

ITALIAN CENSUSES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY NEW ZEALAND

by Alan Poletti

Alan Poletti is a retired Professor of Nuclear Physics from the University of Auckland who says he was 'hooked' on history one very hot July day when Don Remigio the Archpriest of Villa di Tirano, gave him and his wife access to the church archives. In our last issue (Volume 9. No. 1), we published his research on the Draft Lists (Liste di Leva) which was very well received. We are now pleased to publish the following paper which he derived from source materials much closer to home. Alan can be contacted by writing to him at 11 Tole Street, Ponsonby, Auckland, New Zealand or by e-mail a.poletti@xtra.co.nz

Preamble

Public history is more than looking for ancestors. Thorough archival searches concerning ordinary individuals can obtain information not available in any other form, while a synthesis of the many pieces of information so obtained can allow the drawing of general conclusions. In this paper I focus on a very unusual source of such information: the forms that were part of three censuses of Italians living in Westland, New Zealand in about 1880. They contained much specific information on individuals which I have condensed into a data base, a copy of which is deposited with the Italian Historical Society. Combining the information in these censuses with that from other sources has allowed me to determine where the first Italian settlers in New Zealand came from, why they came and when.

Introduction

In 1975, Bruno Ballara published privately in Auckland a small book in Italian.¹ In it was a very much reduced facsimile of a form entitled '*R. Consolato Generale d' Italia in Melbourne: Statistica degli Italiani nella Colonia di Nuova Zelanda.*' This form was part of a census. Clearly it, and hopefully some similar sheets, contained some very interesting information. How Ballara came by these is unclear; however, in 1998 he deposited them with the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand. The staff of the library very kindly provided me with photocopies of the six A2 size sheets, some of which are double sided. Examination indeed showed that they formed the basis of censuses of Italians living in Westland, South Island, New Zealand. Two were labelled '1877' and '1880' respectively, while the third was unlabelled. For convenience, I will refer to this as the '18??' census.

All three provided information concerning individuals. This was often accurate and detailed, but varied greatly. In general the list for '1877' was the most detailed, while the unlabelled one was the least detailed. That for '1877', filled in by one person was in a very clear hand, while the other two at times were almost indecipherable. It is clear, however, that not all of the 1877 census has survived. The returns for Okura ended abruptly at the end of the second page. Furthermore, people known to have been at Okura at that time do not appear in it. These include the Baretta families, five single men and a family consisting of three people — a total of 15 (8 male, 7 female).

Background — the Italian Consulate in Melbourne

The first regular Italian Consul General in Australasia, Giuseppe Biagi, took up his post in Melbourne in 1864 and was succeeded by Luigi Marinucci in 1874. Their responsibility extended not only to all of the Australian colonies but to the New Zealand colony as well. In addition to providing advice to the Italian Government concerning conditions in these colonies, they were also expected to look after the interests of resident Italians. For those living in Victoria, as part of this effort,² lists were maintained of those who had registered with the Consulate (*iscritti*) and who had not (*non iscritti*). In addition, from time to time, the Consulate was expected to provide estimates of the number of Italians living in the colonies. It appears that the lists from Westland, New Zealand were generated for this reason.

It is possible that they were produced by (or for) the Italian Consul for New Zealand, Gerald Perotti, who in turn would have been charged with the task by Marinucci. Perotti, born in

Barge Piedmont, left Italy in 1855 and arrived in New Zealand around 1861. After some time in Wellington and Otago, he moved to Greymouth in 1865 and became a successful local business man. He was clearly well educated and spoke fluent English, Portuguese and Spanish as well as Italian. Apparently he had at one time intended to enter the diplomatic service. It is not surprising then, that in 1874 he was appointed as Italian Consul, a position he held until his death in 1911. Just the man for the job.

The censuses

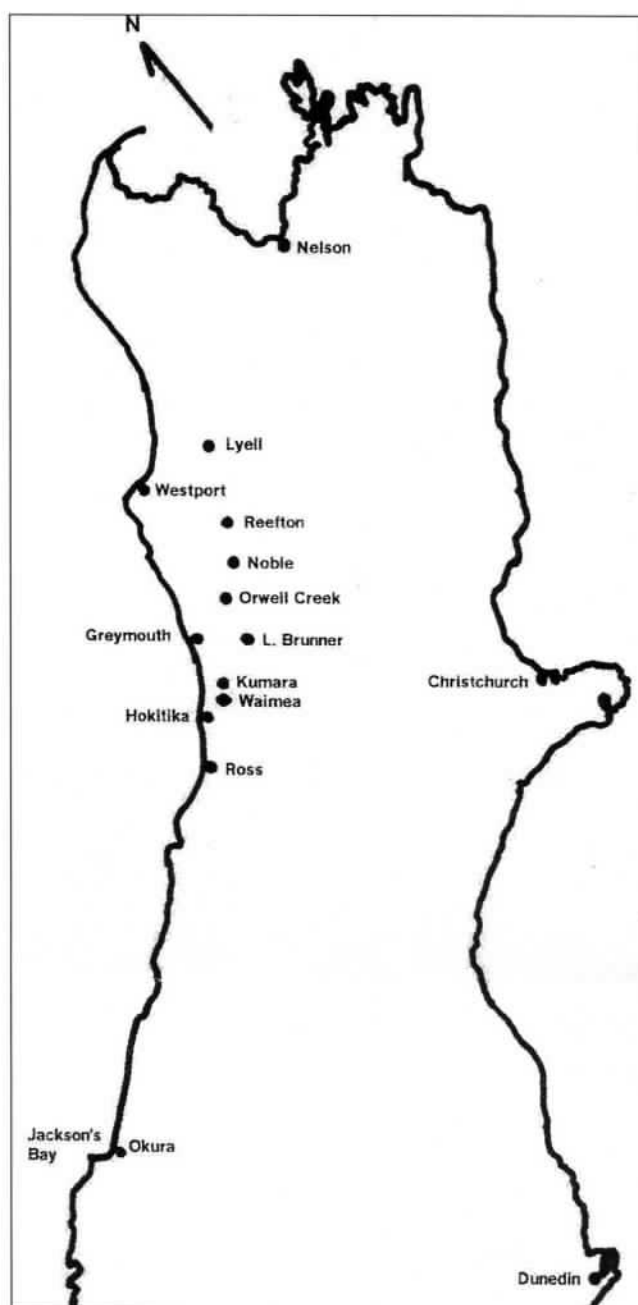
The 217 records in the three lists provided details for 139 individuals. Of these 48 were assisted migrants or members of their families, who arrived in the years 1874 – 1877, while 91 were unassisted and had arrived in New Zealand or Australia between 1854 and 1878, about three quarters of them before 1870. The assisted settlers travelled directly from Hamburg or Bremen³ to New Zealand with no intermediate stops, taking between 90 and 120 days. Commonly, the unassisted migrants travelled first to Australia. Names for about 20 of them were found in lists of passengers arriving in Melbourne mainly from Great Britain, almost all on British ships. In addition, several also turn up in records of the Italian Consulate in Melbourne which have survived from 1869.⁴ The pattern for these unassisted migrants is thus clear: in general, they came first to Victoria and then subsequently, perhaps after a year or so, travelled to New Zealand.

The information contained in the forms is best discussed by reference to the partial images of two of the pages. For each person, name, family name and father's name were in the first column, mother's name and her family name in the second, with date and place of birth in the third. In the fourth to sixth columns were civil status (married or unmarried), date of departure from Italy and the length of time already in the colony. Since the Consulate was in Melbourne, it was not clear whether this referred to time in Australasia or in New Zealand. Sequentially, the following columns concerned their occupation in Italy and in New Zealand, whether they worked on their own account or were day labourers, whether they possessed real estate in the colony and where they lived. Following that the headings for the next two columns enquired whether they could read and write or could speak English. A comments column completed the record. In many cases,

detailed information concerning individuals was given in the records, for some others, it was only name and surname.

Comparison with the New Zealand censuses for 1878 and 1881

The number of Italians in New Zealand in the Official Censuses for 1874, 1878 and 1881 were 280, 538 and 483 respectively. The large increase between 1874 and 1878 mainly reflects the influx of the 367 assisted Italian migrants. In Westland the corresponding figures were 57 (55 male, 2 female), 135 (107 male, 28 female) and 70 (68 male and 2 female). From the '1877' census there is a total of 85 in Westland (71 male, 14 female),



Westland, South Island, New Zealand, showing places mentioned in the censuses.

R. Consolato Generale

Statistica degli Italiani nella Colonia di *Okura*

No.	Nome, Cognome e Paternità.	Nome e Cognome della Madre.	Data e Luogo di Nascita.	Celibe Coniugato o Vedovo.	Epoca della partenza dall' Italia.	Da quanto tempo è nella Colonia.	Professione esercitata in Ita.
1.	Roberto Concesco del fu Francesco	Genesalda Mucca	25 Aprile 1842 Livorno	celibe	27 Febre 1875	1876	Bottega
2.	Pietro Moncacci del fu Sebastiano	g. Rommilla Cerrici	1833 Carrara (Parma)	id.	id.	id.	Maresca
3.	Aristodemo Frandi del fu Giovanni Degli Innocenti	g. Caterina Cerrici	8 Luglio 1833 Pistoja	coniugato	8 Aprile 1875	id.	Tempo
4.	Marysala Felbrucci nei Frandi di Bruffalle	g. Elena Cagnini	29 Aprile 1820 Parola (Parma)	id.	id.	id.	Maresca

1	Giacomo Dentella fu fu B. B.	Maria Pristin	1831 - Utra il Colle	Coniugato	1858	20 anni	Carbon
2	Alessandro Fedi fu fu B.	Maria Valschi	1836 - Milano	coniugato	1855	26 anni	Regio
3	Ursula Maroni fu fu B.	Cristina mali	1842 - Merano	Celibe	1862	17	regio
4	Felice Prestano fu fu B.		Messina, Janov, 1840	id.	1855	25	id.
5	Felice Prebaj fu B.	Rugiera Durini	Sognona, Como, 1834	coniugato	1854	26	Regio
6	Pietro Antonio Fedi fu B.	Cettina Durini	1850 - Merano	celibe	1854	26	Regio

Extracts from two census forms

while for the '1880' census the comparable figures are 83 (78 male, 5 female). The comparatively low total for the '1877' census supports the contention that some of the records from Okura have not survived. If the number of people known to have been at Okura in 1877 is added to the '1877' figures there is a total of 100 (79 male, 21 female)

Table 1. Birthplaces by region in Italy

Region	Assisted	Unassisted
Lombardy	2	40
Liguria	-	11
Piedmont	5	7
Tuscany	34	1
Veneto	-	2
Others	2	5
Unknown	1	25
New Zealand	4	-
Totals	48	91

of whom 53 (32 male, 21 female) were living at Okura⁵. The '1877' census underestimates the Italians in the Westland, while that for '1880' is slightly above the official count.

Origins of the people in the data base

In the 1870s, the Vogel administration in New Zealand undertook a very large assisted migrant scheme. By 1880 more than 100,000 people had arrived in New Zealand under the scheme. Most were from the British Isles (93,000), with 3000 each from Scandinavia and Germany. However there were also 367 from Italy. These latter were mostly recruited with enthusiasm and little discrimination by a certain John Glynn in Livorno⁶. Many appear in the censuses. Rather more numerous were those Italians who, by their own resources had found their way to New Zealand, generally some years before the assisted migrants. Analysis emphasises the quite distinct origins of these two groups.

is obtained by examining the origin of the 25 migrants from Sondrio by *comune*. All of them came from 7 *comuni* within 12 km of the town of Tirano, that stands right on the border with Switzerland and at the mouth of the Poschiavino valley.

These were: Teglio, Bianzone, Villa di Tirano, Tirano, Sernio, Vervio and Grosio. The concentration of origins is even more striking when it is realised that Sondrio province extends for over 100 km in an east – west direction and that it contains more than 70 *comuni* and two major valleys: Valtellina and Valchiavenna. None of the migrants were from Valchiavenna. This is exactly the pattern found by Jacqueline Templeton in her analysis⁸ of the origins of migrants from Sondrio province to Australia. Her convincing explanation for this striking migration pattern involves the activities of migration agents who first worked in the Poschiavino valley and then later extended their interests into Valtellina. These agents in their turn were driven by the shipping companies who were seeking ‘back cargoes’. After delivering grain from Australia to Europe, rather than returning empty, they filled up the ships with living ballast — the migrants.

Confirmation of the common origins of the Italians settled in Victoria and the unassisted migrants in the censuses comes also from an examination of passenger lists for arrival from Europe to Melbourne. Over half of the unassisted migrants from Valtellina were found on these, sometimes in the company of their fellow Italian speakers from Poschiavino. For instance, Filippo Canobbio arrived in Melbourne on ‘Red Jacket’ on 27 April 1860, in the company of 16 migrants from Poschiavino.⁹

Templeton also points out a further contributing factor — probably equal in importance to the activities of the migration agents. In 1851, the grape harvest failed in all of the Valtellina, as it did for the succeeding 13 years. The vines and fruit had been struck by a completely new disease, powdery mildew, *Oidium Tuckeri*. In 1838, Sondrio Province had produced over 106,000 hectolitres of wine. In 1852 only 4,000 hectolitres were produced, which further dropped to 3,300 hectolitres in 1857.¹⁰ The province was not self sufficient in food and had depended on wine exports to finance the needed imports. With the failure of the grape harvest, the people starved.

What drew the migrants to Westland?

We have seen above that there were two distinct groups represented in the censuses: the assisted and unassisted migrants. These two groups had ended up in Westland around 1880 for two very different reasons which I will discuss in the next sections.

‘Special Settlement’ — Jackson’s Bay and Okura

From the discussion above, there were probably at least 53 Italians living at Okura in 1877. By 1880, there were none. These figures illustrate the precipitate collapse of the ‘Special Settlement’ at Jackson’s Bay. Adriano Boncompagni in a recent issue of this journal has written of this settlement as have others¹¹. That it should ever have been attempted was the triumph of the parochial ‘boosterism’ of the Westland Provincial Government over reality. In 1875 when the first settlers arrived in this remote and desolate corner of Westland, the area destined for settlement was covered with dense bush. It also had one of the heaviest rainfall figures in all of New Zealand — about 380 cm per year. Furthermore, the only communication was by sea and the anchorage was exposed to the west, which is the direction of the prevailing wind. Okura is about 25 km north along the beach from Jackson’s Bay itself. The journey would have involved the fording of several rivers, notoriously liable to sudden flooding. Consequently essentially all communication with Okura was by sea on a coast



Map of mid Valtellina.

Probably from the 18th century, this shows (sometimes with quaint spellings) all of the *comuni* near Tirano from which the unassisted migrants came. It also illustrates the proximity to Tirano of Brusio and Poschiavino in the Poschiavino valley in Canton Grigioni, Switzerland. The map shows an area of roughly 50 x 35 kilometres.

that was even more exposed than Jackson's Bay. Nevertheless, in July 1876 37 Italian assisted migrants were landed at Okura. Land was cleared and crops planted, but the settlers found themselves flooded at times¹² as a result of torrential rain, road building work that was promised did not materialise and crops rotted after removal from the ground¹³. By December 1878, it was realised that the settlement had failed and during the summer of 1878/79 around 150 people were evacuated. Before this time a further 75 were known to have left. This left about 140 of the original settlers, many of whom departed in the following year.

Gold rushes and gold mining in Westland

The unassisted migrants were in Westland for a very different reason. Occupations in New Zealand were given for 96 individuals. That 63 were miners, says it all. Of the specified residences for the unassisted migrants, all except 15% were in gold mining areas — 40% in Kumara and 30% in Waimea with the rest distributed over six smaller fields, including Lyell. They had come directly or via Otago, from Victoria where many had already been living.

The discovery of alluvial gold in Otago in 1861 triggered the first major gold rush to New Zealand. This was followed by the discovery of alluvial gold in Westland in 1864.¹⁴ Miners flocked to this new Eldorado, not only from the Otago diggings, but from overseas, especially from Victoria, Australia where the rewards from alluvial mining were declining. An idea of the size of this influx is given by net passenger arrivals from Australia to ports in Westland¹⁵ in the years 1864 to 1867. In 1864 none were recorded. In the following three years they were respectively 3760, 4400 and 1180 for a total of 9340. The Westland rush was not to one well-defined area, but several. The first rush was to Waimea (later called Goldsborough) about 15 km inland from Hokitika, then the focus moved both to the south, and to the north as far as Greymouth, and then further north to Charleston just south of Westport. Not far from Waimea was the Kumara gold field, discovered in 1876, where many of the census population were recorded in the 1880 census. It also provided alluvial gold. Even before the 1864 discovery there had been several small ones in the adjoining Nelson Province, in particular at Lyell¹⁶ on the Buller River. The reef which was the source of this gold was exploited over several decades from 1870 by a company headed by

Antonio Zala who was from Brusio, in Italian speaking Switzerland. This town is just north of Tirano. Several of the people in the census population are recorded in Lyell. In the following two sections I will discuss a few of the unassisted migrants in the data base and the mining they were involved in.

Sluicing for gold

The gold fields at places like Waimea and Kumara were alluvial, but substantial tunnelling and excavation were required to reach the pay dirt. This required men to club together to work a claim. Quite soon hydraulic sluicing was employed to tear away the gravel overburden and find the gold. Again co-operative ventures were called for. The construction of dams and water races was required as well as tailings channels to dispose of the large quantities of gravel and water which resulted from the working of the claim. For instance¹⁷ on 27 July 1869, Oriola Miro, Lorenzo Ricetti, Giovanni Marchioni and two others applied for a licence for a dam in Italian Gully. In the 1877 census, all three are at Waimea, but by 1880, Marchioni was at Kumara, the area of the last gold rush in New Zealand. Italian Gully is 3 km from Waimea and 5 km south of Kumara, in both cases over rugged, heavily dissected country. In that same year, 26 Jan 1869, Filippo Canobbio was granted a similar license at Waimea. An even earlier permit on 18 Jan 1867 had been issued to Alex Foldi and a Luigi Canapa, again at Italian Gully. The 1877 and 1880 censuses find Foldi as a storekeeper at Kumara. The very name 'Italian Gully' emphasises the significant contribution of Italians and their fellow Italian speakers from Canton Ticino and Poschiavino Valley in Switzerland to gold mining in Westland.

From Tirano and Vervio to Lyell — Stefano De Filippi & Matteo Dellavedova

Alluvial gold was first discovered at Lyell in 1863, and it is claimed that 10,000 ounces were taken from the field in 1863 – 1865.¹⁸ However, it is quartz mining that was the basis of Lyell's prosperity for 40 years from 1870. In that year, Antonio Zala floated the Alpine Reefing Co with seven original shareholders, among them Stefano De Filippi (1880 census). Of the other shareholders, Alberto Iseppi and probably Romano Zala, like Antonio, were from Brusio, Bernardo Menghini was from near Poschiavo while Giorgio Zanetti was from Giubiasco in Ticino Canton, Switzerland (I do not know the

origin of the seventh man, Giovanni Robacco). All were Italian speakers and the company's name gives a very direct indication of their origins. This company with various changes in organisation and shareholders, endured until 1912. In that time, gold to the value of £315,402 was mined and dividends of £74,267 were paid¹⁹.

By 1874, Stefano De Filippi was farming at Three Channel Flat, a few kilometres down the Buller river from Lyell and in 1882 married Mary Rohan (or Ruane). His farming venture together with dividends from the Alpine Reefing Co, meant that he achieved a reasonable prosperity and on his death in 1926 his estate which passed to his four surviving children was valued at £2000, worth approximately NZ\$200,000 at prices as of 2001.

Matteo Dellavedova (1880 census) also farmed at Three Channel Flat. In his earlier days, he kept an accommodation house at Three Channel Flat and had been a miner. Married in 1875 to Annie Eliza Lester, upon his death in 1920, his estate which passed to his three surviving children was valued at £4500, worth approximately NZ\$350,000 at prices as of 2001. The names of two small creeks entering the Buller river at Three Channel Flat remind the traveller today of the contribution these two men made to the development of this area.

Chain Migration

There is little evidence either from these censuses or elsewhere of chain migration involving this group for more than two generations. However, members of a subsequent generation did follow both Matteo Dellavedova and Stefano De Filippi to New Zealand. It is also likely that Domenico Moratti followed Filippo Canobbio to New Zealand. Both were from Villa di Tirano. Canobbio had left Italy in 1860, was in New Zealand by 1864 and certainly in Westland by 1868. Moratti, an assisted migrant went first to Taranaki in the North Island in 1874, but in the 1877 census, he and Canobbio were sequential names in a group of 4 men from Villa di Tirano. This chain did continue into a third generation. Giovanni Poletti, when he arrived in New Zealand in 1893, first stayed with Domenico Moratti who by that time was again in Taranaki and farming.

Birds of passage or settlers?

Biagi²⁰ was indeed of the opinion that many of the Italians in Victoria were birds of passage. After arrival, they mostly worked in the country

districts, often moving to where new work offered. After 5 to 8 years, having saved from £100 to £300 (perhaps A\$11,000 to A\$33,000 at today's prices), they would return to Italy. To what extent was this the case for those in the Westland censuses? Answers come from two areas: naturalisations and marriage in New Zealand or Australia. Naturalisation is a clear signal of the intention to settle in the new country. Marriage to an Italian speaker is a more ambiguous signal but marriage to an English speaker can again be considered as a clear signal of intention to settle. Of the 76 males who were clearly over the age of 12 when they left Italy and about whom I had adequate additional information, I found that 28 had naturalised, 9 had married in Australia or New Zealand and 11 had both naturalised and married for a total of 48 cases. I am confident that I have found all New Zealand naturalisations, but some naturalisations in Australia could have been missed. A comprehensive search for marriages in New Zealand would be very time consuming. I have however searched 'Intentions to marry' for Westland for the years 1868, 1870, 1874 – 83 and 1887.²¹ Family histories yielded some further marriages and the 'Index to marriages' was sometimes searched for specific people.

Table 3. Naturalisations and or marriages

Category	N° in category	Nat'd	Marr'd	Both
Assisted	20	9	1	0
Non-assisted	56	19	8	11
Totals	76	28	9	11

Almost certainly the number of marriages has been underestimated, even so, at least 60% clearly signalled their intention to stay in the colony. As a group they were more likely to be settlers than birds of passage.

Occupations in Italy and New Zealand

Quite soon after the arrival of the first substantial number of Italian migrants to New Zealand, complaints were made that the occupations professed by the migrants bore little relation to those actually followed. Dr E F Johansen, the Surgeon-Superintendent on the *Herschel* (arrived Wellington 23 Oct 1875) had no doubts. In a report²² to H A Atkinson, the Minister for

Immigration, dated 21 Jan 1876, he had this to say: 'If some of them cannot find work it depends upon that they usually had put their name down as field labourer or any other trade favoured with free immigration whilst most of them had been loafing in the streets of Leghorn — some of them are even criminals as the others told me — Arturo Alexandri can give you interesting particulars about the matter if he does not fear the revenge of his countrymen'. (Alessandri, a chemist from Livorno and a passenger on the *Herschel*, had been employed as the English teacher on the voyage).

For the 15 male assisted migrants in the censuses, comparison between occupations as given in the censuses and those claimed on the passenger lists bears out the first of Johansen's contentions. Twelve from eleven different trades claimed to be either a labourer or a farm labourer. For only three did the trades agree. Other examples include Gottfried Lindauer, a passenger on the *Reichstag* who arrived in Wellington on 6 Aug 1874 and later became a distinguished portrait painter, who gave his trade as 'gardener'. University graduates Checchi, Catani and Baracchi²³, passengers on the *Fritz Reuter* who arrived Wellington on 6 Aug 1876, were listed as 'labourers'. But then what did the immigration authorities expect? Free passages offered to labourers must surely produce labourers.

The pioneer society of that time largely demanded manual labour, skilled or unskilled. The occupations in New Zealand of 92 men were given — 63 were miners, 16 were agricultural workers, there were 2 fishermen and 2 sailors. Nine out of ten laboured for their living.

Conclusion

Even for the assisted migrants, place of birth in Italy was rarely recorded elsewhere in New Zealand. The censuses have provided this information for 109 individuals and occupations in Italy for 72.

The genealogical information in these censuses is of great value for a public historian. For instance, Canobbio, whose place of birth in the Naturalisation Register was 'Villa di Tiliore' and in the censuses was 'Vella' could be identified without any doubt with Filippo Canobbio, born 5 Mar 1839 at Villa di Tirano, Sondrio. Again, De Filippi, whose place of birth in the Naturalization Register was 'Viruio', and in the census might have been Vervio, could similarly be identified uniquely with Stefano De Filippi, born 8 Feb 1839 at

Vervio, Sondrio. It is this specific information about individuals which provides the basis for the rather more important general conclusions.

Analysis of these census lists has demonstrated conclusively that the first Italians to come to New Zealand in any significant numbers were largely from Lombardy and more specifically from a small part of Sondrio Province. They shared their origins with the first Italian migrants to Victoria.

For generations, seasonal migration with the implied return home had been a way of life for many of the alpine people of Northern Italy. I have shown that the individuals in the census were more likely to be settlers than itinerants and hence for them this nexus with their birthplace was cut. They settled permanently in their new land as did their contemporaries from the British Isles.

Acknowledgments

David C Retter, at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington very kindly furnished photocopies of the census sheets in the collection donated by Bruno Ballara, whom I also thank. Bob Naisbitt and Margaret Mort at History House, Greymouth helped me to obtain much useful biographical information as did Julia Bradshaw at the Hokitika Museum and Geraldine Pickles at National Archives, Christchurch. Laura Mecca & Lorenzo Iozzi have provided much useful data from the Archives of the Italian Historical Society. In Valtellina, I have been greatly helped by Fausto Schivardi, Giacomo Ganza, Don Remigio and Don Cirillo Vitalini (Villa di Tirano), Rosella De Vita (Teglio), Don Rodolfo Sterlocchi, Giacomo Rinaldi and the library staff (Grosio), Diego Zoia and Bruno Ciapponi Landi (Tirano) and Don Giacomo Santelli (Mazzo).

Notes

- ¹ *Presenza Italiana in Nuova Zelanda*, published privately by Bruno Ballara, Auckland, 1975
- ² Fragments of these lists have survived. Copies of these are held by the Italian Historical Society.
- ³ In early December 1875, to avoid the danger of becoming icebound in Hamburg, the *Gutenberg* was towed to Bremen, where the passengers were embarked.
- ⁴ *Registro d'iscrizione*, which begins with no. 173 on 18 Feb 1868 and ends with no. 200 on 31 Dec 1868. *Quarta Lista alfabetico d'Italiani non Iscritti*, dated January 1869 with 106 names.

Variazioni occorse nel 1868... with details concerning 28 individuals, dated January 1869.

⁵ Defining a child as age 12 or less, this gives 23 men, 11 women and 19 children, total 53 in 8 families. MacFarlane (AJHR H28, p 8, 1877), gives 27 men, 9 women and 17 children, total 53 in 9 families as of 31 Mar 1877, however, this includes some non Italians and does not include the wife and family of Alessio Savieri and the three children born at Okura. All 7 arrived later in 1877.

⁶ Ersilio Michel *Emigrazione Livornese nella Nuova Zelanda*, Bollettino Storico Livornese 1938, pp 395-400. As part of his recruiting campaign, Glynn produced a small booklet in Italian entitled *Estratto della guida ufficiale della Nuova Zelanda compilata da Giulio Vogel C. M. G.* The book was only a little more laudatory of the prospects in New Zealand than the Official Handbook from which it was extracted. This latter was distributed to would-be colonists from the British Isles.

⁷ G. Biagi in *Bollettino Consolare*, vol 8, part II (1872), p 352.

⁸ Jacqueline Templeton, 'The Swiss connection: the origins of the Valtellina-Australia migrations', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol 26, 1995, p 393.

⁹ Joseph Gentilli, 'Swiss Poschiavini in Australia', *Geowest 25*, Dept of Geography, University of Western Australia, revised August 1989.

¹⁰ Stefano Jacini, *Condizioni economiche Provincia di Sondrio*, Stab. Civelli, Milano e Verona, 1858, p 23. These figures were misprinted in my previous article in the Italian Historical Society Journal, Vol 9 N.1, 2001, p 4.

¹¹ Adriano Boncompagni, *Italian Historical Society Journal*, Vol 8 N.1, 2000, p 4 and the many references therein; Bruno Ballara *op. cit.*; Irvine Roxburgh, *Jackson's Bay — a centennial history*, A H & A W Reed, Wellington, 1975.

¹² Carlo Turchi at Okura in a letter to Leonardo Pozzi, Hokitika, dated 16 Oct 1876: '...I find that many promises that were made to us have not been fulfilled... On the 20th of Sept we had floods and the water was about 3 feet deep in our tent and we had to take refuge in Mr Collyer's house where we were most kindly treated'. National Archives of New Zealand [IM 6 5/2].

¹³ From a statement by Aristodemo Frandi, Fortunato Luchesi and Egisto Calamai, AJHR 1879 H.-9A, p 89.

¹⁴ Philip Ross May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, Pegasus Press, Christchurch, 1967.

¹⁵ Murray McCaskill, 'The Gold rush Population of Westland', *N. Z. Geographer*, vol 12, 1956, p 32.

¹⁶ Margaret C Brown, *Lyell — the golden past*, Murchison District Historical Society, 1987.

¹⁷ National Archives, Christchurch: Goldsborough — Reserves & Dams, Warden's Court 21.6.65 CH 446 CAIF 2/2 JC - Goldsborough (2) Reserves & Claims 1865 - 1873.

¹⁸ Brown *op. cit.*, p 13.

¹⁹ In NZ\$ of the present day (2001), these figures are approximately NZ\$ 55 million and NZ\$ 13 million respectively. In A\$, the comparable figures are A\$44 million and A\$10.5 million.

²⁰ Biagi, *op. cit.*, p 376.

²¹ National Archives, Wellington.

²² National Archives, Wellington [IM, series 5/4/18, *Herschel*.] His report on the voyage and that of Alessandri are available. Johansen also kept a very detailed 'General Journal' for the voyage. Both men spoke English and Johansen also Italian, Danish and German.

²³ Daniela Volpe. In an address to the Dante Alighieri Society, Melbourne 24 Nov 1999.

Glossary of occupations in Italy

In the censuses, occupations in Italy were generally given. I have left them in Italian in the database given in the appendix and for convenience I give the glossary here.

<i>agente</i>	agent
<i>agricoltore</i>	agricultural worker
<i>albergatore</i>	hotel keeper
<i>barrocciaio</i>	carter
<i>boscaiolo</i>	wood cutter
<i>battaio</i>	cooper
<i>calzolaio</i>	shoemaker
<i>carbonaio</i>	charcoal burner
<i>carpentiere</i>	carpenter or shipwright
<i>casalinga</i>	housewife
<i>ciabattino</i>	cobbler
<i>contadino/a</i>	peasant or farmer
<i>cuoco/a</i>	cook
<i>falegname</i>	carpenter
<i>fornaio</i>	baker
<i>giornaliero</i>	day labourer
<i>giovane negoziante</i>	apprentice to shop keeper
<i>impresario</i>	entrepreneur or contractor
<i>legnaiuolo</i>	timber worker
<i>litografo</i>	printer
<i>locandiere</i>	inn keeper
<i>marinaio</i>	sailor
<i>minatore</i>	miner
<i>muratore</i>	miner or bricklayer
<i>musicante</i>	musician
<i>negoziante</i>	shop keeper
<i>ragioniere</i>	book keeper or accountant
<i>sarto/a</i>	tailor or seamstress
<i>scalpellino</i>	stone mason
<i>taglia pietra</i>	stone dresser or cutter
<i>tintore</i>	dyer
<i>verniciatore</i>	varnisher or painter