

NUMBERS OF FREE OR REDUCED PASSAGES TO NEW ZEALAND, 1922–24.[a]

Year	Given by			Total
	Imperial Government	Dominion Government	Both Combined	
1922.....	4,496	3,073	199	7,768
1923.....	676	111	5,394	6,181
1924.....	4	10	8,077	8,091
Totals	5,170	3,194	13,670	22,040

[a]New Zealand. *Statistical Report on External Migration of the Dominion, for 1924: Introductory Report* (Wellington), p. X.

after arrival in the Dominion and must guarantee his residence in New Zealand for five years.

A sidelight upon immigration is thrown by figures giving, for certain years, the amount of capital in the hands of assisted immigrants. Available data end in 1917; in the decade 1908–17 the gross capital recorded was £355,000, an average of £12 among the 30,000 assisted immigrants of all ages and both sexes.

The high degree of homogeneity in the population of the Dominion is probably unique among countries settled in modern times. The 1921 census showed that (exclusive of Maoris) 98.4 per cent were born in New Zealand or in British countries; 1.5 per cent in foreign countries, and 0.1 per cent at sea. The Dominion is therefore upon almost the same footing in this respect as the British Isles. That a similiar position has been occupied throughout its history is further evidenced by statistics showing the birthplace of the fathers. Persons born in New Zealand in 1921 were 906,000 or 74 per cent of the population. Of 44 per cent of these the father had been born in New Zealand; of 47 per cent, in the United Kingdom; of 5 per cent, in Australia; and of 3 per cent, in a foreign country. These results are confirmed by the censuses taken since 1851.[1]

This condition is to be ascribed mainly to the superior attractions of larger and less distant fields upon European migration.

[1][Volume I, page 1002 f.—Ed.]

There have been no laws restricting foreign immigration (other than that of non-Europeans) or discriminating against foreign residents. Little active governmental assistance in the shape of free passage has been given to residents of foreign countries emigrating to New Zealand. Nevertheless facilities for settling in New Zealand were extended to all foreign immigrants and contemporary public sentiment favored the encouragement of immigrants from northwestern Europe who were regarded as the type most suitable for the Dominion.

Immigration statistics up to 1921 are not altogether a happy means of ascertaining the source of the population increments, since they recorded either the country of embarkation (not necessarily the country of last permanent residence) or the last port of call before reaching New Zealand. Thus immigrants in British vessels calling at Australian ports en route were credited not infrequently to Australia. Again, "Hawaii, South Seas and other places" often disguised arrivals from America, since vessels out of San Francisco usually called at Honolulu before reaching New Zealand. Of 1,360,00 arrivals in the 6 decades 1860–1919 some 30 per cent were from Great Britain and Ireland, 66 per cent from British possessions, and 4 per cent from foreign countries. In only one decade was the direct inflow from Great Britain and Ireland higher than from "British possessions" (a term in New Zealand migration statistics which is almost synonymous with "Australia"). This occurred in 1870–79 in the hey-day of assisted immigration.

This classsification of the data must be interpreted in the light of shipping routes and the geographical situation. As an indication of the sources of the immigrants it is to be discounted. Not until 1883 was direct steam communication opened with England. As a result census records, although they deal only with net figures, are a better guide to the sources of immigration. As a case in point, the 1921 census showed in New Zealand 48,000 Australian-born persons. All except 2,000 were classed as possessing a New Zealand domicile. The length-of-residence tables indicated that 13 per cent of these 48,000 had arrrived within 5 years of April, 1921; 10 per cent had been in New Zealand between 5 and 9 years; 38 per cent between 10 and 19 years; and 39 per cent 20 years or more.

No large foreign settlements have been established in New Zealand. A small one was made at Akaroa in 1840 by a French colonization company, but soon lost its individual character. From

time to time small foreign communities of national sympathies were formed, but after a rapid process of assimilation little trace of them remains beyond an occasional foreign flavor in the topographical nomenclature of the district. The small colonies of non-Europeans in certain larger towns are a partial exception. The proportion of the population using a foreign language in social life is very small, and the proportion unable to speak English is infinitesimal. The 1916 census states that 0.4 per cent were able to read and write a foreign language but not English.

In 1861 the total population (other than Maori) of 99,000 contained 800 natives of Germany, 700 of the United States, and 300 of France, with a few from other countries. In 1901, with a total (non-Maori) population of 773,000, natives formed 70 per cent, 24 per cent had been born in Great Britain or Ireland, 4 per cent in Australia, and 2 per cent in foreign countries. To the last figure the following countries were the principal contributors: Germany, 4 200; China, 2 900; Norway and Sweden, 2 800; Denmark, 2 100; Austria-Hungary, 1 874. Most of the representatives of Austria-Hungary in New Zealand were Dalmatians, located in one district and engaged in one industry, viz., the extraction of fossil kauri gum.

In 1921 when the non-Maori population was 1,219,000, natives comprised 74 per cent, while 20 per cent had been born in the United Kingdom, and 4 per cent in Australia. Those born in foreign countries were chiefly from China, 3,000; Germany, 2,200; Denmark, 2,100; the United States, 1,900; Yugoslavia, 1,600; Sweden, 1,200 and Norway, 1,000. The great majority of the Germans were residents of long standing, 54 per cent having arrived in New Zealand at least 40 years before. In the case of Denmark, Norway and Sweden the chief period of immigration was slightly more recent; 55 per cent of Yugoslavs were immigrants in the decade 1910–20.

Over the whole period under review (1853–1924) male immigrants have outnumbered the females, and formed 62 per cent of the aggregate. If adults alone (up to 1921 the term connotes persons 12 years of age or over) be considered, males comprised two-thirds, 67 per cent. The only age division tabulated was the distinction between adults and children. The sex proportion of child immigrants remained fairly uniform throughout the whole period, 52 per cent of them being males, partly perhaps because more boy immigrants were taken out by the efforts of various organizations. The proportion of children to adults has been 1 to 7 of the aggregate arrivals.[1] The

[1][Volume I, page 1005, Table IV.—Ed.]

greater mobility of the male sex, the character of the occupations, and the condition of the country readily explained the high proportion of male arrivals in early days. In the decade including the gold boom (1860–69) the immigration of all ages was three-fourths male. In the next decade, which was greatly influenced by assisted immigration, the proportion of males fell to 62 per cent. In each decade between 1880 and 1909 the excess of males was fairly regular, but after 1910 the proportion of females increased beyond previous experience, rising to 40 per cent in 1910–14, 45 per cent in 1915–19, and 46 per cent in 1920–24.

TABLE 66.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS (15 AND OVER) TO NEW ZEALAND, APRIL, 1921—DECEMBER, 1924.

Age of Immigrants Years	Per Cent of Total Adult Immigration	
	Male	Female
15–24	18	12
25–34	18	17
35–44	11	10
45–59	6	5
60 and over	1	2
All ages	54	46

The proportion of children to adults was at its highest during the great period of assisted immigration, 1870–79. In more recent years it fell considerably, doubtless due to the increasing numbers of tourists and the like included in the figures. Among new settlers landing in New Zealand between April 1921 and December 1924, the proportion of children to total rose to 22 per cent. Unfortunately for comparative purposes, the term "child" after April 1, 1921, implies a person under 15 years of age. Table 66 provides a more detailed examination of the age and sex constitution of the adults. The greatest difference occurs in the first group, indicating that young men outnumber young women among the intending settlers. The preponderance of females at advanced ages may be due to greater female longevity. Females at those ages are usually accompanying relatives.

ASIATIC MIGRATION

Situated in the South Pacific Ocean and isolated by vast distances from the European countries whence her population has been derived, New Zealand has attached great significance to arrivals or departures of members of the great colored races of Asia. It is to restrictive legislation that the small number of Asiatics in the population is principally due. Asiatics are entirely unassimilable elements and are to be distinguished from the native Maoris, who have to a large extent merged with the European and show signs of a complete though gradual assimilation.

At the 1921 census the number of non-Europeans (exclusive of Maoris) was only 5,400, equal to 0.4 per cent of the European population. During no period in the past have the numbers much exceeded this figure. Apart from a few Polynesians who belong to the same race as the Maoris, only three non-European races, by their numbers, merit specific mention.

The Chinese were practically unknown in New Zealand prior to the gold discoveries of 1861, but by 1867 over 1,200 were in the colony. By 1871 their numbers had doubled, and in 1878 had risen to over 4,800—almost wholly males. From 1871 onwards Chinese arrivals and departures were separately reported in the tables. Arrivals annually during the period 1874–81 averaged 600 and departures under 400.[1] In 1881 a poll tax of £10 was imposed on every Chinese arriving, and at once that immigration fell off. In the twelve years 1882–93 the aggregate arrivals were only 1,400 and the departures 2,300.

In 1894 and 1895 the statistics indicated a slight increase and in 1896 an act was passed raising the poll tax to £100 and limiting—on the model of New South Wales legislation—the number of Chinese passengers on a vessel inward bound to one for every 200 tons burden. Once again Chinese arrivals fell to a total of 200 for the next 6 years, while departures for the same period were 800.

A tendency to increase was again manifested in 1903, and in 1908 arrivals reached 500. In that year an enactment came into force requiring Chinese immigrants to read a selected passage of 100 words in the English language. The temporary decline which followed was of short duration, and in the decade commencing with 1910 some 3,500 arrived and 3,400 departed. This movement was composed mainly of residents leaving temporarily or returning.

[1][Volume I, pages 1009 and 1016.—Ed.]

At the present time Chinese immigrants are required to possess a permit issued at the discretion of the Minister of Customs, who must be satisfied about the business to be undertaken, the capital possessed, and other qualifications.

The exceptionally large influx of 1,500 took place in 1920 immediately before the permit requirement was enforced. From 1921 on the aggregate departures of Chinese have balanced the arrivals. Nevertheless in the 3¾ years following April 1, 1921, there were 400 immigrants who arrived intending permanent residence, but only 65 Chinese residents who departed not intending to return. The 1921 census showed a total of 3,300 in the country. The Chinese in New Zealand are for the most part adult males. In 1921 there were only 200 Chinese women (omitting half-castes) and there has been great admixture of blood between Chinese and Europeans or Maoris. Official statistics give the proportion of Chinese half-castes to those of full blood as 5 per cent.

Of the occupations of Chinese before arrival nothing is known. In the earlier periods most of them were from Australia and almost all located on the gold fields. With the exhaustion of the alluvial deposits the majority drifted into other occupations, chiefly market gardening and seed growing, the sale of fruit and vegetables, laundry work and domestic service, and many have attained financial prosperity.

East Indians comprise the second important group of non-Europeans. They are much more recent arrivals than the Chinese and in 1921 they numbered 700. Migration and census returns show that before 1912 scarcely any Indians had taken up residence in New Zealand. In 1912–14 arrivals numbered 700; departures were not recorded separately. In the next two years arrivals and departures balanced.[1] In 1920 new immigration laws demanded a permit to enter New Zealand, and during 1921–24 arrivals and departures of Indians balanced; but 175 new settlers were recorded and only 10 permanent departures of residents. The great majority of these arrivals are from India and departures are usually to India, but within recent years one-fourth of the arrivals are from Fiji and one-eighth of the departures are to the same place.

Unlike the Chinese, the Indian migrants entering New Zealand are British subjects. Like the Chinese, the great majority are adult males. In 1921 half-caste Indians were 9 per cent as many as

[1] [Volume I, page 1014.—Ed.]

those of full blood. A few Indians have intermarried with Maoris. Migrants from the northern districts of India have settled as a rule in rural localities where they are employed in clearing land, or have taken up farming on their own account. Those from other parts of India are located chiefly in urban centers where they have entered domestic service, are engaged in the sale of fruit or vegetables or have become peddlers and the like.

The third group of non-Europeans is described in the reports as "Syrian." They are not units from gigantic aggregations of population; they do not form small foreign "colonies"; and they include a much greater proportion of females. The advent of the Syrian immigrant has been by slow infiltration. From 1897, when data became available, to 1920 a few arrivals were recorded in every year but one, yet the total for the period was only 200 males and 100 females. Statistics for 1915–20 mention the departure of only one Syrian. Arrivals, April 1921 to 1924, reached 100, of whom about half were females. One-third of these were new settlers. For the same years departures were 140, of whom 10 per cent were residents departing permanently. The 1921 census showed 700 Syrians in New Zealand, 53 per cent being males. Most of these are in commercial pursuits, particularly in the clothing trades.

IMMIGRATION, 1921–1924

The improved scope and precision of the statistics after April 1, 1921, invite special attention to migration during that period.[1] Upon arriving in or departing from the Dominion, a form of declaration is filled in by every person aged 15 years or over. Particulars about children are furnished by their parents or guardian. One of the first statistical objects of the return is to elucidate the purpose for which individuals have come. The results indicate that the 141,000 persons arriving in the 3¾ years in question may be classified thus: Immigrants intending permanent residence, 36 per cent; New Zealand residents returning, 34 per cent; tourists, 19 per cent; persons on business, 5 per cent; theatrical and other entertainers, 3 per cent; in transit (not including "through" passengers), 2 per cent; all others, 1 per cent.

Since the period was fairly normal the true immigrant may be regarded as usually constituting about one-third of the total arrivals.

[1][Volume I, pages 1010-1013.—Ed.]

But not all of this type are a permanent gain to the population, as the following will illustrate. From April 1, 1921, to December 1924, the classes comprising what may be termed "visitors" numbered in the aggregate 41,000; yet during the same period 51,000 temporary residents departed. Where balancing figures were to be expected, a loss of 10,000—nearly 3,000 a year—is actual experience.

Examination of the figures for individual years, including 1925 and 1926, indicates that the surplus of departures in this class is not a phenomenon due to unusual features in any specific year. The analysis of arrivals into classes is based upon statements of expressed intention. In the case of departures a check is obtained by enquiring the duration of residence in New Zealand from all who do not declare themselves to have been permanent residents in the Dominion. Where the period of residence is five years or more a declaration of temporary residence is overruled; this occurs in some hundreds of cases yearly.

A division of migration statistics derived from statements of intention is open to obvious objections, but despite its limitations it has furnished valuable data and in the absence of practicable alternatives, it has been retained.

To a certain extent arrivals, particularly of transients, are affected by seasonal fluctuations. During the decade ending with 1924, in the quarter ending December 31, the average annual excess of arrivals over departures was 4,200; in that ending March 31, it was 1,800; in that ending September 30, it was 1,100; in that ending June 30 the departures exceeded arrivals by 1,500.

New settlers, especially assisted immigrants, in general prefer to arrive in the summer months of December, January and February. At that season, the weather is more genial and employment more readily obtainable. In the winter months, June, July and August, the number of arriving immigrants falls to one-half or three-fourths of the summer level. A certain seasonal element also in the movements of persons arriving or departing for "business reasons," is introduced by persons carrying on their employment alternately in Australia and New Zealand. Shearers and slaughtermen, for example, form typical classes.

Tourist statistics show an upward curve in arrivals about October, reaching their peak in December or January and falling sharply after March. Three-fourths arrive during this part of the year. Female tourists outnumber male. This arises in part

from the fact that wives and adult daughters accompanying men visiting New Zealand for business purposes usually describe themselves as tourists and are classed as such.

One factor which has a small but appreciable effect in increasing the population is the excess in the crews of vessels entering over those leaving New Zealand ports. In the 5¾ years from April 1921 to December 1926, the crews arriving outnumbered those departing by 1,750, an annual difference of 300. This experience is not unusual in an immigration country. Although individuals who "worked their passage" to New Zealand and accepted their discharge in a New Zealand port with the intention of remaining there usually have been required to complete the customary declaration, yet for administrative reasons such cases are not included in the totals of arrivals.

In view of the fact that most of the immigrants into New Zealand come from a highly industrialized country, the similarity between the distribution of previous occupations given by immigrants from 1921 to 1924 and the distribution of occupations in the New Zealand Census of 1921 is remarkable. In that year one-third of the male breadwinners in the population were engaged in agricultural or pastoral industries, mining, fishing or forestry, and the proportion of the adult male immigrants previously engaged in these occupations was only slightly less than one-third. Males following industrial pursuits made up 38 per cent of the male immigrants and only 28 per cent of the male breadwinning population. For the "Transport and Communication" and "Commercial and Financial" groups the proportions among the immigrants were much lower than those shown by the census, but for the "Public Administration and Professional" groups the proportion among the immigrants was slightly higher. In the two remaining occupational divisions, "Personal and Domestic Service" and "Other or Indefinite" occupations, the census and the immigration ratios for men are almost identical.

Statistics on the occupation of the new female settlers and of female breadwinners among the population show less striking similarities except in the professional group where the proportions are about equal. Some 49 per cent of the female immigrants are found in domestic and personal service as compared with 30 per cent in the 1921 population.[1]

[1] [Volume I, page 1010.—Ed.]

There are no statistics which elucidate the extent to which occupations are changed. The census statistics of duration of residence in New Zealand show that persons born overseas have taken up residence to a greater extent in urban localities than in rural districts, and their occupational pursuits may therefore be envisaged in a very general fashion. The fifteen urban areas representing the fifteen largest centers of population in New Zealand contain within their boundaries 49.9 per cent of the total non-Maori population. Within these urban areas were enumerated 60.2 per cent of all persons born overseas who had resided in New Zealand under twelve months. This group may be dismissed as including transients. Of those whose period of residence in New Zealand was over one year and under five years urban areas claimed 52.1 per cent. The urban percentage for males increases to 56 per cent for residents of 10 to 14 years standing, whence it gradually declines, passing slightly below the average after 30 years residence is reached. The urban tendency is more conspicuous throughout in the case of females born overseas than in the case of males. This "urban drift" is regarded seriously in New Zealand, on account of the national dependence on primary industries. Among the 51,000 new settlers—27,000 males and 24,000 females—landing in the years (April) 1921 to 1924, of the males 74 per cent and of the females 82 per cent were from the United Kingdom. Of these England and Wales contributed 66 per cent, Scotland 27 per cent and Ireland 7 per cent. The tables do not distinguish between North Ireland and the Irish Free State.

Over 80 per cent of child immigrants are from the British Isles.[1] (Over 90 per cent of all child immigrants, irrespective of country or origin, come to New Zealand as member of families. The average number of children in child-accompanied families was two per family.) Australia contributed 15 per cent of the males and 12 per cent of the females; Canada, 3 per cent of the males and 2 per cent of the females.

Only 4 per cent of new immigrants 1921–24 had resided in a foreign country. From five foreign countries came 100 or more, viz.: Yugoslavia, 580; China, 440; United States, 370; Italy, 160; and Switzerland, 110.

Comparing the number of arrivals intending permanent residence from a given country of origin with the number of permanent

[1][See Volume I, p. 1000 f, 1005 f, 1010, 1012.—Ed.]

departures of residents for the same country, a surplus of arrivals is evidenced in each one. It is a substantial one except in the two instances of Australia, where such departures are 78 per cent of arrivals, and the United States, where they are 75 per cent. On the other hand the departure ratio in the case of Italy, Yugoslavia and Switzerland is almost infinitesimal.

The capacity of New Zealand for future assimilation of immigrants presents a problem beyond the scope of migration statistics and probably it is as much psychological as it is statistical. However, the facts that available land hitherto unutilized has become limited in area, that a revolutionary growth of industry seems unlikely, and that the natural increase is 14 per thousand, suggest that immigration on a higher scale than in the past is improbable. The only criterion by which to judge this aspect of past immigration lies in the scanty records of unemployment.

In the early years of settlement, with an abundant supply of land and a shortage of labor, opportunities for new settlers were ample. There has been periodic unemployment since 1860, but no records concerning it before 1891 are available. In that year the Department of Labour was created and thenceforward the numbers it assisted to find employment form a rough index of conditions. From 1892 to 1905 the number assisted annually averaged 2,700, equal to 0.4 per cent of the mean population. From 1906 to 1911 it rose to 7,700, with a peak in 1909 following an economic crisis abroad. From 1912 to 1924 the annual average was 4,600 (0.4 per cent of population) without much yearly variation. These numbers of course do not represent the full amount of unemployment.

The principal factor affecting economic conditions in New Zealand has been the level of world prices of her export produce—chiefly pastoral. As long as prices continued buoyant there was ample scope for immigration on a moderate scale, but falling prices sensibly diminished the opportunities and led to temporary unemployment crises in which new immigrants accentuated an already difficult situation.

New Zealand Emigration

Judging from the available statistics, actual emigration from New Zealand has been relatively unimportant. Migration has resulted in a net gain in all but three of the years for which records were gathered—1888, 1890 and 1891. In the period 1853–1924

there was a surplus of immigrants numbering 518,000, although 60 per cent of the aggregate arrivals emigrated during these years.

From 1853 to 1859 the 15,000 emigrants, of whom two-thirds were adult males, equalled only one-third of the arrivals despite the counter-attractions of Australian gold fields.

In the '60's departures swelled to 79,000, or 40 per cent of the arrivals. They were most numerous in 1862–64, when the influx to the gold fields was at its height. The outward flow was mainly men (83 per cent), women forming only 10 per cent and children 7 per cent. Apparently the exodus was, for the greater part, composed of unsuccessful gold miners.

In the next decade only 58,000 persons left New Zealand. Among immigrants the proportion of men fell to 66 per cent; women were 20 per cent and children 14 per cent. This was the golden era of assisted immigration and public works construction, and the proportion of departures to arrivals (30 per cent) was the lowest ever recorded.

The serious slump in the latter half of the '80's brought the number departing up to 121,000, and for a few years at this period some thousands of departures were not included in the statistics. As it was, departures were 60 per cent of arrivals and in 1888 there was for the first time a net loss of over 9,000 by migration. The departures for the 10 years included 60 per cent of men, 25 of women and 15 of children.

The slump, continuing in the earlier half of the '90's, resulted in the departures for 1890 and 1891 exceeding arrivals. The departures for the 10 years 1890–99 show increasing figures as do succeeding periods, owing to growing numbers of departing tourists, residents visiting abroad, and similar classes. The total of 172,000 was equivalent to nearly 90 per cent of the arrivals during the decade. A growing proportion (30 per cent) were women, while children fell to 10 per cent.

The first decade of the present century saw 244,000 persons leaving New Zealand, with a ratio to arrivals of 75 per cent, about a normal level. The sex and age constitution differed from that of the previous period only in a slight decrease in the proportion of children.

In 1910–19 the principal feature was an increase in the numbers of women leaving, to 36 per cent of all departures.

An examination of classified statistics of departures for the period for which they are available, *i. e.* April 1921 to December 1924, shows that 46 per cent were New Zealand residents leaving the Dominion temporarily, an equal number were temporary residents, and 8 per cent were residents who intended permanently to relinquish their New Zealand domicile.

Although the first of these classes —if statements of intention were correct and adhered to—should not represent (over a period) an actual loss of population, it appears that such an assumption would not be quite correct. On comparing the numbers of residents who left in 1921–24 with the intention of returning, with those who actually did return to New Zealand, it is observed that the former outnumber the latter by 2,700. This is not a phenomenon due to special features in one year only. It may be said, therefore, that approximately 700 per annum are lost to the Dominion in this way.

In connection with the census of 1921, an attempt was made to ascertain the number of such persons at the census date. The figure was set at 3000–4000, of whom about one-half were in Australia and one-fourth in the United Kingdom. Overseas residents in New Zealand at the same date were 3,300 including 1,700 Australians and 1,100 from the United Kingdom.

The third and smallest group is the most important as it covers the principal loss of population. In sex composition this group is almost equally divided between male and female, and in age constitution 75 per cent are adult (*i. e.* 15 years or over).

Ninety-four per cent of those leaving to take up their residence abroad gave as their country of destination one of the states of the British Empire. Out of a total of 8,300 there were 5,400 bound for Australia, 1,800 for the British Isles, and 300 for Canada. The only other British countries to which 100 or over were bound were South Africa and Fiji. The only foreign countries worthy of mention in this respect were the United States (300) and China (80). It must be kept in mind that the country of destination although in the majority of cases the country of intended future residence is not necessarily so. The distinction applies especially to departures to Australia. The immigration quota fixed by the United States for the period was 300 in the case of New Zealand residents and was fully utilized.

The proportion of children among permanently departing

emigrants was recorded as 15 per cent as against 22 per cent in the case of immigrants. An even greater disproportion might have been expected, since juvenile emigrants would be almost wholly component units of families. Adult emigrants in this group comprised 21 per cent of persons 15–24 years of age; 30 per cent of those aged 25–34 years; 24 per cent of those 35–44 years; 17 per cent of those aged 45–59, and 8 per cent of persons 60 years or over. Only one-half fall within the adventurous years of youth and early maturity. The substantial proportion at advanced ages suggests the return of settlers to their native country for the evening of life. In this connection it is noteworthy that few emigrants return their occupational status as "retired." A very slight male predominance is evidenced except for the group 25–34 years in which the numerical relations of the sexes are reversed. On comparing the age constitution of emigrants with that of immigrants, the former group is found to be an older body than the latter.

The birthplaces of persons emigrating were investigated in 1926 and, since that year presents no abnormal features, the results serve to throw further light on emigration. Those born in New Zealand were 45 per cent of the whole, a proportion much lower than that in the population. Those born overseas were two or three times as large a proportion as that of their respective nationalities in the total population in New Zealand. In all cases (except Chinese emigrants) females were approximately equal to males. Very few New Zealand-born emigrants were of advanced ages, only 7 per cent exceeding 45 years.

Until 1921 the tables showing country of destination were of little value for determining the country of future domicile. Approximately 10 per cent of all departing between 1853 and 1919 proceeded to the United Kingdom, and substantially the whole of the 87,000 involved took up their residence in the British Isles. Some 46,000 in the same period—5 per cent of the whole—left for "Hawaii, South Seas, and Other Places." The majority of these were destined undoubtedly for the United States, but it is impossible to estimate the degree to which that country was merely a way station.[1]

The great majority, some 810,000 (85 per cent), were recorded as bound for British possessions—chiefly New South Wales and Victoria. Here again the significance of the figures cannot be stated

[1][Volume I, pages 1007 f, 1009, 1013, Tables V, VI and XII.—Ed.]

with even an approximate degree of precision. Australia is the large country nearest to New Zealand and the one with which there is most interchange of population, so it naturally claims a large proportion of the inward and the outward movement. Undoubtedly, also, many have proceeded to Australia in order to take passage thence. Again, even in the case of overseas vessels leaving New Zealand and calling at an Australian port, it is suggested occasionally in the statistics that all passengers were treated as destined for Australia. The tables exhibit no violent fluctuations and the proportion of those leaving New Zealand for each of the destinations is regular throughout the period.