The Papakura Sentinel

Number 54

Contents:

Editorial

Greetings friends and members,

I began the last editorial by saying that winter seemed to have arrived. And in fact we've had some wintry weather, with a few frosts (I feel cheated if there haven't been some) and lots of rainy days to keep us indoors, thus helping writers of editorials and articles to get their tasks done. And now there are early signs of spring; hopefully our weather won't heat up too quickly and toss us the droughts, heat-waves, climate-changing fires and massive tropical storms that other parts of the world are experiencing. And let's have a moment's silence while we reflect on the fact that the world's people are experiencing a disaster unprecedented for at least 100 years which we are being spared—so far—by good management and some good fortune—and Pfizer.

This editorial will report on some things that are happening with the Museum and Society. Of course to be fully informed, please attend the AGM on Thursday 26 August at 1 pm, where our President Margaret and our Manager Kay will present their reports. And then we'll be tested to the limit of our knowledge and pushed to our competitive edge by Quiz-master Phil.

The Faka-Tokelau exhibition at the Papakura Museum is a beautiful selection of photos and drone-recorded film of three tiny atolls linked to New Zealand which are holding out against rising sea levels and adjusting to a new world. Our next exhibition will be 'Let me be myself' about Anne Frank. Each of our exhibitions are tribute to the collaboration of Ione and Kay, and a group of volunteers, with the support of the Society. The artefacts from Ring's Redoubt have been delivered to the Museum by the archaeologists, Clough and Associates under the authority of Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga, and provide fascinating insights which Ione will tell us about in Artefact de jour of the next *Sentinel*.

PAPAKURA & DISTRICT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Monthly Luncheon Meetings: 4th Thurs, 1pm – 3pm
Regular Saturday Bus Trips to places of interest

PAPAKURA MUSEUM

Open: Monday—Friday, 10am—4.30pm,
Wed open till 6 pm, Sat 10 am—3 pm
Accent Point Building, 209 Great South Road
Ph.: (09) 298 2003 www.papakuramuseum.org.nz

There are other projects under way too. For the Auckland Heritage Festival this year, we will be hosting two walks round historic Papakura (between Coles Crescent and Kirk's Bush, and between Ray Small Park and Massey Park). It is advertised as 'Early Papakura Walking Tour' and will be on two consecutive Saturdays, 9 and 16 October. It has the support of the Local Board. We are also in discussion with a wider collaboration that they initiated, the Papakura Heritage Strategy, which is mediated by Trestle Creative and involves mana whenua, in particular Ngati Tamaoho and Te Akitai, and possibly Auckland Council Parks. The end result should be a collection of walks and memorials that brings our heritage to the attention of all our people and visitors—and schools too, because the project coincides with the introduction of the Aotearoa NZ History Curriculum, which will be a core part of the Year 1-10 curriculum. All this is very exciting for us who care about our home and its history. A community gains so much when it knows its stories and shares its heritage. And its young people get a sense of identity.

We're seeing a lot of our young people around the Museum these days, and they're loving it. We'll see more during the Anne Frank exhibition, because some of them are being trained as peer educators for the students in their schools. The Papakura ESOL group has also had a few sessions—amazing how a good language discussion arises from a toki-handling exercise with a partly completed stone adze, commenting on how it feels and handles, speculating on who would have made it, how it was made, what it was used for, and why it was discarded. Or looking at old photos of Papakura.

Terry joins us again, with an article on one of the historic steamers that crossed the world in those slower days long before everyone travelled by air. The *Athenic* and its sister ships *Corinthic* and *Ionic* were part of New Zealand's lifeline connection with Britain, bringing out new immigrants and taking troops during World War 1. I read the article with interest, knowing that some of my wife's ancestors travelled on the sister ships, as passengers and crew.

Sentinel continues the remarkable Kirikiri story. About 1000 acres of Papakura East was 'the Settlement' over 150 years ago, where a largely Scottish and Irish Scots population struggled to put down roots (while destroying most of the vegetation) soon after the previous owners had been expelled by the Government of the day. They struggled, especially for the first two years, but most survived and built up a real community. At times it was mainly women and children while the men were away finding work. They often fought among themselves, but they also pulled together to establish themselves in a new country. This issue tells the story of the Kirikiri community between 1865 and 1868. (In the next issue Edna will be writing about a hotel, the Travellers' Rest, that features in this story. John Clarkson had more than one reason for rum-inating on a sore head after a session not far from home.)

Remember the AGM—there is much to report, and we appreciate your support (but we don't twist arms). And swat up for the Quiz to follow. You never know, 'you might be smart enough'—to win big for your team!

Enjoy reading this issue of the *Sentinel*

On behalf of the Papakura Museum and Papakura and District Historical Society

Your ed

Rob

Museum Musings is brought to you regularly by members of the Museum or editorial staff.

Visit the Faka-Tokelau exhibition – Living with change

Developed and toured by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

---

Continued from page 16—**Kirikiri 4. 1865-8**

Sources consulted

In addition to the newspapers, *New Zealand Herald (NZH)*, *Daily Southern Cross (DSC)* and (until 1866) *New Zealander, (NZr),* this article has made use of sources on the local area mentioned in the previous article, on archival sources and on the contributions of several family researchers including:

Judith Moor, Clarkson Family Book, typed 1988

Leslie Wylie McGregor, Seed of a country: a story of the life and times of John and Janet McGregor, Self-published 1988

Nancy Hawks (Smith), Clark and Catherine Smith and their descendants: an early settler family from Papakura who arrived on the Viola, 2018

Jennifer Clark, Ancestors and descendants of William and Mary Brown (nee Carswell), 2004

Ann and Grahame Watson, McDonald/Wright ms, 1987

Robert Douglas Stewart jnr, Notes on my life's experience, typescript diary. (Elaine Croskery, (EC), also quoted.)

Further reference: Gordon McLauchlan, A short history of farming in NZ, Bateman, 2020.

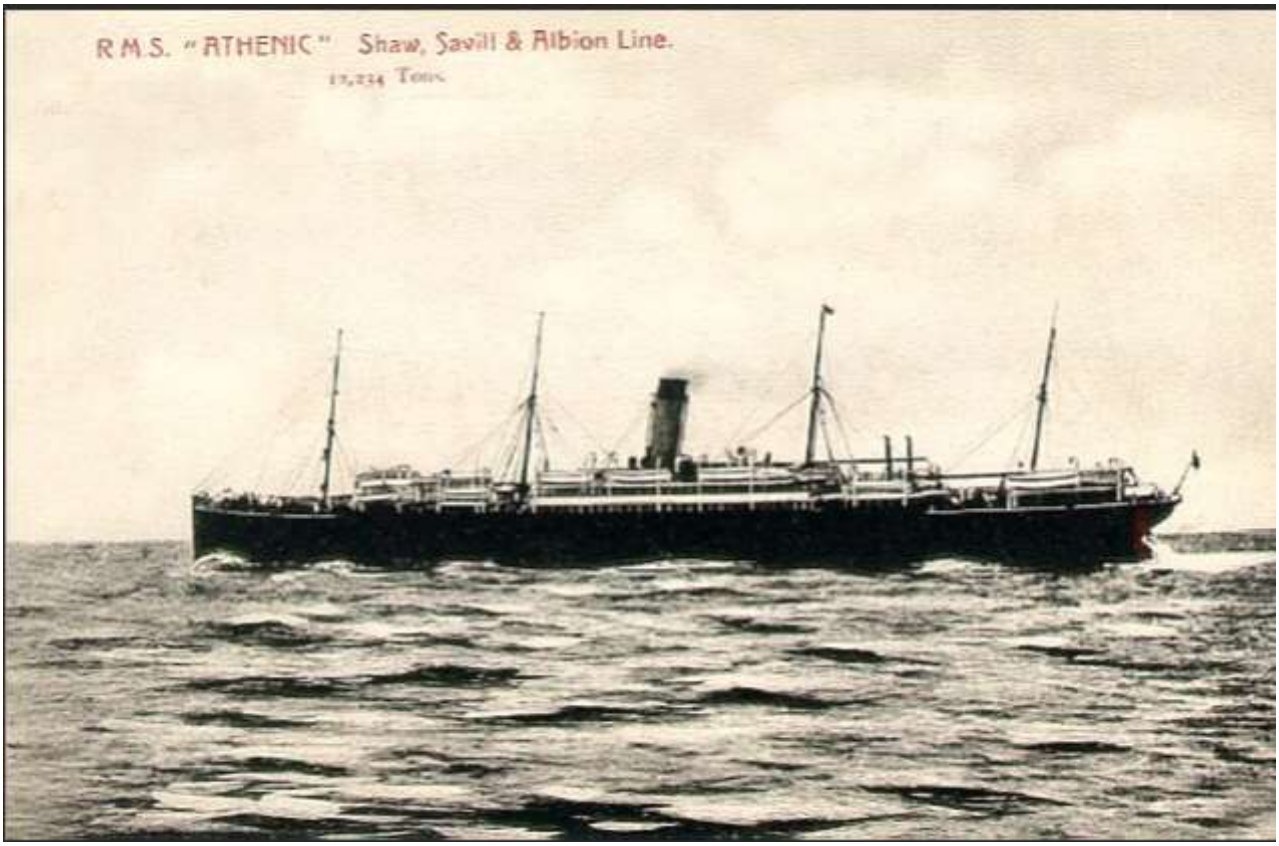
Citations provided on request.

The Life of a Ship - *SS Athenic*

Terry Carson

Some readers will have noticed how in recent weeks a number of large historical photographs have been put on the walls outside the Museum. The eye catching photos, along with the new signage near the street entrance, should make Papakura locals more aware of the existence of our fine little museum. One photo that particularly caught my eye showed a large body of New Zealand troops attending a church service on the deck of the *SS Athenic* in 1914.

I have always had an interest in this steam ship as my maternal grandparents migrated to New Zealand aboard her in 1903. The original passenger list and brochure are still held by my family. Also we have glass plate negatives showing family on board being farewelled at Southhampton. Most ships that survive for fifty years or more have had an interesting history and the *SS Athenic* is no exception. Some accounts of the *Athenic* use the letters RMS (royal mail steamer) instead of just SS (steamship). There seems to be some dispute as to whether the *Athenic* was technically a royal mail steamer or not.



Athenic—Postcard. NZ Online

The *Athenic* was named after the Greek Goddess, Athena. Athena was the patron protector of Athens and was famous for her wisdom and war-like powers. Launched in 1901, the *SS Athenic* was the first of three identical sister ships specifically built for the UK to Australasia trade by the famous Belfast ship builders, Harland and Wolff. The order had been originally placed by the White Star line and the *Athenic* sailed for the first part of its life under this flag, although while

she was being constructed the company was taken over by the International Mercantile Marine Company owned by American banker John Pierpont Morgan. (The others were the *Corinthic* and the *Ionic*.) Harland and Wolff later built the *Titanic*. The *Athenic* was a 12,234 gross registered tonnage vessel. She carried 121 first class passengers, 117 second class, and 450 third class passengers. She was powered by two eight cylinder quadruple expansion engines and had a service speed of 14 knots. She was especially designed for the London to Wellington run and had large refrigerated holds that could carry up to 98,800 lamb carcases. She was a comfortable and mod-

Above: RMS *Athenic* leaving Wellington for London: Below, At Queens Wharf, 1913. Photos NZ Online.

ern transport for emigrants going out to New Zealand, and could carry a profitable load of meat freight on her return voyage. The *Athenic* was a popular and familiar sight on the London to Wellington run from her maiden voyage in 1902 until the outbreak of the First World War.

The outbreak of war in August 1914 found the *SS Athenic* in port in Wellington. She was immediately requisitioned by the British Government under the newly passed British Liner

Requisition Scheme. Undoubtedly the New Zealand Government was involved in the process. The *Athenic* was sent to Lyttleton in September to embark the commanding officer, 54 officers, 1259 men and 339 horses of the NZ Expeditionary Force. She returned to Wellington, and in October left in a convoy travelling via Hobart, Albany, Colombo, and Aden to her destination at Alexandria in Egypt. The *Athenic* was the largest ship to carry troops to the Middle East during the First World War. She made several further trips during the war as a troop ship. When carrying troops to the United Kingdom she usually also carried a cargo of refrigerated meat to help feed the beleaguered British population. In 1916 she called into Santa Cruz in California to pick up British seamen who had been made prisoners of war when a German raider had captured their ships. They were eventually released upon one of the captured ships and sent to California to be repatriated. At the time the USA was still neutral and not involved in the War. After the war the *Athenic* carried returning troops on a number of occasions.

The 1920s saw the *Athenic* resume her London to Wellington run. In 1920 she deviated from her route to rescue passengers, crew, mail and luggage from the American steamship *Munamar* which had run aground on a coral reef off San Salvador in the West Indies. In 1926, by now sailing under the Shaw Savill house flag she was converted into a two class ship. Presumably her first class was no longer top of the range and more emigrants could travel in a two class ship. In 1928 the *Athenic's* days as a passenger liner came to an end. She was sold to a Norwegian company, and after extensive alterations in a British shipyard, she became a 'factory' ship for the Norwegian whaling industry. Now renamed the *SS Pelagos* (for consistency I will still refer to her as the *Athenic*) she served the Norwegian whaling industry until January 1941. Despite Germany having invaded and taken over Norway in 1940 her whaling fleet carried on operating in Antarctic waters no doubt intending to head to a neutral or friendly country when they had finished. They apparently believed no German naval vessels were anywhere near them. However, the German auxillary cruiser *Pinguin* was in the locality monitoring their radio communications and suddenly appeared, and taking them by surprise she captured the *Athenic* and a large number of other smaller whaling ships. The *Athenic* was sailed back to Europe where she was converted into a tanker and was used for a time as a refuelling tanker for the German U-boat fleet.

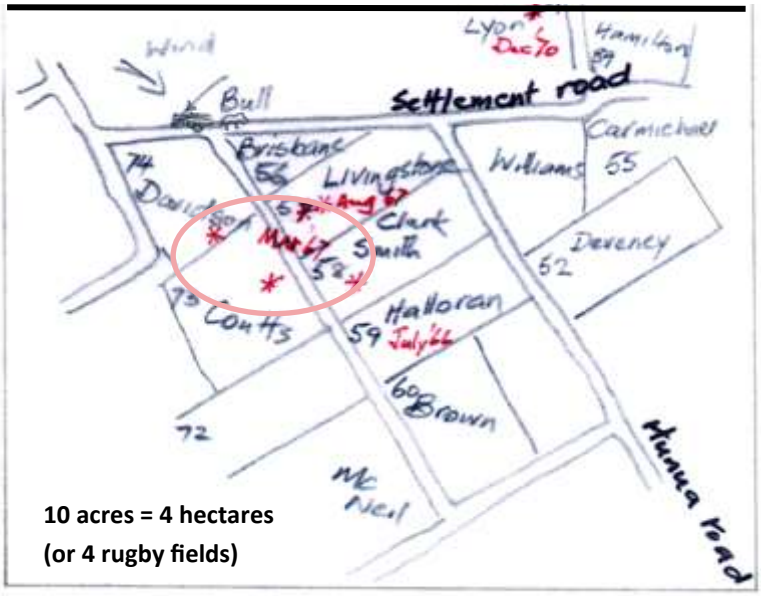
Attached to the German 24th Submarine Flotilla based in Norway, the *Athenic* was sunk in 1944 in a Norwegian fiord. The circumstances about the sinking are confused. The most frequent and largely accepted account is that she was torpedoed by a German U-boat. Why this should happen when she was under the German flag is not clear. After a year on the bottom she was salvaged in 1945. After, no doubt, extensive repairs she returned to the Norwegian whaling fleet where she served until 1962 when she taken out of service, sold to a German company, and taken to Hamburg where she was scrapped.

KIRIKIRI

4. Becoming a community, 1865 – 1868

Rob Finlay

The previous *Sentinel* introduced Kirikiri, the area drained by the Otuwairoa (or Kirikiri) stream between the Opaheke Rd ridge and the flanks of the Kirikiri hills and Hunua ranges, with Willis and Clevedon Road to the north and Boundary and Hunua roads to the south. Two close-knit communities have lived there; first Te Akitai, mana whenua, who had enjoyed the valley for centuries until they were expelled by the Government in 1864; and the mainly Scottish and Northern Irish immigrants persuaded by Government agents to sail on the *Viola* and *Resolute* in 1864-65 to make their home on the land. This issue tells the story of the first three years of this new community.



Approximate area of the fire in March 1867, with land of those at the court.

The map also indicates location of three other fires, marked by dates, and of another dispute over grazing cattle. Lyons appeared in numerous court cases. Public meetings were sometimes held near Hamiltons' (corner of the Settlement road and today's Kelvin Road) as a central place.

Note: (*V*) and (*R*) indicate the named person's arrival on *Viola* or *Resolute.*

In March 1867 a group of neighbours gathered at the Papakura Courthouse. Charles Davidson and James Coutts had filed against Clark Smith (after whom Smiths Avenue is named) for damage caused by a fire. Davidson (*V* Allot 74, above) claimed £8 from Smith (*V* Allot 75). He claimed that the fire had begun in Smith's bush, and had threatened his house, destroying 6 chains (121m) of fencing and a chain and a half (30m) of two-rail fence, and some firewood. The fire spread towards James Coutts' (*R* Allot 73) bush and by evening 'was burning on bush on both sides of the road, and also in Clark's bush.' Henry Bull (*R*) who had been loading posts and rails near Davidson's house - had the coach-maker set himself up as a carrier? - saw fire on both sides of the road approaching Davidson's house and Smith dowsing it with a can. He and Agnes Smith helped him fight the fire. Archibald Livingstone (*V*, Allot 57) said he saw the fire approaching Coutts' and the Smiths abusing Coutts. For his part, Smith denied that the fire had come from his bush, and Jane Brisbane's (*R* 56) evidence supported his statement. For the defence, John Brown (*V*, 60) said the defendant had fired his bush at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, but there was no connection between his fire and the fire in Livingstones' (where Edmund Hillary School is today). There was no trace of fire – it would have had to go through furze, and Smith's fence was not burnt. The wind, in fact, was blowing from Davidson's to Smith's and Coutts'. Archibald Livingstone, John Hamilton (*R*), Alexander McNeil (*R* 70) and Robert Erskine all agreed. The Davidson case was dismissed and Coutts agreed to withdraw his case against Smith.

All those who spoke, except for one witness, had been neighbours for over two years since

they had boarded the *Viola* or *Resolute* in Glasgow. Bush clearance and a second summer on the land provided the fuel and conditions for the fires.

For three years between 1865 and 1868, the *Viola* and *Resolute* immigrants in Kirikiri, with a few extras in their midst, more or less survived on hope. This article is about the Kirikiri settlement in these years when the community remained largely intact. After three years of occupation, title for their grants of land would be awarded; for some that would be the time to sell up and leave for greener pastures. However some of the stories told date from after 1868, because they belong to the community that formed in this period.

The largely Scottish community were in a raw new land recovering from a war and with tension still in the air. Their neighbours were the settlers in the adjacent village of Papakura, with Drury a little further south, each boasting a couple of hotels and churches, a store or two, and scattered farms newly hewed from the bush. To the north east was Ring's Redoubt with its shrinking complement of soldiers and the Travellers' Rest hotel just beyond. A road, grandly called Great South, was the connection to the town of Auckland, which was in the doldrums. Dray tracks, rutted or sloughed depending on the weather, laboured over the hills to Wairoa South (Clevedon), or beyond Drury to Maketu (Ramarama), the Hunuas and Franklin's hilly centre.

A few Maori remained in the area: they shared in the lives of the new settlers and friendly relations were established with an exchange of lore and skills, while at the same time an atmosphere of distrust and sometimes alarm was widespread in the North Island.

Settling in

Land was allocated as they arrived: two handwritten lists show the allocation of Kirikiri land to *Viola* and *Resolute* immigrants. Each sheet had columns for ¼-acre town sections and the 10-acre allotments, and one for signatures of the eligible heads of families or single men. A third list allocating Maketu (Ramarama) land to immigrants from both ships, showed that many Maketu settlers had their ¼-acre town grants in Kirikiri. Initially, while they relied on government work or local employers, at least some lived on their Kirikiri town lots, so were part of this community. The Bull family's (*R*) 10-acre grant was in Kirikiri (Opaheke/ Boundary roads) but two older sons had Maketu grants as well as ¼ acre sections in Papakura. All three lists have deletions and transferences, indicating that the allocation process was fairly messy.

50 *Viola* grants dominated the central area of Kirikiri and the eastern foothills. One of those closest to Papakura Village was allocated to Charles and Christina Davidson: Charles, a labourer, was appointed Deputy-Superintendant of the immigrants. Coming later, 41 *Resolute* settlers received their grants fringing the earlier arrivals. A few names are not connected to either ship; John Halloran (probably a former soldier), William Deveney (the only person to sign with his mark, whose wife Catherine and daughter Mary arrived on another of the Thirteen Ships, the *Reihersteig* from Cape Town), James Bond (ex-militia, fined 10s on several occasions for foul language or drunkenness), and the contractor John Frater. (The family of Theophilus Pratt from another of the Thirteen Ships, the *Ganges*, allocated land in Maketu, were also part of the Immigration scheme.)

The allotments may have been equal in area – although Daniel and Jane Brisbane (*R*) were blessed with two separate 5-acre lots - but not in potential value. Flooding remains a real threat. Around the creek. In wet weather water streams off the flanks of the Hunuas leaving sections below waterlogged. Those Hunua flanks are quite steep in places. Much of the area was under heavy bush, which had to be cleared before crops could be sown. The most fortunate inherited Te Akitai's cleared land round the former Te Aparangi kainga, or fernland. The authorities later admitted that ten acres was inadequate for any viable farm. Forty acres was much closer to the mark. But even those 10 acres (4 hectares or 4 rugby fields), needing clearing, burning, draining, fencing and sowing, was all that the settlers could call an asset, even if they could not realise it until they had occupied it for 11 months a year for three years.

When the *Viola* settlers arrived in April the only accommodation was tents at Ring' Redoubt. By June when *Res-*

olute settlers arrived amidst storms, tents were awaiting them on their 10 acre lots and some *raupo whare*. They built their own *raupo* huts with thatched *nikau* roofs, 'like Maori whares, only rougher, as very few of them knew how to thatch', as Robert McClymont (*R*) who arrived as a 9-year old, remembered. They were taught by Maori. A second gale - a 'greater storm' – on 12 July, less than two weeks after the first – caused widespread damage. It destroyed John and Janet McGregor's (*R*) *whare* (Allot 68 at the end of the track which is now Parker Rd). Thomas Cornes, a joiner, helped them build again. Later, when both McGregors had bad colds, Margaret Cornes (*R* Allot 9, near Kirikiri ridge, a mile away) picked up their son Peter on John's horse to look after him. Soon after, John had to walk to the Cornes to alert her of the imminent birth of their second child, and she rode John's horse back to the McGregors to assist Janet with the birth.

Walking long distances was something they undertook without too much thought. Robert and Margaret Stewart spoke of walking to Auckland and back, she carrying the baby, a distance of 20 miles each way. On the return trip Thomas carried a sack of flour on his back. (EC) They would have stayed the night in Auckland.

Desperate times

The Immigration Scheme promised that while they were getting established, they would be provided with work by the Government, and existing settlers would be able to provide work later. Misleading words.

To begin with the Provincial Government set the immigrants to forming roads, improving the Great South Road, and developing the roads into the settlement. Initially they were building roads six days a week for 5/- a day, reducing to 3 days a week by the end of the year. They quarried stone, transporting and breaking it to surface the roads, and built bridges. By the end of July 1865 work had proceeded to the point where the Government could call tenders for ploughing land so the settlers could put in seed, and it was probably then that preparation was made on an area of cleared and burned fern for a communal potato field. But wild weather continued into August. Unseasoned timber in new houses warped and smelt. The 'roads' were quagmires.

Summer saw some relief from incessant rain. With better weather there was more work available in Auckland. Some took Quick's daily coaches from Drury to Auckland to find work. And work on the blocks had to continue. Support was provided. Teams of sawyers cut and sawed up the larger trees on the land. The Government provided teams of horses for ploughing, and up to £5 each for seeds and seed potatoes.

Late summer was when they burned off cleared foliage. By 1866 cut scrub was being fired resulting in suffocating smoke, an annual problem for years. Fires could get out of hand, whether they started in chimneys or felled bush, as in our opening story. In July 1866 John Halloran's cottage, insured and mortgaged, burned down. There was a fire at Livingstones' a few months later. A fire (in the Kelvin Road area) in 1870 left 'industrious immigrant settler Mr. A Lyon' (*R*, 91—see map) destitute. The family were away at the time and the house was burned to the ground. Furniture, bedding and clothing were all destroyed, and the community raised funds to support them. The *Daily Southern Cross* invited readers to contribute.

Much of the area was swampy and they had to drain it. But fresh water was also a challenge. They dug deep for wells. John McGregor, on low-lying land, found water at 12 feet/4 m, but it was full of sediment.

The second winter of 1866 was again harsh, and the McGregors remembered 'severe depression'. Janet found solace in her husband's reading, but there was poor light in the evening.

As Government work was phased out, they found little local private employment to take its place. Farmers were struggling to restore their farms to production: many of those the new immigrants might have looked to for work were claiming for compensation from the disruption of the recent war, and the Auckland market was shrinking with the loss of Government and Military business as Central Government was being trans-

ferred to Wellington and Governor Grey's massive troop presence was being withdrawn. Even the gold rushes in the South had tailed off. It was the beginning of a long depression which remained till the 1890s, interrupted briefly by Vogel's projects of the early 1870s fuelled on huge loans, which brought infrastructure development such as the railways.

Elsewhere in Franklin, from Waiuku to Pokeno, Patumahoe to Williamson's Clearing (Bombay), Hunua, to-Wairoa, more than 3000 new immigrants under the Waikato Settlement Scheme, as well as demobilised soldiers—pawns in the Government's colonisation of confiscated lands, were hoping to rely on the local economy for work and support as they tried to make a home out of this new land in which they had been dumped.

Meanwhile, in whatever time was available, the families and single men needed to work on their land. Clearing bush, building homes on cleared land, draining where possible and putting up rudimentary fences made of branches or split rails, occupied their time. But most of the time the men were away working. A lot – or most -- of the management of the land was done by wives and children. Most women had small children and/or were pregnant, so the age of those children had a bearing on success - or disaster. In 1868, Andrew Lyon, a four-year old child, was drowned in a well. His father was away working, the mother absent for half an hour, and his older sister Martha, who was unwell, had asked him to go to the well about 100 yards from the house. It was full, and he had got under the partial cover of sticks. (The jury at the inquest included seven *Resolute*, one *Viola* and two other people.) This tragedy had long-lasting effects on the Lyon family.

As Gordon McLauchlan wrote (*A short history of farming in NZ)*: 'The burden on wives and children was back-breaking. The nuclear family was probably the only social and labour unit that could have managed the transition from bush to … farm. Poor roads made moving around difficult, especially in winter mud, and it was not uncommon for children to fall asleep in the classroom after early-morning milking and a long trek to reach school.' How regular was the attendance of Kirikiri children in the 1860s, especially as school was the Presbyterian church on the rise north of Papakura village? Some fathers saw school as a luxury given the need for all hands on the land.

Survival became a matter of subsistence – planting potatoes and other vegetables in cleared soil and a house cow or two among the stumps.

A minority of about a dozen families had sons in their teens or twenties who could contribute their muscle to breaking in the land. And of course teenage daughters (who otherwise found work as maids for local farmers or in town) and younger children were part of the workforce. Sons of 18 or more had grants too, and families could work cooperatively on adjacent lots.

Some appear to have chosen not to take up a 10-acre grant. Alexander Brown (*R*), at 52 the second oldest settler, married and with three daughters, took up his urban quarter acre (Marne/ Arawa roads). But if some younger Browns were his sons, he would have been able to support them on their lots. On the other hand the oldest immigrant, David McClymont (*R*), aged 56, had Allot 83, (the Mansell sports field next to Papakura High School). With his son Thomas next door (Allot 84) and with two younger sons there were many hands.

They were creative in their endeavours. Produce was shared as it was worth little for sale, or bartered with Maori or settlers. The men found work locally if they were able, dug gum in the Papakura Flats (Porchester Road area). John McGregor paid Maori to show him how to dig gum and would spend his evenings cleaning and scraping gum. He sent a consignment to Auckland for £70 a ton. Later he used horse and plough. Edward Rogerson (*V*) exhibited 10 lb of kauri gum with the Papakura Association in 1867. There was some work from a flax mill (which failed). Janet McGregor learned how to prepare and plait flax and made floor rugs for the beaten earth floors. Ann Campbell (*V* Allot 24) scrubbed away in a tub making flax, and her husband Thomas sent the *Daily Southern Cross* a sample. McGregors spoke later of fish, some wild pigs. John Brown was one who hunted in the hills. McDonalds remember bush pigeons (kereru), valued for meat, fat and soft feathers in pillows, watercress and puha, and increasing numbers of rabbits.

The McGregors had bought out boxes of boots to sell in Auckland. They wrote home and were sent tools and a sum of money that helped tide things over.

A few set up small shops or workshops. Archibald McDonald set himself up as a kauri gum dealer, based in the Papakura valley, maybe because his blacksmith skills had been in call for gum spears and spades. In September 1866, Robert Hall was charged with feloniously stealing 50 lb of kauri gum, of the value of 7 shillings from his shop. John McDonald had a sawmill near the Presbyterian church supplying timber for bridges. John Halloran was a shoemaker. The Mulgrews began selling vegetables and fruit from a small store, and Francis took his trade further afield as a chapman. Skills—gardening, carpentry or masonry were put to use.

Some found work locally from farmers, notably William Hay. Or they worked for local shopkeepers or publicans: William Brown (*V*), who had been a flesher in Glasgow, served as a butcher for Willis for some years.

The local area did not provide enough work, so many men travelled further afield, leaving their families on the land. Some left for Auckland or Onehunga. There were mobile hordes of men who responded to any reports that might offer an income: hence the reports of gold at the Thames in 1866 and 1867 led some to travel there, and by the end of 1868 a majority were at the Thames. But that is another story.

Often they found seasonal work. In 1867, William Deveney (Hunua Road—map on page 7) took neighbours John Carmichael (*V* Allot 55), Clark Smith (*V* Allot 58) and Richard McGee (V, Allot 51) to court for grazing his 10 acres without permission. He had gone 'to the West Coast to earn some money when (he) had done (his) spring work', probably with his wife Catherine in charge. His testimony tells us of progress over nearly two years. 'I own ten acres of land. It is fenced with a post and two-rail fence' (with no ditch), and a sliprail in place of a gate. Clark Smith had been paying Carmichael's boy 1/6 a week to look after his cattle and Carmichael's cow. 'I had three to four acres under potatoes. I had five or six peach trees, gooseberry and other bushes. There was good grazing.' Carmichael was made to pay £1 and Smith £4, with costs.

With the rest of the community they explored all options. The Papakura Association was actively seeking to develop the area, and the Settlement was active within it. Lime was discovered 'in Kirikiri and the Hunuas' and on Government land, close to the site of the Kirikiri redoubt and in 1866 advertisements were made for men to burn lime at the Kirikiri limekiln. Deputy-Superintendant Charles Davidson and three other settlers built the kiln, and the first burning of the lime in February 1867 turned out well.

Hopes were excited at the discovery of gold-bearing quartz in October 1867, and the Provincial Government, concerned that settlers were ignoring agriculture in their enthusiasm, sent officials to investigate. On the 18th, Rev Vicesimus Lush reported to his diary: 'Went to Kerikeri: Gold, Gold, Gold and nothing but Gold the subject of everyone's thoughts and conversation: one man has not slept for the last 3 nights through the excitement caused by his coming across a reef of – as he thought – gold-bearing quartz. Poor fellow! As likely as not to be doomed to disappointment for it is not all gold that glitters.' The next day his entry was brief: 'The supposed gold at Kerikeri turns out to be mica to the intense disgust of the finders.' (*Thames Journal*)

Settlers befriended the garrison at Ring's Redoubt. In 1866 McGregor and Cornes became substitute enlistments as regular troops were withdrawn. Hugh McLeod (V) became drill sergeant for the Papakura Rifle Volunteers, and other ex-soldiers became involved. In July 1869 30-40 militia from Kirikiri and Papakura were called out and sent down to the Waikato. John McGregor may have been one of these, as he received a service medal in 1869.

As farms improved, they tried barley in 1866, and there were hopes for wheat in 1869. The *Daily Southern Cross* in April 1869: reported that 'a considerable quantity of wheat, grown chiefly by Kirikiri and Maketu settlers, awaits a moderate rainfall to enable Mr. Cole's mill to start grinding.' But the climate was too damp, and Cole's mill lay inactive. Millers among the immigrants were perhaps particularly disappointed.

A positive view of the community's fortunes may have been gained from reading the *New Zealand Herald* of 24 April in 1866. Special Reporter visited: 'the Keri Keri emigration settlement, about a mile from the centre of the village, where the lands seem excellent and the houses scattered and numerous. The district itself is not without its history, here and there are green patches of soil, evidently the cultivation of our dusty (sic) brown neighbours (the Maori), the remains of original constructed whares (sic), as well as one sacred spot, where the last remains of a Maori Chief are sleeping… There is indeed a great difference in this spot at present in comparison to what it appeared 18 months ago…The whares erected by the emigrants, after their first location, are gradually disappearing, and one has now not only some neat, but good and substantial weather-boarded houses gradually taking the place of "any port in a storm". The land in this neighbourhood is very well adapted for cultivation, and seems to have those absolute requirements that are wanted to make thriving and prosperous districts, namely wood and water.'

He continued: 'The emigrants as a body are contented and one cannot help saying that the place at no distant day will with a little patience and perseverance be a rich and flourishing district.' But who did he ask?

Frustration

Even if they put on a brave face for the Special Reporter in the autumn of 1866, the settlers felt betrayed by the Government. Life was very hard. Janet McGregor remembered those first years as 'cruel days', and the couple thought of returning to Scotland. They weren't the only ones. Andrew McLean (*V*), bricklayer, living then in Wairoa, confessed to it at a reunion years later, while one young widow did just that in 1872. While most struggled to realise the ownership of the one asset they had been promised, some of the settlers gave up early on securing their grants in Kirikiri, and left.

Many more would have left had it not been for the promise that those who remained on their grants for 11 months a year over three years would receive title—a promise, but also a bind. Those ten acres were all that they had. The range of responses is illustrated by the nineteen or so single men aged between 18 and the mid-20s who received Kirikiri grants. Some had come with their families, giving some solidarity: John McCrae, William Neillie and Thomas McClymont would all remain part of the Kirikiri community. William and Robert Bull (In Maketu) and Duncan McDonald moved on with their families sometime after the three years were up. Most of the rest left, some transferring their grants as early as mid-1865. William Chisholm and Alexander Shand surrendered their grants to James Walker *(V*), John Dick to John Halloran, Hugh McPherson to James Bond, Peter Edmund to John Frater. (So that's how these 'outsiders' got their place in the settlement.) But there were some notable exceptions, all associated with that love-boat, the *Viola*. Edward Rogerson (25) married 18-year old shipmate Jane Campbell in 1865, Robert English married Margaret McCrae in 1865 or early 1866, William Neillie consolidated his attachment to Kirikiri by marrying 18-year old Mary Rhind in 1870, and William Fulton married Marion McNeil in 1872. (Two other *Viola* marriages were those of Elizabeth McDonald and widowed Christina Lister, both to men in Otau.) Marriage tied these men to the land, because a wife could remain on it with any children, earning that coveted title, while they sought work elsewhere.

The last two marriages remind us that despite living in different settlements, the *Viola* settlers in particular remained one community. They walked long distances and kept in touch with friends and sometimes relatives in neighbouring settlements. To a lesser extent this was true of all the Waikato Settlement villages.

At a **meeting of protest in December 1865**, 100 settlers from the Franklin settlements gathered outside Godkin's hotel at Drury to express their grievances. Kirikiri's John Watson (*V*), 25, a millwright, presided. He had 'come without breakfast', and asserted that they had been duped. They had been promised work like cutting firewood, but it was not available. Men who had come out with certificates from employers, doctors

Godkin's Farmer's Hotel, Great South Road, Drury, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections 4-RIC314

and clergymen were told they were not fit to work. They were 'hungry beggars'; the officials might claim there was plenty of work, but 'Mr. Willis in Papakura was keeping the immigrants, and not the Government, some as much as £12 in his debt.' Thomas Campbell (*V*), accused the authorities of misrepresenting the availability of work and rations; he complained about prices, 33s for 100 lb of flour. Speaking for *Resolute* settlers, Alexander McNeil claimed their ordeal in open boats to Drury was a particular injustice.

A second protest meeting at the Drury Hotel four months later (at the same time as the Special Reporter was writing behind rose-tinted glasses, in April 1866), was attended by immigrants from Tuakau, Pokeno, Maketu, Tuimata, Wairoa and Kirikiri. It was 'designed to show the state of destitution in which the immigrants are now placed, in consequence of the withdrawal from them of work and rations'. Watson, again the 'standing' chair, kept the meeting in 'perfect order', not easy when some were talking about taking up arms to shoot settlers' bullocks. The themes were 'want and starvation' through the 'impossibility of obtaining work and the high rates of provisions.' They demanded that the Government should either 'provide them with work at fair wages, or at once to give them their crown grants, so as to enable themselves to avert starvation to themselves and their families, by raising money upon their lands by mortgage.' James Rattray (*V*) was another Kirikiri speaker. The meeting decided to send a delegation to the Superintendent, and Watson agreed to write informing him of this decision. He reminded the meeting that the Superintendent had not kept his promise, made after the former meeting, to visit the settlements to see for himself. (*Southern Cross* April 12)

If one were cynical one might suspect that Special Reporter was working for the provincial Superintendant.

Cohesion and confusion—love and law

Births, deaths and marriages continued the community-building begun during long voyages.

Many babies were born in that first year. A search of registrations and other sources suggests 8 births in 1865 (Nancy Smith was born a month after arrival at Wairoa, Robert Douglas Stewart born the day the *Resolute* dropped anchor, a very appropriate start), and then as the families settled, a flurry of around 24 births in 1866 and 29 in 1867 before settling back to 13 in 1868. All these babies threw additional responsibilities on wives holding the fort on the land, encouraged cooperation between mothers and support from older women, and increased the demand on school and health services.

Death regularly visited in those early years. Accidents, infectious diseases, death from childbirth, exacerbated by fatigue and inadequate accommodation, all doubtless contributed. Jane Clarkson (*R*), wife of George was probably the first; she was buried on 28 November 1866, twelve days after the birth of her son William, leaving George with two infant children. (Two weeks later Jane Symington and William were baptised at the Presbyterian Church. Jane Symington, a *Resolute* shipmate, was probably sponsor or godparent. Maybe she had nursed the children following William's birth. The childless Symingtons remained close to George.) William died in 1868. John Hamilton, 24, also died in 1866. On 10 April 1867, 'at Papakura, John McDonald son of Archibald McDonald, late of the Isle of Mull, Argyleshire', was 16. Reference has already been made to the drowning of Andrew Lyon in 1868. William Lister died in 1868 aged 31. At least another eleven were dead by 1875.

The first marriage between *Resolute* shipmates was the aftermath of Jane Clarkson's death. George married Lucy Bull, and their first children were born in Kirikiri. Others would follow.

The community did not always pull together. I have already mentioned tensions generated by fires among neighbours. But there were other disputes as well, among the Immigrants, and with neighbours such as the Nolans and Clows. Economic insecurity was a factor. A surprising number ended up before a magistrate.

Robert Brydon (*R*) who had been drinking with Charles Fugill (*R*) on the 26th May 1866 in Papakura, was unable to appear in court on a charge of being drunken, as he had had an accident, but was later fined 10s and costs. (In later years he would be appointed to the Licensing Committee in Papakura along with stalwarts like Caleb Wallis, R J Willis and James Walker.) In July 1866, after 1½ hours drinking, John Clarkson left the Travellers' Rest Inn on the Wairoa road nursing a bottle of rum. Some time later he turned up in tears at the home of his neighbour Lee McKinstry (on today's Dominion Road). Bare headed and bleeding, he had been robbed of clothes and money. McKinstry escorted him home. His drinking partner was charged with the offence. John Clarkson was charged 10s and costs for drunkenness the following March: with him were John Brown, William McNeil, James Davidson, and John Nolan Sen.

Fences - or their lack, and wandering stock led to many disputes. Deveney's claim has already been narrated. Alexander Lyon (*R* Allot 91, Kelvin Road), supported by his wife and George Kerr (*R*, Allot 77) took his neighbour John Nolan Jnr to court in July 1867 because his cattle had repeatedly trespassed on his land through a part of his fence damaged by fallen trees, causing damage to the cabbages in his garden. Defence commented that 'the fences, even on plaintiff's showing, were utterly bad'. Lyon had previously advised Nolan that his fences would not keep cattle out. John Brown (*V*, Allot 60) said he couldn't really see any damage, and other witnesses thought the damage was less than claimed for. Lyon was awarded 10s and costs, not the full £2 16s 6d he had claimed for. This was a recurring issue for Lyon (and for Nolan jnr). Agnes Lyon attacked Elizabeth Harrison (*R* Allot 87) with a stick over recurring cattle trespass and was fined 6s, later the husbands became involved – Daniel Harrison threatened Lyon, and a civil case followed with claim for 50s – for broken fence, oats, cabbages, peach trees. Witness Andrew Pitt (*R* Allot 97) said that Mrs Lyon had previously told him that damage to cabbage and oats had been caused by the Lyons' own cows and hens. Mrs Lyon frequently interrupted proceedings, and the judge observed that there was perjury on one side or the other. Also in 1867, William Lister and Robert Brydon sued John Nolan Jnr for damage done by cattle to crops. Such problems persisted. Years later (in 1879), Lyon sued Clow for sheep trespass and damage, and was awarded 10s and costs.

Payment of wages could become an issue. William Deveney unsuccessfully claimed £4 15s in unpaid wages from Nicholas Gibbons. There was a dispute between William Lister (*R* Allot 78) and William Rusk (*R* Allot 85) over a spade. Rusk, a gardener, claimed he had taken it because he had not received a day's pay though he had twice sent his wife Mary for it. 'In mitigation for his wife and family, he was sentenced to 14 days imprisonment with hard labour.' James Davidson (V Allot 52) made an agreement with John Nolan in November 1865 to cut 100 tons of wood, 'to be cut from my own bush at Kirikiri' at 2s 3d a ton. He charged John Nolan for partial payment. 'My mate Alexander McKenzie' (*V* Allot 30) had helped with the cutting and measuring, and now supported him in court. The court judged in favour of the plaintiff, and Nolan was fined 13s.

When onions were stolen from 'old man Neil's' garden in Kerikeri road in March 1866, 'footprints traced to one of the immigrants at Kerikeri.' (But who?) On 29 May 1867 shopkeeper George Nye took a case against John Clarkson (*V* Allot 11), whose wife attended court and admitted a claim of £5 13s 5d for goods sold. In July 1868 he was accused of stealing kauri slabs belonging to Seth Rudolphus Clarke, and trying to sell them to shopkeeper Vaughan for 20s. (Case not proven.) In August 1870, he was accused of stealing a sheep dog from Christopher Waff at Maketu. I can imagine John's wife and brothers wondering what to do about him.

Dogs also featured when John Brown was part of a pig-hunting party of 5 young men, including James Bond, in the Hunuas in August 1866, with dogs and pistols. Brown had a horse. The dogs set upon a calf belonging to Hill, which they had to destroy. Conflict over compensation led to the courts.

Some disputes resulted in abuse. In June 1866 Elizabeth Pitt (*R* Allot 97) 'accused John McLeod (*R* Allot 99) of 'insulting and provoking language'; he denied the allegations in toto and the case was dismissed. A month earlier Hugh and Elizabeth McLeod (*V*, Allot *33 or 23*) were riled by language coming from their neighbours, the Clow boys. On the witness of Constable Campbell, and on that of the McLeods, Malcolm and Robert Clow (aged 12 and 14) were fined 5/- for cursing on the public road at Kirikiri in May 1866. Hugh McLeod deposed that he had to leave his house when he heard Malcolm Clow swearing close by, and the boys had argued and abused him further.

The Kirikiri community was generally law-abiding, but hard times strained relationships. Thomas Campbell (*V*, Allot 24) who had been in the 'police in Scotland' was employed as district constable, and was occasionally involved in these and other local cases, in one of which he was assaulted.

Sticking it out and sticking together

Through these difficult first years, many thought of giving up, and some left. But the community survived. Their troubles turned a corner late in 1867 through the agency of one of their own, George Clarkson, which will be the focus for the next article. In the meantime, the community showed much resilience and threw up its own leaders. Charles Davidson was Deputy-Superintendant in the first year or so, and Thomas Campbell constable. The contribution of John Watson and others at the Drury meetings was only one example of their willingness to stand up for themselves and their community, to lead and take initiatives. But initially they relied on support from established settlers, like William Hay.

Two names stand out. Watson had paid tribute to the storekeeper Robert Willis and his family, who allowed generous credit, and often provided meals for the hungry.

The patron of the largely Presbyterian community was the energetic Rev. Thomas Norris, who pastored them. The Presbyterian Church, built in 1857, was repaired and provided with additional seats to accommodate the immigrants of Kirikiri. They would have approved the familiar Scottish flavour of their local kirk and many of their neighbours. In 1872 a decision was made by the Papakura congregation to approve the hymnal used in the Scottish Presbyterian church. On the Sabbath, Kirikiri folks would walk to church like a swelling stream and arrive together. Norrie, himself a Scot, would remain a lifelong friend and supporter of the settlers, constantly present at their weddings, births, funerals, joys and griefs, and in the education of their children, as well as in the active life of the church, into the twentieth century. Until 1876, the Presbyterian church was also the school, and those children who attended would have been familiar with the walk. (Another minister who called in on everybody in the settlement was the Howick-based Anglican Rev. Vicesimus Lush. Most, sadly, were Presbyterians, he reported; there was a Wesleyan—maybe the Yorkshireman Bull, a Catholic and only a couple of Episcopalian families)

Many if not most of the men were also active in the various Masonic lodges. Thomas Glen Cornes (*R*) wasted no time in becoming an active member of the Foresters, representing them in Oddfellows Lodges in Auckland in 1867. Some of the lodges had a strongly Scottish flavour and membership.

They actively engaged themselves in the Papakura community, forming parts of various juries. Andrew Scotland and Henry Bull were jurors into the cause of a fire at the Great South Road Hotel at Drury in March 1868. At other local events, juries were roll-calls of the Kirikiri community.

Thomas McClymont was on the first combined Opaheke School District committee (the sole Kirikiri settler among local dignitaries) in 1969 supervising the two schools then held at the Presbyterian churches at

Papakura and Drury. The connection with school boards would continue.

Several became active in the Papakura Association set up to develop the area economically. At the annual show and dinner in March 1866, produce showed was predictably dominated by established settlers, but among them, John Halloran won a prize for 5 stalks of green maize and a plate of apples (maybe he held land elsewhere), and William Rusk (*R* Allot 85, Settlement Road), a gardener, showed some stalks of maize. In 1867, Campbell took on the job of collecting entries for the annual show, and Messrs Watson, Campbell, Hamilton and McClymont agreed to organise people to cut the thistles that had recently spread at the Great South Road, and into the Settlement and on 'wastelands'. (Ironic isn't it that while still trying to remove the native vegetation that dominated their lots, imported weeds like furze and thistles also needed to be battled?) Among exhibitors in March, Edward Rogerson's 10 lb of Kauri gum was highly recommended, while he won first prize and Colin Borthwick won second prize for field gates. John Watson won first prize for onions, Robert Brydon was second for pie melons, Rhind first for carrots, Davidson first for barley, and Rusk received notice for maize. With successive exhibitions, participation increased.

With so many births among the young couples, there was concern for the health of the children. Kirikiri settlers were prepared to act independently. Several of the established settlers around Papakura called a meeting to find a replacement for Dr Welby in October 1865— the people named include Charles Mellsop Esq, Rev Norris, Willis, Hay and McNicol. A month later the Kirikiri settlers had their own outdoor meeting 'near Mr Hamilton's for the purpose of selecting a duly qualified medical practitioner to reside among them.' Daniel Brisbane was in the chair, and reported that of two practitioners, Mr Dalton was prepared to undertake the service for £1 per annum per household and 10s 6d 'in cases of confinement', and when it was put to the vote his candidacy was accepted. 'The emigrants have promised to erect him a suitable place to reside in, and he has promised to commence his professional attendance' early in the following month. The meeting set up a Management Committee – Messrs Davidson, Dunne, Hamilton, McLennan, Kerr, Coutts, with Thomas Campbell as Treasurer and Daniel Brisbane as Secretary. Our settlers showed initiative, cooperation and good management.

Eighteen months later, in May 1867, John McLeod (*R*, Allot 99, Boundary Rd) was probably acting as a spokesman for concerned parents when he wrote to the *New Zealand Herald* asking if a medical practitioner could be found who could vaccinate the large number of children in the rapidly growing Kirikiri community. A doctor had visited a year before but there had been no follow-up and some of the children were past the recommended age. Judging from a later letter by Archibald McDonald, the issue lingered.

But life was not all work or worry. 1867 began with Hogmanay—New Year's sports at Papakura. A large crowd from Papakura and surrounding areas assembled from 9am. Kirikiri settlers featured among the officials – Andrew Hamilton (*V*) was a judge alongside George Cole, Thomas Campbell was conductor and presenter of prizes, and among the named competitors, active and fit young men: Daniel Harrison (dead by 1875) threw the quoit, George Symington and John Brown in jumping events, John Brown in the mile race, Charles Smith putting the stone, David Murray over 200 yards. There were events for boys under 14 too – with Charles Borthwick (*R*, 13) and Andrew Peat (or Pitt – *R,* 12) in the buns and treacle race, while Robert McClymont (*R*, 11) captured a pig. No-one successfully scaled the greasy pole. The community relaxed and cheered, and got sunburnt under their bonnets.

Fortunately most were young and resilient. Alfred Willis commented that many of the Scots 'did not possess much of this world's goods – but they had mighty big hearts and plenty of grit.' They also developed a cooperative system which demonstrated itself in generosity when fortune favoured some of them.

And that will feature in the next article. (Note on sources on page 3.)

Put these events in your calendar:

August Monthly Meeting - 26 August at 1 pm: AGM, followed by Quiz by Phil. Fabulous prizes!!

September Monthly Meeting—Thursday 23 September at 1 pm: ***THE VICTORIAN WAY OF DEATH*** Historian **Edward Bennett** previously told us about The Victorian Villa.

September Trip: Sat. 25 September—to Te Kauwhata: Greenstone shop, Settlers' Museum, lunch and Mercer Cheese Shop on return. Details to follow. Check with screen at the Museum. See below for registering.

October Monthly Meeting— Thursday 21 October at 1 pm: **Dr Iain Wakefield:** ***FROM DRURY TO THE ENDS OF THE EARTH.*** If houses could talk.

October Trip: Sat. 23 October—Gold card to Devonport—and freedom to explore. Details to follow

November dinner: Saturday 27 November —Red Earth for Christmas lunch

MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS:

Faka-Tokelau in August.

Next: Anne Frank: 'Let me be myself'

Meetings are held on the fourth Thursday of each month at the Library Meeting Rooms opposite the Museum, starting with the talk at 1 pm, continuing with business and afternoon tea (for a **$2 gold coin** minimum). All are welcome. Phil Sai-Louie arranges our interesting speakers.

Events are advertised here, on the screen in the Museum window and on our blog and Facebook pages. Please check for updates and Museum news.

Trips are usually held on the fourth Saturday of each month two days after the meetings. The bus leaves from East Street behind the Access Point building at 10 am, unless otherwise stated. Cost is $5 more for non-members, but anyone is welcome on a first come first aboard basis. Please register early and advise if unable to attend as numbers are limited.

To register for trips, please ring Dave at (09) 2984507

Visit Papakura Museum on

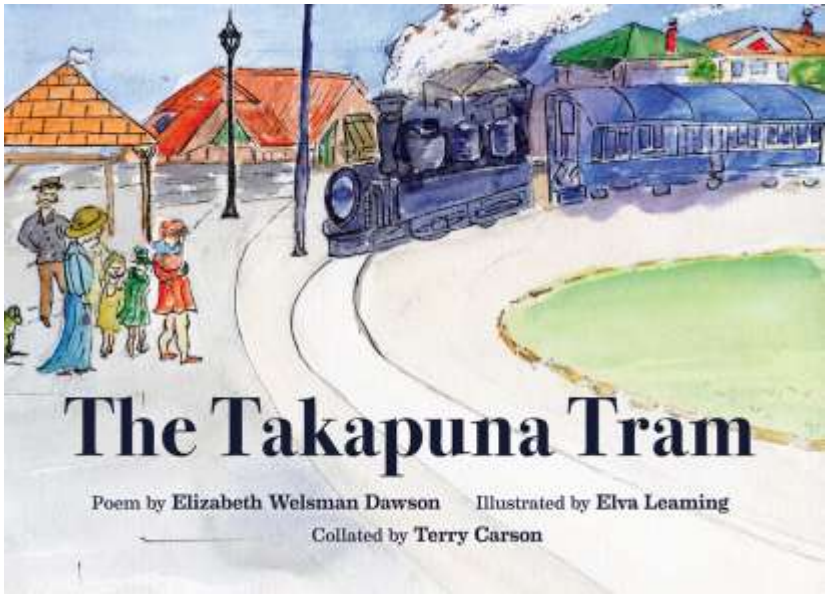
Website: www.papakuramuseum.org.nz

Our blog: https://papakuramuseumblog.wordpress.com

Facebook : www.facebook.com/PapakuraMuseum/

The Papakura Museum & Sentinel are supported by

The Papakura Sentinel is a bimonthly magazine of the Papakura & Districts Historical Society. Your contributions are welcomed. Please send directly to Terry or Rob by email: pdhs@papakuramuseum.org.nz



This is a colourful and entertaining heritage-style children's book to read and share with your favourite grandchild. Copies available through www.alibipress.co.nz or by contacting Terry Carson direct (0211612054).

This is a paid advertisement.

You can advertise to our readers? $10 or donation

Become a member of the Papakura & District Historical Society

Please complete the following

Name:_____ **Phone**: _____ .

Address:_____ **Email:** _____.

Annual Subscriptions $25 (1st July - 30th June: Free for those 90 years and over)

Are you Interested in daytime/evening speakers? Daytime ___ Evening ___

Are you interested in volunteering? (We **love** volunteers!) ___

Are you interested in joining our bus trips? ___

You will receive bi-monthly *Sentinels*.

Please pay at meetings, by direct banking **or** online— ANZ 06-0401-0241593-01. Payment slips available.